THE LIBRARY OF ARCHIBALD MCKINLAY,  
OREGON FUR TRADER

Whatever may have been the compelling reason of Dr. Marcus Whitman's famous ride from Waiilatpu to the United States in 1842-43, one of the minor consequences of the journey was the acquisition by Archibald McKinlay, a Hudson's Bay Company clerk stationed at Fort Walla Walla, of a library through the agency of the Reverend David Greene, one of the secretaries to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Before Whitman departed from Waiilatpu, McKinlay had requested him to spend in the East, in McKinlay's behalf, the sum of one hundred dollars in the purchase of books; but on his arrival at Boston, Dr. Whitman, doubtless believing he was ill-suited to the performance of such a task, and, moreover, being desirous of starting his homeward journey with the least practicable delay, entrusted the commission to Greene. The performance of this task involved no major difficulty. Although a library purchased in Boston for a resident in the Oregon Country in the early 1840's must be transported thousands of miles by water to its final destination, the pecuniary aspect of such a transaction was simple. It was not necessary to send money from Oregon to Boston to pay for the books. The account could be settled by giving credit at Fort Vancouver to the Oregon Mission, whose purchases of goods from the Hudson's Bay Company were paid for by drafts on the treasury of the American Board.

Apparently both Whitman and McKinlay believed that the books would be shipped from Boston in the autumn of 1843, so that they would arrive at Honolulu in time to be conveyed to the Columbia River in the spring or early summer of 1844. On May 18, 1844, Whitman wrote to Greene: "One hundred dollars was deducted from our bill which was sent out this spring on account of the books I desired you to send Mr. McKinlay. They have not yet arrived but may have come in one of the three vessels lately in the mouth of the River." But McKinlay waited until the summer of 1845 for his library. Owing to illness and to the pressure of duties at the Missionary House, Greene had been unable to purchase the books in time for shipment in 1843. This delay he regretted. In a letter to McKinlay, dated April 11, 1844, he said: "I must say with much regret that I failed to execute a commission which Doct.

Whitman left with me for you, when he was here a year ago. I refer to the books you desired him to select & purchase for you."\(^2\) Greene hoped to send the books by one of the ships sailing for the Pacific Ocean in the autumn of 1844, and this hope appears to have been realized. In a letter to Greene, dated at Fort Vancouver on June 30, 1845, Dr. Whitman stated that McKinlay’s books had just arrived in the Company’s ship from Oahu,\(^3\) and subsequently he informed Greene that McKinlay was “much pleased” with his library.\(^4\)

The nature of this library may be ascertained from a memorandum in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.\(^5\) This document, in the handwriting of David Greene, appears to have been an order to the book-seller. In front of each title there is a pencil check. With some exceptions, the prices are given after the titles. The lower part of the right-hand edge of the second sheet of the document, on which some of the prices were written, has been broken off. As will appear from the reproduction below, the bibliographical data which the document contains are painfully meager, and, consequently, the task of identifying some of the titles has been exceedingly difficult.

Of the two lists of books which appear hereunder the first is a reproduction of Greene’s; the second is an elaboration of the first. The purpose of the second list is to present sufficient bibliographical data to enable the reader to recognize the several titles. It must not be supposed, however, that the second list purports to be a catalogue of McKinlay’s library. Since some of the books had appeared in more than one edition, there is no way to discover from which of the several editions McKinlay’s copies were selected. Furthermore, I have not succeeded in fully identifying all the titles. In a few cases my identifications may be questioned. To anyone who may be dissatisfied with the conclusions I have reached the reproduction of Greene’s memorandum will open the way to further research.

**List No. 1**

Books for Archibald McKinlay, Walla Walla, $100 or More.

(1) Barnes’ Notes—All 10 vols. .................. $ 9.25
(2) Comprehensive Commentary 6 vols. ............ 12.00

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4 Whitman to Greene, October 26, 1845, *loc. cit.*, No. 183, p. 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hodges Way of Life</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abbott's Young Christian</td>
<td>.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Abbott's Corner Stone</td>
<td>.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>D'Aubigne's Reformation 3 vols. (90 scratched out)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Neander's History of the Church</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Neander's Planting &amp; Training, &amp;c.</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Milner's Chh. History, continued by Scott</td>
<td></td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Hetherington's Westminster Assembly</td>
<td>.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hetherington's Church of Scotland</td>
<td>2.00</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Aikman's History Scotch Persecutions</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tracy's Great Awakening</td>
<td>1.80</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Perkins' Nestorians</td>
<td>2.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lives of British Reformers</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bancroft's United States 3 vols.</td>
<td>5.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Alison's History of Europe 4 vols.</td>
<td>4.50</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Prescott's Ferdinand &amp; Isabella</td>
<td>6.00</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Prescott's Conquest of Mexico</td>
<td>6.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Guizot on Civilization</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sparks' American Biography 10 vols.</td>
<td>6.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mother's Magazine. All the 12 vols.</td>
<td>12.00</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Alcott's Housekeeper</td>
<td>.75</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Alcott's Wife</td>
<td>.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Alcott's Husband</td>
<td>.75</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Alcott's House I Live In</td>
<td>.40</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Revocation of the Edict of Nantes</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Threefold Cord</td>
<td>.22</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Offices of Christ</td>
<td>.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Scripture Portions for the Afflicted</td>
<td>.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sketches of Church History</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Life of Baxter</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>History of the Inquisition</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Missionary Records</td>
<td>.44</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Essays on Romanism</td>
<td>.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Christian's Scripture Directory, &amp;c.</td>
<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Book of Popery</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Revivals in Scotland, Ireland &amp; Wales</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Dying Hours</td>
<td>.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Scripture Help</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>English Martyrology</td>
<td>1.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rise &amp; Progress</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Remarkable Places Mentioned in Bible</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(44) Moffat's Africa.................................. .28
(45) Knowledge for the People
(46) Todd's Truth Made Simple
(47) Peep of Day ..................................... .45
(48) Line Upon Line .................................. .45
(49) Rollo's Philosophy
(50) Hallam's Middle Ages
(51) Sharon Turner's History of the World
(52) Steven's Yucatan &c
(53) Harris Great Commission
(54) Dick's Sidereal Universe
(55) Dick's Astronomy
(56) Nichols’ Architecture of the Heavens
(57) English Grammar (Brown’s)
(58) Wilson's Evidences
(59) Memoir of Rev. J. Williams
(60) Encyclopedia of Geography

(Endorsement:) Books for Archibald McKinlay, Walla Walla.
Be careful to select perfect copies, well bound, & of good appearance.

List No. 2a


(23) Alcott, William Alexander (1798-1859, The Young House-Keeper. 3d stereotype ed. Boston, 1838,


6 In identifying several of the titles in this list I have received valuable assistance from Dr. Owen Hamilton Gates, librarian of the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.


First three volumes were sent to McKinlay.


Barnes was a prolific writer, and his *Notes* were in great demand. The sixth edition of *Matthew and Mark*, for example, was published in Boston in 1835. Ten volumes of his *Notes* were sent to McKinlay.


The price given in the preceding list indicates that McKinlay's copy came either from the edition of the Presbyterian Board or from the edition of the American Tract Society. It is not likely that Greene made his selection from the following edition: Orme, William, *Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter: with a Critical Examination of His Writings*. 2 v. Boston, also New York, 1831.


It is possible that David Greene had this work in mind when he wrote *Dying Hours*. I have been unable to identify *Dying Hours*.


Also published in 1838 by I. N. Whiting as *Help to the Study of the Scriptures*.

(37) Cobbin, Ingram, *Book of Popery: Description of Origin, Progress, Doctrines, etc., of the Papal Church*. Presbyterian Board of Publication.


Also published by the American Tract Society.


(55) *Dick's Astronomy.*


(42) Doddridge, Philip, (1702-1751), *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.*

Many editions, both American and English. A Boston edition appeared as early as 1795. Published by the American Tract Society; also by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

(57) *English Grammar* (Brown's).

Further identification is wanting.

(41) *The English Martyrology Abridged From Fox,* by Charlotte Elizabeth. 2 v. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1843.

An edition was brought out in New York in 1844.


(50) Hallam, Henry, (1777-1859), *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages.* From the 6th London ed. New York, 1843.

(53) Harris, John, (1802-1856), *The Great Commission; or,
The Library of Archibald McKinlay

29


This title is somewhat abridged. The title varies. Joseph Milner died November 15, 1797. "The first volume of his 'History of the Church,' was published in 1794; the year following appeared the second volume; a third is said to be nearly ready for the Public; and, as we are informed, he has brought that work down to about the time of the Reformation, we hope it may appear hereafter."

"Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Joseph Milner, A. M., Vicar of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, Hull," in The Evangelical Magazine (London), April, 1798, VI., 137. The work was continued by Isaac Milner. The first American edition, in five volumes, was published in Boston, 1809-11. Subsequently several abridged editions were brought out, e. g., Utica, New York, 1816; Andover, Mass., 1817; Charleston, S. C., 1826.

(34) Missionary Records. Presbyterian Board of Publication.
This may have been a reprint of Missionary Records; North America, published by the Religious Tract Society, London.

The Presbyterian Board of Publication published the following: Moffat, Robert, *Scenes and Adventures in Africa; From 'Labors in Africa,' and Stories About Africa.* I have not, however, ascertained the date of publication of either of these.


There is a notice of Vol. I, No. 1, of this periodical in the *Boston Recorder,* January 16, 1833, XVIII., 10. Vols. I-II, (1833-34) are in the Harvard College Library. Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman were instrumental in circulating this magazine in the Oregon Country. Marcus Whitman to Henry Hill, April 16, 1845, in A. B. C. F. M., *Letters and Papers,* Vol. 192, No. 51.


(38) *Narratives of Revivals of Religion in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.* Presbyterian Board of Publication.


Republished from the latest London and Edinburgh editions. Nichol was professor of practical astronomy in the University of Glasgow.

(47) *The Peep of Day; or, A Series of the Earliest Religious

Printed in Ojibwa for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, 1844.

(14) Perkins, Justin, (1805-1869), *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans.* Andover, 1843.


(43) *Remarkable Places Mentioned in the Holy Scriptures.* Presbyterian Board of Publication.


(30) *Scripture Portions for the Afflicted; with Reflections from Various Authors.* Presbyterian Board of Publication.


(28) *The Three-Fold Cord.* Presbyterian Board of Publication. Also published by the American Tract Society.


(45) Timbs, John, (1801-1875), *Knowledge for the People:
or, The Plain Why and Because. Familiarizing Subjects of Useful Curiosity and Amusing Research. Boston, 1832.

From the second London edition. During 1831-32, this work was brought out in instalments in Boston. American Traveller (Boston), August 5, 1831, and July 20, 1832,


(51) Turner, Sharon, (1768-1847), The Sacred History of the World, as Displayed in the Creation and Subsequent Events to the Deluge, Attempted to be Philosophically Considered, in a Series of Letters to a Son. 3 v. New York, 1832-38.

In Harpers' Family Library.

(31) Wharey, J., Sketches of Church History. Presbyterian Board of Publication.


A careful examination of the foregoing lists will give rise to interesting reflections. In the first place, the low prices of the books will strike the reader's attention. It should be remembered, however, that several of these were reprints of European books, produced before international copyright protected the interests of foreign authors. Others were published by religious organizations with no thought of making a profit. A principal purpose of such organizations was to scatter broadcast a literature that would counteract the influence of soul-destroying books which were issuing in alarming numbers from the secular presses in the United States.

Moreover, in addition to the number of printed pages a hundred dollars would buy in Boston eighty-nine years ago, one can scarcely fail to be impressed by the small number of the authors who are known to present-day readers. Prescott, Guizot, and Hal-
The Library of Archibald McKinlay

lam are not forgotten, and Bancroft and Sparks are, of course, within the intellectual horizon of college students who have been exposed to more than an introductory course in American history. A few persons may recognize the author of the "Rollo" books. But how many college students of today have heard of Albert Barnes? How many have read D'Aubigné's *History of the Great Reformation*?

The omissions, too, seem startling. Shakespeare is not there, and Milton is not found. All the classics of the ancient world are wanting. Of fiction there is nothing. Frankly confessing his unfamiliarity with the book market, Greene turned for guidance to the current religious periodicals and to the catalogues of the religious publishing organizations with which he was acquainted. One may well believe that he began with a file of *The American Biblical Repository*, and then thumbed over the catalogues of the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Nevertheless, it is surprising that he overlooked the most important book of his time relating to travels or explorations in North America. Harriet Martineau and Alexis de Tocqueville he passed by. It did not occur to him that Archibald McKinlay might be interested in some work relating to the Oregon Country. Ross Cox's *Adventures on the Columbia River* had been published in New York in 1832, Washington Irving's *Astoria* had appeared in 1836, and a new edition of the *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* had been brought out in 1842. Yet none of these, by the agency of David Greene, came into the possession of McKinlay.

But whatever may have been its merits and its shortcomings, the library of Archibald McKinlay was a faithful reflection of the dominant interest of its purchaser, of whose character a brief examination will explain much that otherwise would be puzzling. The Reverend David Greene was born in Stoneham, Mass., November 15, 1797. In 1821 he received the degree of bachelor of arts from Yale, and in 1826, he completed his training for the ministry at the Andover Theological Seminary. He was ordained on August 14, 1833. In 1829, he married Mary, the eldest daughter of Jeremiah Evarts, who was then corresponding secretary to the American Board and a member of its Prudential Committee. Mr. and Mrs. Greene became the parents of twelve children. From 1827 to 1832,

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Greene was employed as assistant secretary to the American Board, and in the reorganization at the Missionary Rooms, after the death of Jeremiah Evarts in 1831, he became, in 1832, one of the three corresponding secretaries to the Board. He was assigned to the correspondence with the Indian missions. As a result of an injury he received in a railway accident, he declined a re-election in 1848, and retired from the service of the Board. He died at Westboro, Mass., April 7, 1866.8

David Greene was a less distinguished man than Jeremiah Evarts. He lacked the mental sprightliness, the versatility, the savoir-faire, which had made his father-in-law an outstanding man in his field of endeavor. Yet Greene was not without qualifications for the work to which he had dedicated his life. He was eminently pious, thoroughly conscientious, wholly devoted to the missionary cause. For several years he was a faithful servant of the American Board. Of personal ambition he appears to have had little. His chief aim in life was to save the souls of sinners, and in the accomplishment of this lofty purpose he was content to walk in humble paths, ever seeking for and following what he conceived to be the “leadings of Providence.” His singleness of aim appears to have been unrelieved by a sense of humor. To him life was a very serious business. His intellectual interests apparently were not wide. His reading as well as that of all serious-minded persons he believed should be directed to the end of extending the Redeemer’s kingdom. Of reading for the sheer enjoyment of the mental exercise there is no reason to think that he would have approved. As one means of showing his appreciation of courtesies extended by traders of the Hudson’s Bay Company to the Oregon missionaries of the American Board, he sent to the gentlemen at Fort Vancouver and Fort Colvile copies of Joseph Tracy’s History of the American Board, bound volumes of The Missionary Herald, and copies of the American Almanac.9 In buying a library for Archibald McKinlay, there is little doubt that he was influenced by such a view as is expressed in the following statement, published in 1836: “There are said to be now on the trade lists in the United States more than 8,000 volumes, the larger portion of which are of fiction, or of injurious moral tendency. These volumes are prepared for and issued to please the public taste, depraved

8 “Rev. David Greene,” in The Missionary Herald (August, 1866), LXII, 225-230; General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1808-1908, (Boston, [1909?]), 89.

as it may be—not to correct it; they are sent forth to fire the wayward imagination of the young and infold them more strongly in the illusions of sin, not to direct their minds to heaven and save the soul.” With David Greene selecting books for them to read, the children of Archibald McKinlay were safe from such corrupting influence.

Although Archibald McKinlay’s library is interesting to the student of American intellectual history because it reveals an early cultural contact of Boston with the Oregon Country, it was by no means the first consignment of books shipped by agents of the American Board to the Pacific Northwest. Before 1845 books, periodicals, and newspapers had been sent by the Board to the several stations of the Oregon Mission, and Dr. Whitman and W. H. Gray had fallen out over the disposition of the medical books. After attending a brief course of medical lectures at Fairfield, New York, during the winter of 1837-38, Gray believed that he was in a fair way to become a physician, a word of whose spelling, however, he was never quite certain. But of Gray’s medical knowledge, Whitman’s opinion was considerably lower than Gray’s, and after the annual Report of the Board for 1838 had been received in Oregon, Whitman, in a letter to David Greene, expressed resentment that Gray had been named therein as physician and catechist to the mission. This personal difficulty is not, however, of much importance for the purpose of this paper. Of more significance is the fact that there were medical books at the service of the mission.

Besides the books in the possession of the several missionaries, there was a collection which formed a general library for the Oregon Mission of the American Board. According to W. H. Gray, in 1838, this was called the Columbia Mission Library. In later years it probably was known as the Oregon Mission Library. Apparently this library was at the Waiilatpu station. If so, it was destroyed or dispersed at the time of the massacre in 1847.

The American Board, moreover, was not the only agency by which books from the United States entered the Oregon Country. Before 1845, a considerable number had been sent to the Methodist Mission in Oregon. Whether the Catholic missionaries in Oregon obtained books from the United States before that year I am not pre-

pared to say. Doubtless a few books were carried overland to Oregon by emigrants from the United States before 1845. Before that year both the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society had begun to send their literature into the Pacific Northwest. Their principal object, however, was to effect a wide distribution of Bibles and of religious tracts. From these societies no one in Oregon before 1845 had obtained a considerable number of books.

A book census in Oregon at the beginning of 1845 would probably have revealed few volumes in the possession of any person (with the possible exception of Dr. John McLoughlin) not connected with a missionary enterprise. Up to this time the state of the country had not favored the accumulation of private libraries. The arrival of Archibald McKinlay’s books was, therefore, an interesting event. It is not improbable that in 1845 McKinlay’s was the largest private library of American origin in the Pacific Northwest.

J. Orin Oliphant.