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## ROBERT MOORE IN OREGON HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

The frontier has been a significant fact in American history. From the very beginning of colonial times the frontier existed, and the history of America, to a considerable extent, has been the story of resourceful men seeking larger economic opportunities and satisfaction for the adventurous spirit; of fearless frontiersmen driving their axes into primeval forests, blazing trails through woods inhabited only by savages and wild beasts, making their way across mountain ranges, following rivers from their sources to their outlets in larger bodies of water, and ultimately winning from savagery a new continent for the Anglo-Saxon people and prosperous homes for later generations. In these men the desire for new experiences overcame the desire for ease and security.

A new type of man was produced on the American frontier. Trained to the rigorous life of the wilderness, where the struggle for existence was a stern reality, the typical frontiersman grew restive under the restraints of civilization. As the country into which he first penetrated early in life became subdued, he continued his advances toward the setting sun. Thus it frequently happened that within the short space of a lifetime an American frontiersman would reside upon three or four frontiers. He kept moving steadily forward as a vanguard of civilization until death laid him low and he found a final resting place in the wilderness he loved so well. The frontiersman was the herald of an age to follow, one of the few who pointed the way.

A century ago the United States had little claim to the Oregon country. It is true that the Treaty of Ghent had restored whatever rights the Americans had acquired to this country by discovery, exploration and settlement before the War of 1812, and that, failing to effect a satisfactory arrangement with Great Britain with respect to a boundary in Oregon, the United States had, in 1818, entered into a treaty of "joint occupancy" with that coun-

<sup>1</sup> Authorities consulted in the preparation of this article have been cited in the footnotes. The writer wishes to take this occasion, however, to express his appreciation of the assistance given him by the following persons: Jessie Palmer Weber, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Society; Stella M. Drumm, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society; William R. Sandham, Wyoming, Ill.; George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society; Charles H. Carey, Portland; the Rev. Harry M. Painter, of Cheney, Wash., a great-grandson of Robert Moore; and Mrs. J. B. Davidson, of Ellensburg, a great-granddaughter of Robert Moore. Mrs. Davidson has made available to the present writer sundry family records and manuscripts. These have been designated in the notes as the "Davidson Mss."

try. But for a time the advantage apparently lay with the British. The warring British fur-trading companies had reached a *modus operandi* or union in 1821, and thereafter they began a systematic exploitation of the resources of the Pacific Northwest.<sup>2</sup> It was difficult for independent American traders to compete with such a powerful organization.

But Americans did come into the Oregon country, slowly at first, but later, following in the train of the missionaries, settlers pushed across the great plains and entered the valley of Oregon. By 1843, when the "Oregon Question" was beginning to assume large international importance, a steady stream of American settlers was flowing into the Willamette Valley to claim the country for the Stars and Stripes. In 1840 there had arrived in Oregon Robert Moore, a Pennsylvanian, a man who was already past the zenith of life and who was equipped with experiences acquired on two other frontiers. He was destined to play a considerable part in the early history of Oregon, to pass with it through the vicissitudes of a provisional government and through a territorial regime almost to the year of statehood before he was laid to rest in the soil of Oregon, hard by the falls of the Willamette.

Robert Moore was born of Scotch parentage in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, October 2, 1781. At the age of nineteen he moved with his parents to Mercer County, Pennsylvania, where, on April 18, 1805, he married Margaretta Clark, of his native county, who was born on March 8, 1783. They were the parents of ten children.

Robert Moore served in the American army during the War of 1812, and subsequently attained the rank of major in the Pennsylvania militia, a position which he held until 1822. He attained his majority just after the Jeffersonian democracy had supplanted the Federalist regime, and his first vote for president was cast for Thomas Jefferson in 1804. He was a firm supporter of Jefferson and his principles, and he cast his vote successively for Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams.<sup>3</sup>

In 1822 Robert Moore moved his family to St. Genevieve, Missouri, where for the following thirteen years he took an active part in the affairs of his community and of the State of Missouri. He served in the Sixth General Assembly of Missouri (1830-1832) as the representative of St. Genevieve County, and it is said that

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<sup>2</sup> In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Northwest Co. were united.

<sup>3</sup> *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857; Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, i., 237-238.

there he was an ardent supporter of the "free-state" doctrine.<sup>4</sup> During his residence in Missouri Robert Moore also became a close friend of Dr. Lewis F. Linn,<sup>5</sup> his family physician, who later spent ten years in the United States Senate as the colleague of Thomas Hart Benton, and who consistently labored in behalf of Oregon.

In the spring of 1835 Robert Moore migrated to Peoria, Illinois, and the following year he laid out the townsite of Osceola, in what is now Stark County. From a pioneer history of that region the following account of his activities of those years is taken:

"In December, 1835, a number of resolute men had pushed their way from Peoria to what has since been called Osceola Grove. Among them were James Buswell, Isaac Spencer, Thomas Watts, Giles C. Dana, Peter Pratt, and Dr. Pratt. They came out under the auspices of Major Robert Moore, who had obtained a map of the lands in township fourteen north, range six east, designating the patent and unentered lands; and he now encouraged emigration hither, with a view to building up a town, which he had surveyed and called Osceola. Major Moore was an intelligent, active business man, ever ready to take advantage of circumstances, and fond of adventure. He subsequently went to Oregon with one of the first parties that ever crossed the mountains, whither his family followed him some years after, with the exception of his youngest son, Robert Moore, Esq., who is at this date a resident of Toulon. But at the time of which this narrative treats Major Moore owned a ferry that crossed the river at Peoria, and to this he gave his personal supervision, and, as emigrants crossed, which they did frequently, he would take the opportunity to recommend the Osceola country to them. In this way probably originated the company he led there in 1835. Quoting Clifford's history in regard to this enterprise: "The parties above named were all from Vermont—which Saxe says is a good state to come from but a poor one to go to—except Moore, who was

<sup>4</sup> *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, 1913-14 (Jefferson City, 1914), 152; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Lewis F. Linn was born in Louisville, Kentucky, Nov. 5, 1795. Early in life he established himself as a physician in St. Genevieve, Mo. He was married in July, 1818. Dr. Linn soon built up an extensive practise in Missouri, and his services to the poor made him one of the best-loved men in that state. He spent ten years in the United States Senate as the colleague of Thomas Hart Benton. During those years Dr. Linn was much admired by his fellow senators and by other men in public life with whom he came in contact. He and Henry Clay were warm friends. During his senatorial career it appeared that Dr. Linn's first interest was in Missouri and his second interest Oregon. He was at all times a champion of the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. He died Oct. 3, 1843. Linn City and Linn County, Oregon, were named in his honor. See E. A. Linn and N. Sargent, *The Life and Public Services of Dr. Lewis F. Linn*, (New York, Appleton, 1857).

from one of the southern states,<sup>6</sup> and Day who was from Massachusetts. When these persons reached the Grove there was no one living there except Henry Seeley, who then had a cabin where he now lives, and Lewis Sturms'.<sup>7</sup>

Osceola has gone down in history as one of the "lost towns" of Stark County, Illinois. Like many of the boom towns of an early period, it failed to stand the test of time, but the enterprise is none the less interesting as an attempt at city-building on an American frontier.

On February 9, 1818, Daniel Crottnell, a veteran of the War of 1812, received from the United States a patent to the southwest quarter of section twelve of what is now Elmira township, Stark County, Illinois. During the next few years this quarter section passed through several hands, and on February 16, 1824, it was conveyed to "Major Robert Moore of St. Genevieve, Missouri, for \$100. The same piece of land was sold for taxes, for \$2.69, in 1834, to Thomas Ford, who was governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846. The tract was redeemed by Major Moore and reconveyed to him February 10, 1836.

"Some time in the early part of 1835 Major Moore came to this part of Illinois to view his land and to become the operator of a ferry on the Illinois River at Peoria. . . . With the assistance of the county surveyor of Putnam County, of which the land that is now Elmira township was then a part, [he] surveyed and platted a townsite on the foregoing described quarter section. He named it Osceola, after the Seminole warrior Osceola, the Indian leader in the Florida Indian War. There were four others, James C. Armstrong, Thomas J. Hurd, D. C. Enos, and Edward Dickenson, who were associated with Major Moore in the promotion and sale of lots in the new town. The new town as platted consisted of 48 blocks of 10 lots each, with a large 'Washington Square' in the center. The plat was dated July 7, 1836, and was recorded on page 278 in Book D, in the recorder's office in Hennepin, the county seat of Putnam County.

"The exalted hopes of Major Moore and his associates ended in disappointment, for the reason that the people who came to settle in this part of Illinois preferred to make their homes in and near the groves, a short distance west of the new town. . . .

"Major Moore sold all his interest in the Osceola townsite

<sup>6</sup> This is a mistake. Robert Moore was born in Pennsylvania. He lived in Missouri for several years, and perhaps the writer had this state in mind in saying that he came from a "southern state."

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. E. H. Shallenberger, *Stark County and Its Pioneers*, (Cambridge, Ill., 1876), 31.

and in the quarter section on which it was located, May 2, 1839, just two months after the county of Stark was created. His son, James Madison Moore, owned a half interest in the quarter section from February 25, 1841, to April 21, 1842. The record books in the recorder's office in Toulon show that the Osceola townsite was vacated by the owners, Isaac Spencer, Timothy Carter, and Oliver Whitaker. The vacating deed was filed for record July 16, 1845. . . . The quarter section on which was located the lost town of Osceola is now productive farm land."<sup>8</sup>

Major Moore had by this time heard the call of Oregon; and, although he was now reaching the age when many men begin to think of resting somewhat from their labors, he decided to set out for the "River of the West" as soon as the opportunity afforded. It was not long in coming. In the autumn of 1838 Jason Lee, a Methodist missionary stationed in the Willamette Valley, stopped in Illinois on a journey eastward and spoke on the Oregon country. Thrilled by his description of this wondrous land, a group of men organized the famous "Peoria Party," under the leadership of Thomas J. Farnham, to go forth and "take possession of Oregon."<sup>9</sup> Nineteen men composed this party, one of whom was Robert Moore.<sup>10</sup>

"This company was organized at Peoria, Illinois, early in 1839, and started on its western journey about the first of May. . . .

"It was organized on the community or common-stock principle, each one paying an equal proportion of the expenses and sharing alike in the gain or loss of the enterprise.

"Not one of these individuals had ever been farther west than St. Louis, or knew any of the hardships and dangers of the expe-

<sup>8</sup> William R. Sandham, "A Lost Stark County Town," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xlii, no. 1, 109-112. This article gives a satisfactory account of the founding of the town of Osceola and of the activities of Robert Moore in Illinois. The article was reprinted in the Wyoming (Illinois) *Post-Herald* of Sept. 21, 1921.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Shortess, "First Emigrants to Oregon," *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association* for 1896, p. 92 et seq. (This document was prepared many years ago by Robert Shortess, one of the party, and given by him to Mr. William Chance, late of Astoria, to whom the secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association is indebted for it.—George H. Hibes, secretary). See, also, *Farnham's Travels*, (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xxviii, xxix, Cleveland, Clark, 1906). In the library of the Oregon Historical Society is an interesting pamphlet, entitled "The Oregon Expedition of Obadiah Oakley." This is a reprint from the *Peoria Register*, and was published in New York in 1914. Unfortunately, the article from which the reprint was made is not dated, but it must have appeared not later than 1840. Oakley was a member of the Farnham party and traveled with Farnham as far as the Rocky Mountains, and then abandoned the enterprise and returned to Illinois. The pamphlet mentioned above says, p. 3: "Mr. Obadiah Oakley, one of the party who left Peoria in May for Oregon, returned home on Sunday last, having separated from his companions in the Rocky Mountains. From a conversation with him we have gathered the following outline of his journey and adventures."

<sup>10</sup> Robert Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 92. Obadiah Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 3, states that the company numbered 15 when it left Peoria, that another joined at Quincy, and two more at Independence, Mo. "The company, 18 in number, left Independence the 29th of May, on the Santa Fe road, which is a distinct wagon track."—*Ibid.*, p. 4. Farnham says they left May 30.—(Thwaites, xxviii, 52).

dition in which they had engaged. They were led by Thomas J. Farnham, and proceeded on their long and perilous journey toward the setting sun. Their outfit consisted of a circular tent, large enough to cover the entire party and their baggage, one two-horse wagon and team, a small stock of provisions, and \$100 for contingencies; besides, each had his riding animal and rifle, some of the latter carrying 120 balls to the pound. There were also several bowie knives, weighing from seven to nine pounds each. Their leader dubbed them Oregon dragoons, and they carried a flag, presented by Mrs. Farnham, bearing the motto, 'Oregon or the Grave'.<sup>11</sup>

A question has been raised whether Major Moore was a member of the "Peoria Party," or whether he set out from Peoria with another party in the same year that the Farnham party left. Bancroft, writing in 1886, maintained that Major Moore was a member of another party composed of eleven persons, which left Peoria in 1839.<sup>12</sup> Later research, however, appears to have established beyond doubt the fact that Moore was a member of the famous Farnham band.<sup>13</sup> All accounts agree that he arrived in Oregon in 1840.

Long before Farnham and his "dragoons" obtained even a Pisgah view of the promised land of Oregon the party fell on evil days. Dissensions arose and division followed. Some of the adventurers gave up the idea of conquering Oregon and returned to the United States, others went to New Mexico, while some who desired to continue the journey to Oregon refused to travel any

<sup>11</sup> Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 93; *Farnham's Travels*, (Thwaites, xxviii), preface and chapter i. For one contemporary account, see *Niles' Register*, lvi, 208, which reads: "We learn from the *Peoria (Illinois) Register* of the 4th inst. that a party of 12 young men left that place on the 1st, bound for Oregon. Upon reaching the Columbia, the party will proceed to take possession, as American citizens, of the most eligible points, and make settlements. These claims (to use a pioneer phrase) will be held in common by the whole company until the title is recognized by the United States. Should any of the party, however, previously become dissatisfied, he will be at liberty to leave, but his interest in the possession thus claimed will be forfeited." Then follows a table showing the equipment of the party. Another contemporary account reads as follows: "One mule, which belonged to the party in common, carried their tent, two kegs of powder, and a few other articles. The other mules, of which each member, for the most part, owned one, carried the provisions, clothing and other property of each. The provisions amounted to 200 pounds of flour and 150 pounds of bacon, besides sugar, coffee, tea, and minor groceries. Upon their riding horses they carried their rifles, blankets, and some extra clothing."—*The Oregon Expedition of Obadiah Oakley*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, ii, chap. xlv. Clarke states that in 1880 he took notes for this chapter from Joseph Holman, a member of the Peoria party. He includes the name of Robert Moore. See Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 92, and Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

longer under the leadership of Farnham.<sup>14</sup> Among the dissenters was Robert Moore, who spent the winter at Fort St. Vrain and arrived in Oregon the following year. He took up a claim near the falls, on the west bank of the Willamette River.<sup>15</sup> He obtained a title to his claim from an old Indian chief.

"Major Moore bought his land on the west side of the river, from old Chief Wanaxka, and I once saw the deed to this purchase, but did not then realize its historic value. It was signed 'Wanaxka X Mark.' Major Moore had a piece of land a mile square up and down the Willamette, exactly opposite where Oregon City now stands. But his wife never came out here; she died, so the major had to give up half his claim.<sup>16</sup> Opposite Major Moore's claim, on the east side of the river, Dr. McLoughlin had his claim of 640 acres, a mile up and down the falls."<sup>17</sup>

"Robert Moore built his home, 'Robin's Nest,' on a steep hillside directly overlooking the falls of the Willamette. The 'Robin's Nest' was a log cabin, long since destroyed, but historic for many things."<sup>18</sup>

Commodore Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, who visited the Willamette Valley in 1841, reported several conversations which he had with Major Moore, in the course of which Major Moore informed the commodore

<sup>14</sup> Shortess, *op. cit.*, *passim*. "The Peoria Register furnishes the following account of the finale of the expedition which set out from that country for the mouth of the Oregon: *Finale of the Oregon Expedition*. A letter has recently been received by Mr. Burhans, of Tazewell County, from Capt. Thomas J. Farnham, leader of the party of fourteen Peorians who set out a year ago for Oregon, written at one of the Sandwich Islands, in January last. Our latest previous advices from Captain F. left him at Brown's Hole, in the Rocky Mountains, with only one of his Peoria companions, waiting to fall in with some company bound to the Columbia River. Though in this letter he does not mention the fact, yet it is presumed he did fall in with such a company, and that he prosecuted his journey with them. He now states that in every respect the country has been overrated; that, excepting the valley of the Willamette—the seat of the Methodist Mission—no portion of the territory through which he passed presents anything attractive, or offers any inducements to farmers, or any other class of immigrants. In a word, all the unfavorable representations that were made to him by returned travelers whom he met on the journey, and to which he then lent an incredulous ear, were abundantly realized."—*Niles' Register*, lviii, 242, (June 20, 1840).

Bitter feelings developed among the members of this party soon after they left Independence. The hardships of the journey broke down the crusading spirit, and it must have been apparent to all within a short time that, in attempting to "Conquer Oregon," they were tilting at a windmill. Perhaps the bitterness of felling which soon developed was occasioned by disillusionment. At any rate, it seemed difficult for one member of the party to say anything good about another. Oakley makes a serious accusation against Robert Moore and Robert Shortess, and declares that their withdrawal from the party was an occasion for rejoicing on the part of several other members.

<sup>15</sup> Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 105; *Davidson Mss.*; *Palmer's Journal*, (Thwaites, xxx), 163, note.

<sup>16</sup> "Mrs. Moore died at the home of her son in St. Louis before the new home in Oregon was ready for occupancy."—Sandham, *op. cit.*, p. 112. According to the *Davidson Mss.*, the date of her death was Oct. 7, 1848. The *Oregon Spectator* of December 23, 1851, contains the following notice of the second marriage of Robert Moore: "Married—At Portland, on the 18th inst., by Rev. J. H. Wilbur, Mr. Robert Moore, proprietor of Linn City, and Mrs. Jane Apperson, of Portland." Mrs. Moore died Feb. 28, 1859.

<sup>17</sup> Letter of Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, of Oregon City, to Vera Josephine Maxwell, of Ellensburg, Wash., May 26, 1917.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

that he had purchased his land from an Indian chief. Wilkes wrote in his journal that some doubt was entertained whether such titles would be recognized by the United States government.<sup>19</sup>

Excerpts from the report of Commodore Wilkes give some notion of Major Moore's plans and of his confidence in the future of Oregon, as well as Wilkes's opinion thereon. In one of his descriptive passages Wilkes remarks:

"The rocks here change their character within a few miles. Much volcanic scoria, vesicular lava, and pudding stone, intermingled with blocks of trap, and many crystals of quartz, occur. My attention has been called to this particularly by old Mr. Moore, who had set up his claim to the west side of the falls, communicating to me in confidence that he intended to erect furnaces for smelting iron, etc. Although I saw the old man some time afterwards, and told him of his mistake, he would not believe that he had been in error."<sup>20</sup>

Wilkes's estimate of Major Moore's ability was summed up in these words:

"Old Moore had some shrewdness, and was exceedingly talkative; he possessed much information in relation to the country he had passed through, which I found to correspond to what I have since received from other sources. He had crossed the mountains the year before, and found no difficulty in making the trip. He intends to return and bring out his family being of [the] opinion that the country is a fine one, and exceedingly healthy, and that it will compare well with the lands of Missouri and Illinois."<sup>21</sup>

Only a few weeks elapsed after his arrival in Oregon before Robert Moore began to take a part in the political activities which gives him his place in Oregon history. Ewing Young died in the late winter of 1840-41, possessed of a considerable fortune. So far as his neighbors in the Willamette Valley were aware, he had died without heirs. The disposition of his estate, therefore, became a matter of concern to the American settlers and set in motion a train of events which culminated in the establishment of a unique political organization in Oregon.

At the funeral of Ewing Young a call was issued for a public meeting of the settlers of the Willamette Valley to take steps to

<sup>19</sup> Charles Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, iv, 344, (New York, Putnam, 1856).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

ward the settlement of the estate. Turning now to the *Oregon Archives*,<sup>22</sup> we read that, at a public meeting held on February 17, 1841, it was

“Resolved—That it be recommended that there be a committee of seven elected for the purpose of drafting a constitution and code of laws for the government of the settlements south of the Columbia River.”

“It was then

“Resolved—That all settlers, north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws, on making application to that effect.”

The meeting then adjourned until the following day.

February 18, 1841, “at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Willamette Valley, at the American Mission House, . . . doings of the previous meeting were presented to the assembly, and were accepted, in part, viz.:

“That a committee be chosen for framing a constitution, and drafting a code of laws; and that the following persons compose the committee, to wit:

“Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Jason Lee, David Donpierre, Gustavus Hines, Mr. Charlevon, Robert Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucie, and William Johnson.”<sup>23</sup>

“J. L. Babcock was appointed to fill the office of supreme judge, with probate powers. . . .

“Resolved—That, until a code of laws be adopted by this community, Dr. Babcock be instructed to act according to the laws of the State of New York.”<sup>24</sup>

22 Lafayette Grover, *The Oregon Archives*, (Salem, 1853), 5, 6.

23 “The only one of the number who had any practical knowledge of legislation was Moore, and most of the others were probably ignorant of even the theory of the law.”—Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

24 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 6. W. H. Gray affirms that Ira L. Babcock (This name is written J. L. Babcock in *Oregon Archives*, but this is probably a typographical error) was instructed to act *just as he pleased*. “I query whether there was a single copy of the laws of that state [New York] in the country for ten years after the last resolution was passed. I know there was none at the time, and only a single copy of the laws of Iowa two years after; hence, Ira L. Babcock was lawmaker, judge, and executive to the settlement, just as much so as John McLoughlin was to the Hudson’s Bay Company.”—W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon*, (New York, American News Co., 1870), 201. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 294, quotes Hines’s *History of Oregon*, 419, to the effect that there was one copy of the New York laws in Oregon at that time. J. Quinn Thornton, “History of the Provisional Government of Oregon,” *Constitution and Quotations From the Register of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, (Salem, 1875), 55, makes the following statement, which does not agree with those quoted above: “They [the people of Oregon] were also without law books, excepting one copy of the Iowa Statutes, to which to refer for assistance in framing laws, and they had not a press on which to print them when enacted.” “There was not, so far as has ever been disclosed, a copy of the New York Statutes in the territory.”—Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, 1, 383, note, (Chicago, Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1922).

Both Gray and Thornton declare that Robert Moore was appointed a justice of the peace at this meeting, but there is no record of such appointment in the *Oregon Archives*.

The meeting adjourned, to reassemble the first Tuesday in June, at the New Building, near the Catholic Church.<sup>25</sup>

When the adjourned meeting was called to order on June 1 it was found that the committee had prepared no report, for the chairman of the committee, the Rev. F. N. Blanchet, had failed to call a meeting of his committee. The resignation of the committee chairman was accepted at this meeting, and Dr. William J. Bailey was appointed in his stead. The reorganized committee was instructed to hold a meeting the first Monday in August (1841) and to report to an adjourned meeting of the body of citizens, at the American Mission House, the first Tuesday in October, at eleven o'clock. Before adjournment was voted, the committee was instructed to confer with Dr. McLoughlin and Commodore Wilkes regarding the feasibility of organizing a government.<sup>26</sup>

Wilkes opposed the adoption of any laws at this time, and asserted that he "differed with them entirely as to the necessity or policy of adopting the change."<sup>27</sup> This rebuff, coming from an official representative of the United States government, could not fail to produce an effect. The meeting which had been called for the first Tuesday in October was not held.<sup>28</sup>

Keen disappointment at the failure to organize a government was felt in several quarters, and the agitation for a government of some sort would not "down." It became a subject of debate and general conversation wherever settlers in the Willamette Valley came together.<sup>29</sup> In the *Oregon Archives*, however, we encounter no further records until February 2, 1843, at which time a meeting of settlers was held at the Oregon Institute to consider measures for protecting their herds from predatory animals. A committee of six was appointed to "notify a general meeting" to be held at the house of Joseph Gervais on the first Monday in March.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 201, says that the meeting was to be held the first Thursday in June, but the *Oregon Archives*, 6, shows that the meeting was held on the first Tuesday in June.

<sup>26</sup> Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Cf. Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxvii.

<sup>27</sup> Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 352. "I therefore could not avoid drawing their attention to the fact, that after all the various officers they proposed making were appointed, there would be no subjects for the law to deal with. I further advised them to wait until the government of the United States should throw its mantle over them. These views, I was afterwards told, determined a postponement of their intentions."—*Ibid.*, p. 353. Cf. Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Gray reported that it was the opinion of the settlers that Wilkes "understood and tasted the qualities of Dr. McLoughlin's herons," and that his heart was turned toward the Hudson's Bay Company.—*Op. cit.*, p. 204. Substantially the same report is made by Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 56. But, although Thornton recorded this as the opinion of many, he was himself persuaded that the real cause of Wilkes's opposition was founded upon the belief that the settlers in the Willamette Valley were financially unable to support a government. "The people were few in number," he continued, "greatly reduced in their pecuniary circumstances, occupying portions of the country remote from each other; they were engaged in felling forests, cultivating fields, and in other ways giving their utmost attention to supplying their most pressing wants."—*Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>29</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii; Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

This meeting was held, pursuant to the call, on March 1, and considerable business growing out of the original purpose of the meeting was transacted. Then affairs took a new turn. Before adjournment a resolution was carried to authorize the appointment of a committee of twelve persons "to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."<sup>31</sup> The committee was appointed, W. H. Gray<sup>32</sup> being a member, and the report of this committee, which was the acceptance of a form of provisional government, was submitted at a mass meeting held Champoeg<sup>33</sup> on May 2, 1843. And of that meeting this brief though meaningful record has been preserved:

"At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette settlements, held in accordance with the call of the committee, chosen at a former meeting, for the purpose of taking steps to organize themselves into a civil community, and provide themselves with the protection secured by the enforcement of law and order,

"Dr. J. L. Babcock was chosen chairman, and Messrs. Gray, Le Breton and Willson secretaries. The committee made their report, which was read, and a motion was made that it be accepted, which was lost. Considerable confusion existing in consequence, it was moved by Mr. Le Breton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted; those in favor of the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a great majority being found in favor of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew."<sup>34</sup>

Gray affirms, in his *History of Oregon*,<sup>35</sup> that the vote stood "fifty-two for and fifty against," and exhaustive researches direct-

31 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11; Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

32 W. H. Gray, whose *History of Oregon* has been frequently cited in this article, was born in New York in 1810. He came to Oregon in 1836. Although his *History of Oregon* has been condemned by several writers, it can not be altogether ignored, for he was an eye witness of many of the events which he described. Gray died in Oregon in 1889. For a sketch of his life, see Joseph Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon*, iii, 574, (Chicago, Clarke, 1912).

33 In the early records this place is called "Champoock," but the name did not persist. "Cham-poo-eg—not Cham-poo-ey—was the site of an Indian village for many years prior to the arrival of white men. This was the first point on the Wil-lam-ette River south of its confluence with the Columbia where the prairie extended to it. Consequently, when Dr. John McLaughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, made it an object for the French Canadians to begin raising wheat in the Willamette Valley—that was about 1830, near the present town of Gervais—he built a small warehouse at Champoeg in which to store the grain from year to year for shipment by canoe or bateau to Oregon City. Under the conditions then existing Champoeg was the center of population in the Willamette Valley, and the most convenient place to reach on May 2, 1843."—*Souvenir of the Eighty-first Anniversary of the Organization of the First American Civil Government West of the Rocky Mountains, etc.*, (Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1924).

34 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. For the part taken by Joseph L. Meek in this proceeding, see Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxvi.

35 Page 279.

ed by George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, have confirmed this statement. Mr. Himes's tabulation showing the names of those who voted for the adoption of the report of the committee at the Champoeg meeting has been published in several of the more recent books on Oregon history. Among the names of the fifty-two who favored the adoption of this committee report one finds the name of Robert Moore.<sup>36</sup>

The adoption of the report of the committee did not end the work of the Champoeg meeting. Officers were chosen for sundry civil positions, and a legislative committee of nine was appointed to draw up a plan of government to be submitted to a meeting of the settlers to be held at Champoeg on July 5.<sup>37</sup> The members of this legislative committee were as follows:

Robert Moore, William H. Gray, David Hill, Robert Shortess, Alanson Beers, T. J. Hubbard, James A. O'Neil, Robert Newell, and William M. Doughty.<sup>38</sup>

"Few of them had any experience in legislation, and few books on law existed in the country. Moore, the chairman, and Shortess were better informed than their colleagues, though Gray, Newell, Hill, and O'Neil were active in suggesting what ought to be done."<sup>39</sup>

The legislative committee spent six days compiling its report. It met for the first time at Willamette on May 16, 1843. Robert Moore was chosen chairman and G. W. Le Breton secretary.<sup>40</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> Snowden, *History of Washington*, ii, 274-275, note; Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon*, i, 175-177.

<sup>37</sup> Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> In the *Oregon Archives* this name is written Dougherty, and this spelling has been adopted by Gray. George H. Himes, however, has demonstrated that Doughty is the correct name, and later writers on Oregon history have made the correction. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 304, wrote William M. Doty.

The following facts pertaining to this committee, which were collected by Mr. Himes, were published in Gaston's *Centennial History of Oregon*, i, 175-177:

Name	Place of Birth	Church	Arrived in Oregon
Robert Moore	Pennsylvania	Presbyterian	1840
William H. Gray	New York	Presbyterian	1836
David Hill	Connecticut	Congregational	1842
Robert Shortess	Pennsylvania	Methodist	1840
Alanson Beers	Connecticut	Methodist	1837
T. J. Hubbard	Massachusetts	Unknown	1834
James O'Neil	New York	Methodist	1834
Robert Newell	Ohio	Episcopalian	1840
William M. Doughty	North Carolina	No choice	1841

Carey, in his *History of Oregon*, i, 381, note, mentions the forthcoming work by Leslie Scott, *History of the Oregon Country*, as one which will contain biographical sketches of these men. This work was not available to the present writer.

For a sketch of the life of Robert Newell, see T. C. Elliott, *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, ix, 103, and for a sketch of the life of Gray, see Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon*, iii, 574. For a complete list of the names of the 52 men who voted in favor of the organization of the provisional government on May 2, 1843, see the pamphlet cited in note 33, above. In this pamphlet will also be found the names of the 50 who voted against the proposition.

<sup>39</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 305

<sup>40</sup> Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

chairmanship of this committee was an honor which rightly belonged to Robert Moore. Not only was he the eldest of the group, but he had served in the Missouri Assembly more than a decade before, and the ways of law-making were not altogether new to him. Under his direction special committees were appointed, and the deliberations were continued through May 16, 17, 18, 19 and June 27 and 28. A copy of the Iowa Statutes, with which was bound a copy of the Ordinance of 1787, furnished a guide for the work of this important committee.<sup>41</sup>

"The Methodist Mission furnished without charge the use of their granary at the old mission, as the first council chamber on this western coast. This building was a frame, some sixteen by thirty feet, one and a half stories high, boards upright, with one square room in front, and the balance used for a granary, from which it derived its name; the upper part was for storing and sleeping use. The square room was used for schoolhouse and church, and now for a legislative hall.

"We will enter this hall and introduce you to an old gray-headed man with a fair complexion, bald head, light eye, full face, frequent spasmodic nodding forward of the head, and a large amount of self-importance, not very large intellectual developments, with a superabundance of flesh, sitting by a square-legged table or stand, in a chair with square posts, and strips of rawhide for bottom; dressed in fustian pants, large blue vest, and striped shirt, and a common brown coat, who, on motion of Mr. Hill, was chosen speaker of the House, and hereafter will be known in our history as Hon. Robert Moore, Esq."<sup>42</sup>

A later writer on Oregon history has given the following account of this celebrated committee:

"The composition of the pioneer legislative committee here chosen is worthy of especial consideration. Its members were David Hill, Robert Shortess, William H. Gray, Dr. Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, Thomas J. Hubbard, James O'Neal,<sup>43</sup> Robert Moore, and William M. Doughty. The last [first] mentioned was a native of Connecticut, who had arrived in the territory in 1842, and who represented the new settlers. Shortess, a member of Farnham's Peoria party, who had come in 1840, was a man of considerable attainments, widely read, and then generally regarded

41 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22; Carey, *History of Oregon*, i, 381, states that O'Neil had a copy of the Iowa Statutes. A specific reference to the Laws of Iowa for 1838-39 may be found in the official records of the committee meetings.—Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

42 Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

43 This name is generally written O'Neil.

as an American extremist. During the year 1843 he became active in having drafted and circulated a petition to Congress praying for extension of the authority of the United States over the new territory, in which the Hudson's Bay Company and Dr. John McLoughlin were denounced, and the condition of the colony was depicted as desperate and the peril from encroachment of the British interests extreme. Dr. Robert Newell was a Rocky Mountain trapper who had seen service with Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, and had brought the first wagon from Fort Hall to the Willamette Valley. Beers was a blacksmith, a lay member of the first reenforcement of Methodists sent to Jason Lee in 1837. Hubbard, a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's second expedition in 1834, had been a leader in the community and had organized a cattle company, the second in the Willamette Valley, the agents of which had narrowly escaped massacre by the Rogue River Indians in an attempt to reach California overland in 1840. O'Neal, also of Wyeth's party of 1834, was one of those who had aided in driving to Oregon the cattle bought in California by Ewing Young. Moore, a Pennsylvanian, had served in the War of 1812. He afterward founded Linn City, on the west bank of the Willamette River, nearly opposite Oregon City. William Doughty, formerly a free trapper, had arrived in the Willamette Valley in 1841. Such was the legislative committee, and, as was to have been expected, the committee was strongly American in its national inclinations."<sup>44</sup>

In brief outline the progress of the legislative committee, day by day, is recorded in the *Oregon Archives*. To repeat the details in this connection is unnecessary. Certain tendencies, however, should be noticed, for, in a sense, they show a recapitulation of American colonial experiences. Suspicion of a strong executive found vent in the creation of an executive committee of three. Likewise the tendency to imitate the documents which had set forth governing principles in territories previously organized was noticeable. Reports were brought in on the judiciary, militia law, land claims, districts, and ways and means. Taxes were not to be levied, as the expenses of government were to be paid by private subscriptions. But more noticeable than anything else was the declaration in the preamble to the judiciary report that this form of government was to prevail until "the United States should extend its jurisdiction over the Oregon country." A committee of three persons was to be appointed to draw up a digest of the doings of the people of the territory with regard to a poli-

<sup>44</sup> Carey, *History of Oregon*, i, 380-381.

tical organization and to transmit the same to the United States government for its information.<sup>45</sup> Should one wonder that officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, or other persons then resident in Oregon who hoped ultimately to see the Union Jack waving over the entrance to the Columbia River, were not overly enthusiastic in supporting the agitation for the organization of a government in the Willamette Valley?

The report of the legislative committee was submitted by Robert Moore to the settlers on July 5, 1843, and adopted.<sup>46</sup> For the purpose of showing how the ordinance drawn up for the government of the Old Northwest became a sort of *magna charta*<sup>47</sup> for the New Northwest, a comparison of these two documents should be made. Section one of the judiciary report, with unimportant modifications, is identical with articles one, two, three and six of the Ordinance of 1787, wherein slavery is prohibited and the fundamental rights of citizenship in an Anglo-Saxon state are guaranteed.

Robert Moore and his associates, in thus paving the way for the insertion subsequently of these provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 in the Oregon Territorial Act of August 14, 1848,<sup>48</sup> re-wrote a chapter in human freedom on the Pacific Coast. Although it is improbable that slavery would ever have found root in Oregon, it is none the less significant that these men were determined to write into their organic law the guaranties of personal freedom which had been evolved by Anglo-Saxon forebears in preceding centuries. It detracts nothing from their labors that they re-acted rather than created a document which will live forever in American history. They might have passed it by. The signature of Robert

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45 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

47 Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 66, refers to the first section of the organic law as the *magna charta* of the people of Oregon. "In the fifth [fourth] article of this section it was provided that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in Oregon, otherwise than for the punishment of persons duly convicted of crimes. . . . And it was in deference to the will of the people thus expressed, as well as because of my own convictions on the subject of human rights, that when in Washington City in 1848, representing the people and Provisional Government of Oregon, I incorporated this provision in the Act of Congress of August 14, 1848, when I drafted the bill for the establishment of a Territorial Government in Oregon, and for other purposes." Extracts from the journal of the legislative committee of the provisional government for June, 1844, show the attitude of that body on the question of slavery. June 25, 1844, "the rules were suspended for the special purpose of allowing Mr. Burnett to introduce a bill for the prevention of slavery in Oregon, without giving previous notice."—Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 47. June 26, 1844, "the bill to prevent slavery in Oregon, and for other purposes, was read a third time, and, on the question, shall the bill pass? the yeas and nays were demanded, when the vote stood: yeas—Messrs. Burnett, Gilmore, Keizer, Waldo, Newell, and Mr. Speaker [M. M. McCarver]—6. Nays—Messrs. Lovejoy and Hill—2. So the bill passed."—*Ibid.*, p. 51. See section 14 of "An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon," approved August 14, 1848, (*Laws of Oregon*, 1874, p. 59).

48 Compare the Ordinance of 1787 with the organic law of Oregon and with the act

Moore to this document will forever insure him an honored place in Oregon history.

The official journal of the meeting of July 5 records that at this time Robert Moore was elected a justice of the peace.<sup>49</sup>

After the adoption of the plan of provisional government it appears that Robert Moore began to retire from active participation in the public affairs of Oregon and to devote all of his time to his private affairs. Rarely does his name appear in the legislative journals after 1843. On June 20, 1844, A. L. Lovejoy presented to the legislature a petition from Robert Moore, and others, praying permission to establish a ferry at the Willamette Falls. The petition was referred to the committee on roads. Two days later Mr. Gilmore gave notice that, on the Monday following, he would ask leave to introduce a bill to authorize Robert Moore to keep a ferry at the Willamette Falls. On June 26 this bill was read a third time and passed.<sup>50</sup> At a subsequent session of the legislature, December 24, 1844, the legislative journal shows that Mr. Burnett presented a petition from Robert Moore asking for an increase of ferriage toll.<sup>51</sup>

Meantime Major Moore had founded Linn City, on the west bank of the Willamette, and he was desirous of making it "the city" of the Willamette Valley.<sup>52</sup> In December, 1844, "it consisted of two log buildings and many tents, wherein the emigrants of 1844 made their headquarters."<sup>53</sup> Some few months later a traveler to Oregon gave the following description of Major Moore's city:

"Upon the west side of the Willamette, and opposite to Oregon City, are laid out two villages; the upper one is called Linn City, in honor of the late senator from Missouri, whose memory, for his patriotic services in the cause of the Oregon emigrant, is held in high esteem by every true friend of his country and of humanity. When Dr. Linn died the friends of Oregon lost a champion who would not have shamelessly deserted them in the hour of need. Mr. Moore, late of Missouri, is the proprietor; his claim commences one-fourth of a mile below the falls, extends above the falls one and three-fourths of a mile, and back from the river one-half of a mile. When I left there were about fifteen buildings in this village, inhabited mostly by mechanics. The proprietor

49 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

50 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 44, 51.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

52 Letter of H. M. Painter, of Cheney, to the present writer, Jan. 3, 1924.

53 *Palmer's Journal*, (Thwaites, xxx, 162, note).

had refused to sell water power, which was doubtless one of the reasons why more emigrants did not settle in it."<sup>54</sup>

Doubtless with a view to promoting his business interests, Major Moore, on April 18, 1850, became the owner of the *Oregon Spectator*, of Oregon City, the first American newspaper published west of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>55</sup> The first issue of *The Spectator* appeared on February 5, 1846. In the beginning it was a four-column, four-page, semi-monthly newspaper.<sup>56</sup> Five editors had directed, or attempted to direct, this newspaper before Major Moore became the proprietor. Among these editors was George L. Curry, who subsequently became governor of Oregon Territory. On September 12, 1850, *The Spectator* was first issued weekly, with D. J. Schnebly as editor, and the subscription price was increased to \$7 per annum.<sup>57</sup>

According to George H. Himes, Mr. Schnebly became owner of *The Spectator*, beginning with vol. vi, no. i, on September 9, 1851.<sup>58</sup> Although this date does not correspond with the date on the certificate of transfer which is given below, it is correct. It is presumed that the certificate of transfer was not made out until some time after the plant was turned over to Mr. Schnebly. The original certificate, in the handwriting of Major Moore, is now in the possession of Mrs. J. B. Davidson, of Ellensburg, a great-granddaughter of the major. From the original Mrs. Davidson made the following copy for the present writer:

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>55</sup> George H. Himes, "History of the Press of Oregon, 1839-1850," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, iii, 354 et seq.

<sup>56</sup> While preparing this article I have had the use of three copies of the *Oregon Spectator*, one a fac-simile of a copy of the first issue, and the other two original copies of the issues of June 19 and July 10, 1851. These papers belong to Mrs. J. B. Davidson of Ellensburg. In June of this year I also had the privilege of examining files of *The Spectator* in the library of the Oregon Historical Society.

The editor of the *United States Gazette*, on receiving a file of the *Oregon Spectator* in the summer of 1846, made the following comment: "The progressiveness of our people receives nowhere so strong a proof as in the west, where the transition from the sparse and rude settlements to populous and well ordered communities, and from the uncivilized and roving settler to the steady and law-governed citizen, is rapid. The upstarting of communities as if by magic, the disappearance of the forest and the appearance of villages, the incoming of law and order, where but a few years ago there was no rule and the Indian held undisputed possession, are subjects for grateful contemplation, and in each new body of citizens, which our government gathers under its protecting wings, upon its own proper territory, there is another guarantee for the continuance of our institutions. Oregon is coming up to the position of our advanced civilization very rapidly. It has a provisional government formed to meet the exigencies of her position, and Oregon City is a thriving place, with all the elements of great future prosperity about it. Among these is its newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*, a very well conducted sheet, the publication of which has recently been commenced there."—*Niles' Register*, lxx, 340, (August 1, 1846).

<sup>57</sup> Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 355. David J. Schnebly began his newspaper career in Mercersburg, Penn., and before coming to Oregon he worked at his profession in Peoria, Ill. Mr. Schnebly was employed for about a year by Robert Moore to edit *The Spectator*, and after Mr. Schnebly's marriage to Mr. Moore's granddaughter the paper came into his possession. Mr. Schnebly moved with his family to Washington Territory in 1861 and settled near Walla Walla, where he engaged in the stock business. The family moved to Ellensburg in 1883, and on July 12 of that year Mr. Schnebly started the *Ellensburg Localizer*. He continued to edit this paper until he retired in 1896.—*Davidson Mss.* See, also, *Sixth Annual Proceedings of the Washington State Press Association for 1892*, (Hoquiam, 1893), 12-13.

<sup>58</sup> Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 356. Mr. Himes and I verified this date on June 10, 1924.

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Robert Moore, being owner of *The Spectator* office with all its appurtenances, do, for the love I bear my daughter, Jean Painter, and one dollar in hand paid, the receipt hereof is hereby acknowledged, assign all my right, title and interest to the above *Spectator* office and appurtenances to her to have and to hold to her own use and benefit forever. This 15th day of December, A. D. 1851. Robert Moore."

*The Spectator* was given to Margaretta Painter, a granddaughter of Robert Moore, on her marriage to David J. Schnebly.<sup>59</sup> This transaction is shown by the following endorsement on the back of the certificate of transfer quoted above: "Linn City, February 2, 1852. I, Jean Painter, assign to my daughter, Margaretta A. Schnebly, nee Painter, all my right, title and interest to *The Spectator* office to have and to hold forever in her own name and right. Jean Painter."

Soon after Mr. Schnebly became the owner *The Spectator* entered upon troubled times. "On March 16, 1852, it was suspended, and did not resume business until August 19, 1853. After this date the paper was not well supported, and gradually it grew weaker and weaker, and finally was sold by Mr. Schnebly to C. L. Goodrich, late in 1854, and was permanently suspended in March, 1855."<sup>60</sup>

On August 9, 1919, under the auspices of the National Editorial Association, a bronze tablet was unveiled at Oregon City, on the site where *The Spectator* was first issued.<sup>61</sup> "The ceremony at Oregon City was an impressive one, editors from all sections of the United States being present at the unveiling of the monument dedicated to an Oregon newspaper which began publication more than seventy years ago. . . . At the ceremony Aaron Wait, grandson of Aaron E. Wait, fourth editor of the newspaper, unveiled the monument, assisted by Mrs. Guy U. Hardy, of Canon City, Colorado, wife of the president of the National Editorial Association."<sup>62</sup>

It was fitting that on this occasion the principal address should be given by the venerable George H. Himes, a pioneer newspaper man of Washington and Oregon. In the course of his address Mr. Himes said:

"At the time *The Spectator* was started the difficulties confronting such an enterprise were very great. Then Oregon City

<sup>59</sup> *Davidson Mss.*

<sup>60</sup> Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 575, note.

<sup>61</sup> *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, xx, 297-300.

<sup>62</sup> *Oregonian*, August 10, 1919.

had a population of less than five hundred. The total population of the 'Oregon Country'—meaning the area now constituting the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and the parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains—did not exceed two thousand. The total voting population on June 3, 1845, was five hundred and four. Yet the citizens in and around Oregon City determined to have a newspaper. A subscription paper was prepared that year and enough pledges at ten dollars a share were secured to aggregate approximately \$1200. That sum was entrusted to Gov. George Abernethy and forwarded to New York; and through him a hand press, type, cases and other items needed in a printing plant, including a supply of paper, were purchased and sent to Oregon City *via* Cape Horn in a sailing vessel. Arrangements were made with John Fleming, a printer from Ohio, who came across the plains to Oregon City in 1844, to do the printing. The size of the paper was 11½ by 15½ inches, with four pages of four columns each, and it was issued twice a month at \$5.00 a year. Beginning with September 12, 1850, the paper was issued weekly with D. J. Schnebly as editor, and the subscription price was raised to \$7.00 a year."<sup>63</sup>

Although nearly seventy years old when he bought *The Spectator*, and entering the twilight of an adventurous career, Major Moore was still actively engaged in the task of developing his water power site on the Willamette River. In *The Spectator* of June 19, 1851, the following advertisement appeared over his signature:

"The undersigned, being proprietor of one of the finest water powers in the world, would propose to have the same developed. The wants of the country seem to demand a speedy completion of the said improvements in the erection of flouring mills, and almost all kinds of machinery that can be propelled by water; and the water privileges being so extensive, the undersigned would propose to capitalists that he is desirous of making arrangements for having said water brought into immediate use, and will offer such inducements to those desirous of engaging in such an enterprise, that they cannot fail to meet their views. Said water power is situated at the great falls of the Willamette. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that as to location it is perhaps the finest in the world, being at the great outlet to all the farming country of the great valley of the Willamette. Call on the undersigned."

<sup>63</sup> *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, xx, 297.

But misfortune attended Major Moore in his efforts to build up Linn City. It is stated by the Rev. Harry M. Painter, of Cheney, a great-grandson of Robert Moore, that, in carrying out his ambitious plan to make Linn City "the city," Major Moore built a warehouse above the falls and one below. "Likewise he constructed a breakwater at the falls so ships could unload and cargoes be transferred to the lower warehouse and be there loaded into boats again. He had two steamers above the falls. Linn City at this time was threatening the supremacy of Oregon City."<sup>64</sup>

It appears that Major Moore's steamers and wharves were destroyed, and that he believed their destruction was instigated by unfriendly rivals in Oregon City.<sup>65</sup> This, however, has been preserved merely as a family tradition and has not as yet been substantiated by more conclusive evidence. It is a matter of record, however, that Linn City suffered in a flood in 1853,<sup>66</sup> and perhaps the beginning of the disastrous end of Robert Moore's attempt at city-building in Oregon dates from this occurrence. The present writer is not aware of any complete study which has been made of the founding of Linn City.

More than eighty years have passed by since Robert Moore labored with his colleagues in the old mission house to construct the foundations of the government of Oregon. From the vantage ground of historic perspective it is now possible to evaluate with some degree of fairness their labors. And the judgment of this generation, without doubt, must be that they wrought well. Of the character of Robert Moore little need be said. His labors speak in his behalf. He was not a man who attracted others to him, and he was punished by contemporary neglect. A dour Scotsman,<sup>67</sup> both the good and the bad qualities of that race were his. He was irascible, opinionated, eccentric. Brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he insisted upon remaining a Presbyterian to the end. When the church with which he had affiliated in Oregon City was changed from the "Presbyterian Church of Willamette Falls" to a Congregational church, Major Moore withdrew, or-

<sup>64</sup> Letter of H. M. Painter, Jan. 3, 1924.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Of the Willamette flood of 1853 the *New York Tribune*, citing *The Oregonian*, remarked: "Linn City also sustained considerable loss in buildings, etc.—the extent of which we have been unable to learn. The wharves at this city have all been more or less injured, but will soon be repaired, as their foundations have successfully resisted the flood."—*New York Tribune*, March 1, 1853. A sequence of misfortunes descended upon Robert Moore's enterprise at Linn City after the flood of 1853. It is a matter of record that in 1855 he was in financial difficulties and that some of his creditors were bringing action against his property in Linn City. See the *Oregon Argus*, June 2, 1855.

<sup>67</sup> Several of the printed records say that Robert Moore was Irish, but his descendants maintain that he was of Scotch descent.

ganized a Presbyterian church in his own house and employed a minister to preach to him each Sunday. This minister also edited *The Spectator* for a time.<sup>68</sup>

But notwithstanding his eccentricities, Robert Moore possessed some admirable traits of character. He was temperate to the point of being puritanical, and in the deeds which he gave to lots in Linn City it was specified that intoxicating liquors should not be sold thereon.<sup>69</sup> He was a close friend of Dr. John McLoughlin, whose claim was just across the river, and he was an ardent champion of Dr. McLoughlin's rights to this property in Oregon City when the property was in controversy.<sup>70</sup> Yet, despite their friendship, the doctor and the major frequently quarreled and fell out. The blood of Scotch forebears flowed in the veins of each.

What Robert Moore lacked in education he made up in native shrewdness and wide experience. The frontier was a harsh taskmaster. Under such guidance men, who in a well-ordered society might have lived their lives in comparative obscurity, rose to positions of influence. So it was with Robert Moore. Even those who looked upon some of his schemes as chimerical bore witness to his shrewdness, aggressiveness and integrity. He was noticed by all travelers in Oregon in his day. Measured by the standards of the frontier, Robert Moore was not unsuccessful. His two attempts at city-building ended in failure, but his place in history is assured despite these failures.

Robert Moore has won a place in history as one of the early builders of Oregon. He helped to lay the foundation upon which the superstructure of Oregon was built. He cut a wide trail across the frontier, and the passing of time will not obliterate it.

68 This story is related by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in the letter cited in notes 17 and 18, above. It has, in substance, been repeated to me by two of Robert Moore's descendants. The minister employed by Robert Moore was Wilson Blain, who became editor of *The Spectator* on Oct. 4, 1849.—Himes, "History of the Press of Oregon," pp. 353-355.

A slightly different version of this story is given in the *Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D.*, (Portland, 1893), as follows: "May 25th, 1844, Rev. Harvey Clarke, a self-supporting Congregational missionary, a native of Chester, Vermont, and a citizen of Gouverneur, New York, was preaching to a little company of settlers at this place [Oregon City]. It was proposed to organize a church. Three brothers were willing and desirous to be so organized." (Peter H. Hatch, Robert Moore, and Orville Russel). "Mr. Moore desired the name to be 'The Presbyterian Church of Willamette Falls.' Being the oldest man, venerable and of strong convictions, the others yielded the name, though the mode of constituting the church was essentially Congregational and Scriptural, by the act and vote of the members."—*Ibid.*, p. 177. When the Reverend Mr. Atkinson became pastor of this church in 1848, he held afternoon services in Linn City for the benefit of Robert Moore and his family.—*Ibid.*, p. 180. "Rev. Wilson Blain, of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, had arrived, and began to preach at Linn City. Brother Robert Moore united with his church, forgetting to call for his letter, and made it necessary to erase his name from our roll."—*Ibid.*, pp. 180-181. In 1849 the name of the Oregon City church was changed to "First Congregational Church of Oregon City" by a vote of eight to one.—*Ibid.*, p. 181.

69 *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857.

70 Letter of H. M. Painter, Jan. 3, 1924.

He was a representative of a type that has passed away, for the American frontier now belongs to the past.

It is fitting that another pioneer of Oregon should say a word of him in passing.

"Moore settled at the Willamette Falls, on the west bank of the river, and called his place 'Robin's Nest,' where he lived until his decease, at a good old age, in 1857. Here, in 1841, Wilkes found him claiming to hold a section of land under a purchase from an Indian chief—Old Slacomb, I suppose—and sneered at him, because, with the true instinct of a native Pennsylvanian, he saw iron in the vicinity and expected before long to be engaged in smelting it. But time, which tries all things, has verified 'Old Mr. Moore's' unlearned opinion and confuted the admiral's scientific skepticism.

"McLoughlin claimed the opposite bank of the river. In the course of this strife for preoccupation here met these two characteristic representatives of the pioneer of the Old and the New World to claim the respective shores of this great water power and commanding point in the future navigation of the river and business of the country. For years they looked out upon one another across the foaming flood as the vanguards or leaders of the opposing armies of occupation. They died within a few days of each other, and their bodies lie buried within the sound of the cataract, which separated them in life."<sup>71</sup>

Robert Moore died at his residence in Linn City on September 1, 1857.<sup>72</sup> Four years later a flood swept away most of the buildings in Linn City, and since then this town has had no separate existence.<sup>73</sup>

Descendants of Robert Moore have been honored citizens of Oregon and Washington for several generations. A daughter, Jean M., married Judge Philip Painter and lived in Missouri for several years. In 1850 the family started across the plains to Oregon. Cholera overtook them, and Judge Painter and two sons were buried in Kansas. The surviving members of the family continued the journey to Oregon and resided for a time with

<sup>71</sup> "Annual Address of Hon. M. P. Deady," *Transactions of the Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, (Salem, 1876), 30.

<sup>72</sup> *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857.

<sup>73</sup> *Davidson Mss.; Palmer's Journal*, (Thwaites, xxx, 162, note). Severe losses were suffered in the flood of 1861 by residents in the Willamette Valley. It was estimated by the *Oregon Argus* that the losses suffered by the citizens of Oregon City and the immediate vicinity amounted to "probably \$170,000." In the issue of the *Oregon Argus* for Dec. 14, 1861, it was stated that "Linn City has only two houses and the warehouse at the works remaining." One week later the same newspaper published the following notice: "Champoeg—The flood swept this town entirely clean of houses, and the site is now as bare as a sand beach."

Robert Moore. Subsequently Mrs. Painter took up a claim on the Tualatin River. She died at the home of her son, W. C. Painter, of Walla Walla, at the age of 76 years.<sup>74</sup>

Two sons of Mrs. Painter, Robert Moore and William Charles, served in Washington Territory with the Oregon Mounted Volunteers in the Indian War of 1855-56. In later years W. C. Painter served as an officer of Washington volunteers in the Indian wars of 1878 and became an officer on the staff of Governor Ferry. He died in Walla Walla in 1900. His widow, Mrs. Caroline Mitchell Painter, a pioneer of 1847, is still living in Walla Walla. Robert Moore Painter died in Forest Grove, Oregon, in 1868.<sup>75</sup>

Margaretta Painter, a daughter of Mrs. Jean M. Painter, married David J. Schnebly, one-time editor of the *Oregon Spectator*. In 1861 the family moved to Washington Territory and settled near Walla Walla. In 1883 they moved to Ellensburg, where Mr. Schnebly edited the *Ellensburg Localizer* until he retired in 1896.<sup>76</sup>

Joseph C. Painter, a grandson of Robert Moore, represented Walla Walla County in the house of representatives of the first and second sessions of the legislature of the State of Washington.<sup>77</sup> He was a brother of William Charles Painter and Robert Moore Painter.

James Corydon Moore, a grandson of Robert Moore, is still living in San Diego, California. He is the son of Robert Morrison Moore, the youngest son of Robert Moore, who went with his father to Illinois in the thirties and lived there until his death in 1890.<sup>78</sup>

Samuel Leroy Crawford, one of the pioneer newspaper men of Seattle, and who was for some time associated with the *Post-Intelligencer*, was a great-grandson of Robert Moore. The father and the mother of Samuel Leroy Crawford crossed the plains in 1847. His mother at that time was a girl of ten and his father a lad of 20. Samuel Leroy Crawford was born near Oregon City on June 22, 1855, and died in Seattle in October, 1916. For many

<sup>74</sup> Davidson Mss.

<sup>75</sup> J. Orin Oliphant (editor), "Journals of the Indian War of 1855-56," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, xv, no. 1, 11-31.

<sup>76</sup> Davidson Mss.

<sup>77</sup> Barton, *Legislative Manual of Washington, 1891-92*, (Olympia, 1891), 329.

<sup>78</sup> Sandham, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

years before his death he was associated in the real estate business in Seattle with Charles T. Conover.<sup>79</sup>

A mere tabulation of all of the descendants of Robert Moore would make an article of considerable length. It has been the purpose of the present writer in the preceding paragraphs merely to call attention to the fact that among his descendants are several persons who have deserved well of the commonwealths of Oregon and Washington.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

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<sup>79</sup> Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, has an interesting collection of materials on the life of Samuel L. Crawford. Included in the collection are manuscripts as well as newspaper clippings. I have consulted the following: "To the Pioneers of Washington," Ms., by S. L. Crawford— (This manuscript, due to the illness of the author, was read for him to the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington, June 2, 1915)—"Personal Reminiscences of Samuel L. Crawford," Ms.; clippings from the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, January, 1917; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 30, 1915, and October 12, 1916.