

DISCOVERY

Among the treasures in the archives of the Oregon-Idaho Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church in Salem, Oregon, is a small diary kept in 1862 in the Willamette Valley of western Oregon. The diarist was obviously a circuit rider, but his identity was unknown. The small, light-weight book measuring 8 inches high by 3 ½ wide and 3/8 inches thick is typical of the pocket diaries produced during the period, its compact size making it ideal for the saddle bags of a circuit rider. The wrap-around soft leather binding is held shut by a flap that inserts into a slot on the front cover. There are three dates per page, allowing for only very short entries.¹ In a fruitful collaboration between the Oregon-Idaho Annual Conference Archives and Willamette University, the diary has now been scanned onto the University Archives website and soon will be accessible online.²

The diary seemed well worth transcribing, with the hope that in the process, the diarist's identity would emerge. It did. The first clue was a reference to taking Mrs. B. in the buggy. As all the other Methodists are referred to in the diary as "Brother" or "Sister," it seemed likely that Mrs. B. would be the wife of the diarist. Then a definitive clue leaped out on April 27, when the diarist **"Got up about 5 o'clock AM & in about an hour Blain *minimus natura* was introduced to the light of this world."** This terse note recording the birth of a baby provides the first appearance in the diary of the name Blain. The 1862 *Minutes of the Oregon Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* lists as residing in Lebanon, Oregon, a D. E. Blain, who had been ordained deacon in the East Genesee Conference of New York State in 1853 and was currently serving as a preacher and presiding elder in the Upper Willamette District.³

As serendipity would have it, the volunteer transcribing the diary had recently moved to Salem from Washington State, where she had long been interested in regional history. Immediately she began to wonder if D. E. Blain could be the same person as the Rev. David E. Blaine, a renowned pioneer of early Seattle who arrived in 1853, two years after the founders. This proved to be the case. (For obscure reasons, the spelling of the name changed at some point.) Yet even without this positive identification, the diary would be important for the glimpse it provides of a Methodist circuit rider's life and ministry in Oregon. In fact, some of its brief entries suggest tantalizing possibilities for further research.

That the circuit-riding D. E. Blain of the Oregon diary was the pioneer pastor David E. Blaine of Seattle is confirmed by numerous sources. The 1860 Census of Linn County, Oregon, shows a David E. Blain, Methodist clergyman, with a wife Catherine [sic] and son John, who was born in Washington Territory. These names all match documentation of the family of David E. Blaine of Seattle. The couple eventually had two sons, John and Edward, whose names match the "Johnny" and "Eddie" in the diary. Two days

¹ Two other items attributable to David E. Blaine (then spelled Blain) are held in the Oregon-Idaho Conference Archives. One is an accounting record for each of his charges in the Upper Willamette Circuit. The other is a record book for Santiam Academy at Lebanon, Oregon, where he was principal briefly, then trustee. It contains names of students, subjects studied, textbooks used and fees paid, as well as a list of the adult members of the Methodist class at Lebanon.

² Willamette University, first called the Oregon Institute, was founded in 1842 by Jason Lee and the other early Methodist Episcopal missionaries to Oregon. It is the oldest university west of the Mississippi.

³ For Blaine's appointments during the Oregon period, see *Minutes of the Oregon Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856-1862*.

after Eddie's birth in Lebanon, Oregon, the diarist mentions writing a letter to "Mother Paine." Catharine Blaine's maiden name was Paine. Furthermore, the time and place of D. E. Blain's ordination, as listed in the *Conference Minutes*, match documentation relating to David E. Blaine of Seattle.

David and Catharine Blaine were married on August 11, 1853, in Seneca Falls, New York. David was ordained on August 24. On October 5 they set forth on the arduous journey to Seattle by ship and overland via the Isthmus of Panama, arriving on November 26. In 1855 Blaine organized the town's first church of any denomination, and his wife Catharine became Seattle's first teacher. In their honor, a street, a school, and a church bear the name Blaine. Their voluminous letters (later published)⁴ to family in New York became a major source for the study of pioneer Seattle. The letters from Oregon greatly expand the brief entries of the diary, which is mainly a record of religious work and travels, weather, farming chores, expenditures, clergy colleagues, local people, and a few family matters.

In keeping with the Methodist Episcopal policy of moving clergy roughly every two years, in March 1856, David Blaine was transferred to Portland. He served there and in several other western Oregon locations until assigned in mid-1861 as presiding elder for the Upper Willamette District. (Since the Willamette River flows north into the Columbia, Upper meant the central and southern portions of the valley.) From his home base at Lebanon, he rode a circuit of eleven scattered charges, preaching, holding love feasts, administering communion, and conducting the Quarterly Conferences and Meetings. His "allowance" for the year was \$650. At the Oregon Annual Conference of August, 1862, Blaine asked for and was granted a leave of absence, although the diary continues in rather scanty fashion for the rest of the year. In the fall he made a trip to Seattle to check on property he had purchased and touch base with his old friends there. In the remaining months of 1862, the diary shows him preaching at Presbyterian and Congregational as well as Methodist churches in the Portland area.

It was Blaine's bad luck that the period of his itinerancy had the worst weather in decades. The autumn saw disastrous flooding of the Columbia and Willamette, followed by a winter during which even these mighty rivers froze. Both the floods and the severe winter resulted in much loss of livestock and even human life. In an undated letter of late November, 1861, Catharine wrote: "Mr. B. left yesterday, had 35 miles to ride in the face of the storm. He is having a hard time this winter." Such diary entries as 1/16 **"Met Marshall returning because the river was too frozen to cross ..."** and 1/29 **"Snow 8 inches deep – cold – and going so bad I concluded to come back home ..."** On 3/7 **"Left home for Corvallis. Rode through the most pitiless storm of the season"** show the impact of the weather on Blaine's travels.⁵

⁴ David Blaine and Catharine Blaine, *Letters and Papers of Rev. David E. Blaine and His Wife Catharine: Seattle 1853-1856, Oregon 1856-1862* (Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church, 1963). This collection is based on a 1932 copy of the letters made by Edward Linn Blaine, second son of David and Catharine Blaine, who then donated the originals to the University of Washington. Quotations above are from this source. See also David Blaine and Catherine [sic] Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, edited by Richard A. Seiber (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978). This title is misleading, as the book also contains letters from New York State and Oregon. Richard Seiber also wrote an article based on the letters, "David E. Blain: The Methodist Church in Washington, 1853-1861," *Methodist History* (April, 1963) 1-17. It, too, contains Oregon information.

⁵ Thomas H. Pearne, "Letter from Oregon," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 12 (March 20, 1862) 90. A report by the editor of *Pacific Christian Advocate* on the floods of late 1861 and severe winter of 1861-62.

An example of the way in which the letters expand upon the diary is the letter David Blaine wrote to “Mother Paine” two days after the birth he had recorded on Sunday, April 27: “About 4 ½ o’clock in the morning wife wakened me from sweet slumber and said she thought I had better get up and milk and do my other chores, so that I might be ready to wait upon her. I made a fire ... then milked, etc. and ... invited Dr. Ballard ... and wife if they would be so kind as to come over and stay with Mrs. Blaine until I could run uptown and invite one or two of our neighbor ladies to come down ... This done, I hastened home and had been back but a few minutes when I was presented with a handsome fat, lively, wide awake, bouncing boy ...” To add to the excitement of that previous busy Sunday, the diary had recorded the birth of a colt to his horse: **“Fanny brought forth her first born about the same time. Both offspring and mothers remarkably smart and fine. No preaching at Lebanon.”**

One of the strengths of the diary is its wealth of personal names: clergy colleagues, Methodist laymen, homesteaders, merchants, etc. of the Willamette Valley. It provides a roster of important ministers in the Oregon Conference. Appearing often in the diary are such stalwarts as William Roberts, Thomas H. Pearne, Alvan Waller, Calvin S. Kingsley, Harvey K. Hines, William Odell, Isaac D. Driver, and Josiah Parrish.⁶ Even the renowned Bishop Matthew Simpson, who came out from the East to preside at the 1862 Oregon Conference, is mentioned.⁷ The diary refers often to the licensed local lay preacher at Lebanon, Morgan Rudolph. Again, the letters add depth and human interest. Catharine wrote: “Brother Rudolph, local preacher, preached, or tried to. It always tires me so to hear him, it is such hard work for him to get off what he wants to say.”

The diary and letters reveal the Blaines’s attitudes toward the Northwest’s original inhabitants. On April 9, David wrote: “... **Paid squaw for washing 1.00.**” While in Seattle, Catharine already had experimented unsuccessfully with using Indian women for domestic chores, reporting to her mother: “You talk about the stupidity and awkwardness of the Irish. You ought to have to do with our Indians and then you would know what these words mean.” Shortly after his arrival in Seattle, David had proclaimed: “The Indians are at best but a poor degraded race, far inferior to even the lowest of those among us. ... However, they are fast passing away and will soon disappear.” Yet the diary shows that Catharine continued to employ Indian women in Oregon, apparently with greater satisfaction than in Seattle.⁸

Other attitudes are revealed in the diary and letters, especially regarding the pre-Civil War slavery question in Oregon. Both Blaines were ardent abolitionists and supporters of the Union. During the run-up to the Civil War, they feared the influx of southerners would result in Oregon’s becoming a slave state. The only reference in the diary to the Civil War’s slight military impact on Oregon occurred on

⁶ Identification of many people mentioned in the diary only by last name was made possible through such sources as Thomas Yarnes, *A History of Oregon Methodism* (Printed by the Parthenon Press for the Oregon Methodist Conference Historical Society, 1957). In addition, files at the Oregon Annual Conference Archives in Salem on Methodist clergy, as well as local libraries and historical societies, were of great help in identifying names.

⁷ Bishop Simpson reported on the Oregon Conference in *Christian Advocate and Journal* Vol. XXXVII, No. 38 (September 18, 1862) 297.

⁸ For an in-depth examination of the attitudes of the Blaines toward Native Americans, using many quotations from the letters, see Frederick A. Norwood, “Two Contrasting Views of the Indians: Methodist Involvement in the Indian Troubles in Oregon and Washington,” *Church History* Vol. 49, No. 2 (June, 1980) 178-187.

Sunday, 7/20, when Blaine **“Preached to Captain Drew’s company of volunteers at 5 PM.”** This was the First Oregon Cavalry formed during the winter of 1861-62 under command of Charles Stewart Drew.⁹

The diary often shows Blaine as farmer as well as minister. He plowed, planted, weeded, cut wood, hauled and spread manure, milked the cow, kept bees, and raised and butchered his own livestock. The diary’s list of produce grown in the fertile Willamette Valley soil includes corn, parsnips, beets, squash, melons, potatoes, beans, tomatoes, apples, etc. On Friday, 4/18, Blaine **“Got oxen of Mr. Kees & hauled manure.”** On Monday: **“Hauled the rest of barn manure and the chip manure with Mr. Kees’ oxen.”** A weekend Quarterly Meeting and love feast, tucked between the two days of hauling manure, show the mixture of tasks Blaine performed with no apparent sense of incongruity.

Of particular interest is the annual summer camp meeting founded in the Bellfountain Settlement in 1851 by the Belknap family and their neighbors, Methodists who had brought the camp meeting tradition from their home states. Blaine reported: 6/28 **“Prayer meeting in the morning. Good. Bro Powell preached at 11 AM. Bro T. B. Sanderson at 3 PM. Bro Alvin [sic] Waller at 7 PM. Good meeting after sermons. Several forward soon converted Christians. Greatly blessed.”** Sunday 6/29 **“Love feast in the morning. Bro Roberts preached at 11 AM. Bro I. D. Driver at 3 PM; Bro W. S. Lewis at 7 PM. Congregation large. The meeting very good after sermons. Some converted. Bro Lewis lost his watch.”** 7/1 **“Love feast, sacrament & baptisms. Bro P. Starr preached at 3 PM ... Having lost Fanny from the pasture I started to hunt her – went to Lebanon in search.”** (Fanny had wandered home, but Blaine found her the next day.) 7/3 **“Rainy morning. Most of the tent folks went home. ...”** Again, a letter is illuminating. Catharine had described the Belknap camp meeting of the previous summer: “... It is said to have been the greatest meeting ever held in Oregon. The attendance on the Sabbaths was not far from 2,000 people; during the week there were from 100 to 500 on the grounds all the time. ... There was the most perfect order and good behavior ... about 75 of the number professed conversion.”¹⁰

The Blaines moved back to New York State in 1863, where David alternated farming with preaching. A daughter Martha was born there. In 1882 they returned to Seattle to spend their remaining years. David Blaine did not resume active ministry. Timely purchases of Seattle property enabled them to live very comfortably. All three children were lifelong residents of the Seattle area. When David Blaine died in 1900 and Catharine in 1908, they left a substantial estate to their heirs and to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Perhaps their most significant legacy, though, was the letters they both wrote and the diary David Blaine kept.

⁹ Stacey L. Smith, “Oregon’s Civil War: The Troubled Legacy of Emancipation in the Pacific Northwest,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 115, No. 2 (Summer, 2014) 154-173.

¹⁰ For a colorful, detailed account of the Belknap camp meetings over several years, see Ketturah Belknap, “Ketturah Belknap’s Chronicle of the Bellfountain Settlement,” edited by Robert Moulton Gatke, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 38, No. 3 (September, 1937) 265-299, also her *On Her Way Rejoicing: Keturah Belknap’s Chronicles*, edited by Charlotte and John Hook (Salem, OR: Commission on Archives and History Oregon-Idaho Conference, United Methodist Church, 1993).

FROM SEATTLE PIONEER TO OREGON CIRCUIT RIDER: THE DIARY OF DAVID E. BLAIN (LATER BLAINE)

The name Blaine is among a handful associated with the founding of Seattle – Denny, Yesler, Boren, Mercer, Horton, and Maynard. David E. Blaine, a young minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church (now United Methodist), is best known as a prominent Seattle pioneer who arrived in 1853, two years after the Denny party landed at Alki Point and soon moved to the more promising location nearby that became the city of Seattle. In 1855 Blaine organized Seattle's first church of any denomination, and his wife Catharine became the town's first teacher. A street, a school, and a church in Seattle bear the name Blaine. The detailed letters, later published, that David and Catharine Blaine wrote between 1853 and 1856 to family in New York provide a record of their lives during that period as well as a major account of Seattle's founding years. Now David Blaine's 1862 diary and the couple's letters from 1856-1862 afford an intriguing picture of their less well known sojourn in Oregon.

After serving in the Puget Sound area, David Blaine was assigned to western Oregon from 1856 to 1862. A recently identified diary in the archives of the Oregon-Idaho Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church in Salem, covering the experiences of a Methodist circuit rider in the Willamette Valley, proves to be his. This diary would be important even without identification of the author, but its connection with the David Blaine of early Seattle adds interest and significance. Evidence within the diary suggesting Blaine as the author is confirmed by numerous sources.

The 1862 diary covers the last year of David Blaine's ministry in Oregon, during which he rode a circuit serving eleven frontier Methodist Episcopal congregations within the upper (southern, as the Willamette River flows north) Willamette Valley. The small, light-weight book measuring 8 inches high by 3 ½ wide and 3/8 inches thick is typical of the pocket diaries produced during the period, its compact size making it ideal for the saddle bags of a circuit rider. The wrap-around soft leather binding is held shut by a flap that inserts into a slot on the front cover. There are three dates per page, allowing for only very short entries, some impossible to decipher. The diary contains notes on farming chores, expenditures, weather, clergy colleagues, local people, and a few family matters but is mainly a brief account of Blaine's religious work and travels. Diary keeping was part of the Methodist "method" and circuit riders were expected to record their activities.

The first clue to the identity of the diarist appears on April 27: "Got up about 5 o'clock AM & in about an hour Blain *minimus natura* was introduced to the light of this world..." (The family name was spelled Blain at the time.) This terse note recording the birth of his second son, later named Edward Linn Blain, provides the first appearance in the diary of the name Blain. The 1862 *Minutes of the Oregon Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* lists as residing in Lebanon, Oregon, a D. E. Blain, who had been ordained deacon in the East Genesee Conference of New York State in 1853 and was currently serving as a preacher and presiding elder in the Upper Willamette District.

The next challenge was to determine if D.E. Blain of Lebanon, Oregon, was the same person as David E. Blaine of early Seattle. The 1860 Census of Linn County, Oregon, shows a David E. Blain, Methodist clergyman, with a wife Catherine [sic] and son John, who was born in Washington Territory. These names all match the family of David E. Blaine of Seattle. The couple eventually had two sons, John and

Edward, whose names match references in the diary to “Johnny” and “Eddie.” Two days after Eddie’s birth, the diarist mentions writing a letter to “Mother Paine.” Catharine Blaine’s maiden name was Paine. Furthermore, the time and place of D. E. Blain’s ordination, as listed in the *Conference Minutes*, match documentation relating to the ministry of David E. Blaine of Seattle. In addition, the diary records an autumn journey to Puget Sound in which Blaine refers to the major Seattle pioneers as though already well acquainted with them.

For obscure reasons the spelling of the name later changed from Blain to Blaine. This essay will use the spelling Blaine except when quoting from the diary. Furthermore, there is confusion over Catharine’s name, which is spelled Catherine in some sources. The spelling on the Blaine headstone in Seattle’s Mount Pleasant Cemetery is Catharine. She signed her letters as Kate, the name that David used for her in the diary.

David Edwards Blaine was born March 5, 1824, in Varick, Seneca County, New York. He graduated from a “district school” at 17, then attended the better parts of two years at Seneca Falls and Waterloo academies. He was converted at the age of 18, stating in a brief autobiography appended to his published letters and papers: “During a brief season of revival in the church on the corner opposite my father’s farm, I was the first one of about 20 of my associates to go to the altar to seek religion, the others following in rapid succession. Soon after I united with the M. E. Church of which I still continue a member, loving her doctrines and valuing highly her blessings.” He earned an undergraduate degree at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, and a seminary degree at Auburn Theological Seminary, originally established by Presbyterians in Auburn, New York.

Catharine Paine Blaine was born on December 14, 1829, in Amenia, New York, to a family of ardent abolitionists. As a young woman, she also adopted the cause of women’s rights, signing the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, the product of the historic 1848 women’s rights and suffrage convention in Seneca Falls, New York. She brought these commitments with her to the Northwest.

On August 24, 1853, Blaine was ordained by the East Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York State, receiving a mission assignment to the Puget Sound area of the Oregon Conference, which still included the newly formed Washington Territory. By this time, the charge to Oregon missionaries was to work not so much among the dwindling population of Indians but with the rapidly increasing numbers of white settlers.

David E. Blaine and Catharine Paine were married on August 11, 1853 in Seneca Falls, New York. Shortly after David’s ordination they began an arduous two-month journey from New York State to Puget Sound, first by ship, then by mule back over the Isthmus of Panama, and finally again by ship. They arrived at Alki Point on November 26, 1853 and soon moved on to Seattle proper. In 1855 he built the first church in Seattle, the “Little White Church,” the forerunner of First United Methodist Church. A few of the pioneers were Methodists, but even others of different denominations, or no church affiliation, contributed land, money and labor.

The policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church of that time was for the bishops to move preachers approximately every two years. In 1856 David Blaine was transferred to Oregon where he served in

Portland and several other locations until beginning his itinerant ministry in the upper Willamette Valley in mid-1861.

A great help in interpreting and augmenting the diary is provided by the letters of David and Catharine Blaine. Two published versions of these letters were produced from copies made in 1932 by their son Edward: *Letters and Papers of Rev. David E. Blaine and His Wife Catharine: Seattle 1853-1856, Oregon 1856-1862* (Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church, 1963) and *Memoirs of Puget Sound: Early Seattle 1853-1856*, edited by Richard A. Seiber (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978). Edward Blaine donated the originals to the University of Washington. The diary and letters together provide considerable detail on pioneer life in the Willamette Valley. They touch on people, places, weather, travel, farming, education, and financial transactions, as well as current events and attitudes of the time and place. Of particular interest are references to Indians, slavery, the Civil War, and the frontier camp meeting.

A brief summary of the mission endeavor and early white settlement of Oregon will help provide context for Blaine's presence there. The first missionary to Oregon was the Rev. Jason Lee who arrived with a small team in 1834 to establish a Methodist mission among the Indians. This effort was largely in response to the account published on March 1, 1833 in the Methodist *Christian Advocate and Journal* of four Indians (at least one Flathead, probably the others Nez Perce) who had walked to St. Louis in 1831 to impress upon General William Clark their desire for white men's "book." No doubt they associated the apparent power of the newcomers in some way with their Bible and the religion it contained. General Clark, of Lewis and Clark fame, was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Missouri River Country. Two of these Indian emissaries died in St. Louis and one of the others on the way home.

The inspiring story gained traction as it was reprinted in other religious journals in the United States and Europe. The Methodist Episcopal Mission Board responded with alacrity and had no trouble raising money to support an Indian mission. Thirty-year-old Rev. Jason Lee and four others set forth for Oregon with a trading expedition led by Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, an experienced mountain man. They arrived on September 15, 1834, at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver, where they enjoyed the hospitality of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin. For several reasons, McLoughlin convinced Lee to establish his mission in the Willamette River Valley of western Oregon. Perhaps most persuasive was the fact that the traditional domain of the Flatheads, whom the mission party intended to serve, was in present western Montana bordering an area often rife with inter-tribal warfare.

After initial efforts to work with the Indians, including the establishment of a school, Lee soon realized the need to refocus the mission on the settlers coming into the region. There were two major reasons for this change: the decline of Indian population because of illnesses brought by the whites and the obvious lack of enthusiasm of most remaining Indians for the missionaries' religion, civilization and agriculture. Whatever those four original seekers may have expected, it must have been quite different from what the Protestant missionaries offered in response. Meanwhile, Euro-American settlers were beginning to arrive from "the States." In Lee's view, not entirely shared by the Methodist Board, there was ample justification for a redirected mission effort in Oregon.

Because of a mild climate and deep, fertile soil – gift of Washington via the Missoula Floods at the end of the last Ice Age – the pioneers were willing to bypass the Great Plains to reach this distant Eden. Letters from missionaries and settlers, many of them published in church and local newspapers, encouraged migration to the Willamette Valley. Of course the Donation Land Act of 1848 was a major inducement. Many of these new arrivals were Methodists, yet very few communities were large enough to support a “located” preacher, hence the continuing need for a circuit-riding presiding elder such as Blaine.

David Blaine’s actual period of circuit riding was short and relatively easy compared to the heroics of earlier circuit riders. William M. Roberts, who arrived in 1847 to become Superintendent of the Oregon-California Conference, covered a vast terrain on foot or horseback and by canoe. His feats of wilderness circuit riding over many years eventually rivaled those of Methodism’s English founder, John Wesley, and of Francis Asbury, the intrepid circuit rider of the Eastern American frontier. David E. Blaine made no claims to be in that league.

By the time of his diary, conditions of travel in western Oregon, with the beginning of roads and the proliferation of ferries, had improved considerably, although as the diary and letters make clear, difficulties remained. A letter of August 6, 1855, describes a journey from Seattle to Oregon City to attend the Oregon Annual Conference: *Brother Morse and myself purchased a canoe in partnership and came as far as Olympia in that. From Olympia we came on foot some 60 miles to the Cowlitz landing, carrying our saddle bags; made this distance in two days. We might have had a horse for \$10.00, but we thought walking nearly as easy as riding on horseback and besides, we could not have earned \$10.00 so easy in any other manner. We came down the Cowlitz in a canoe for \$4.00 to Monticello, at the mouth of the river. We came to Portland in a steamer for \$5.00. From Portland to Oregon City in a steamer for nothing...* . A reverse journey in the fall of 1862, reported briefly in the diary, was just as arduous.

In March 1856, David Blaine was posted from Seattle to Portland. His letter of March 19, 1856, expresses obvious satisfaction with what he found: *Here is a large society, which is continually increasing by accessions from the country. Here we have a house as comfortable as our own was We are in a place of safety and where we are not subject to anxiety. We have enough to employ both head and heart and many advantages of society and privileges of which we were deprived in Seattle* They obviously found Portland to be a safer, larger and more civilized town than the newer Seattle, whose settlers Catharine sometimes disparaged in her letters.

There were reasons for the Blaines to feel more secure in Portland. In December, 1854, Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens had begun negotiating coercive treaties for the removal of Indians to reservations. The delay in immediate results in the Seattle area had caused David to complain on February 5, 1855: *... we are blest with the presence, dwelling, noise, filth, vileness and all manner of obscenity of more Indians than ever before.* On January 24, 1856, the Methodist *Christian Advocate and Journal* published an article in which Blaine described casualties of Indian attacks that occurred south of Seattle in late 1855: “The Indians have committed in this vicinity some of the most barbarous murders ever recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Peaceable and unoffending citizens have been shot down ... their bodies stripped, and left most shockingly mangled. ... Meanwhile,[the] government has been making extensive preparations for punishing the savage miscreants” Catharine and her new baby

were among the women and children who took shelter aboard the American sloop of war USS *Decatur* during the Battle of Seattle, January 26, 1856. There is no evidence that Blaine saw any connection between the removal treaties – and white incursion generally - and the ensuing violence.

From Portland, Blaine was moved to various locations in the Willamette Valley. Then in 1859 he was assigned as principal of Santiam Academy, founded in 1853 at Lebanon. Patterned after academies in the East, it was one of several such private schools the Methodist pioneers of western Oregon established to educate their children. Of his posting as principal, Catharine says in a letter of August 15, 1859: *I can scarcely express to you my regrets at the appointment. It is a good school, pleasantly located, but I know Mr. B's unfitness for such a situation. I can hardly consent to go. I know he cannot sustain himself, and to have the school run down will hurt me terribly. I find there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among the preachers' wives about the appointments.* Blaine agreed with his wife about his unfitness for the appointment and tried unsuccessfully to decline. However, the attractive village of Lebanon appealed to him, plus: *It has no grog shops and the people are nearly all Methodists.*

In mid-1861 Blaine was relieved of his position as principal of Santiam Academy and became the circuit-riding presiding elder for the "Upper Wallamet" District (Willamette was then spelled Wallamet), a position he held until August, 1862. As such, he was responsible for conducting quarterly conferences (or meetings), preaching, administering communion, and overseeing the general well-being of each congregation within his circuit. The conference business was usually conducted on Saturday, with preaching and "love feast" on Sunday. Blaine's "allowance" for the year was \$650.

Blaine's district, encompassing the southern end of the valley, consisted of eleven Methodist stations and a membership of 873. On November 7, 1861, Catharine wrote: *Next Sunday finishes his first quarter [as presiding elder] on the district. He will have traveled over 1,000 miles and preached 32 sermons ... He is not at home any time more than three days in the week, some weeks only two, and after the roads get bad, will stay away over two or three Sabbaths ...* It is difficult to know the exact distances Blaine rode on his circuit. By today's roads, from his home at Lebanon to Salem is 36 miles and to Corvallis is 19 miles. Beyond his circuit, from Lebanon to Oregon City or Portland to which he often journeyed on conference business, the present distances are 78 and 82 miles respectively.

Representative diary excerpts follow. For the sake of clarity and consistency, dates are shown as follows: 1/1, and the word Sunday is added. Ellipses indicate illegible portions. Words followed by (?) are those for which a guess is possible. The diarist never used apostrophes for possessive nouns, although some punctuation has been added for clarity. Diary entries are in bold; quotations from the letters continue in italics. Explanatory notes are added.

1/2 At home almost sick with a cold. Sent Marion Coryell \$15.00 to be returned in three weeks. Bro. Odells at dinner at 4 P.m. Tried to study some. All Methodists of that time, whether clergy or laity, were called brother and sister. William H. Odell succeeded Blaine as principal of Santiam Academy when Blaine became presiding elder, working out of Lebanon, and trustee of the academy. He is mentioned often in diary entries, and relations between Blaine and the Odell were obviously cordial.

1/3 Went to Brownsville. Stayed all night with Bro Starr. Bro Deal's child – little boy – died during the night with fever. This is one of many references to illness. The fever from which the boy died may have been typhoid, as other cases are mentioned in the diary and letters. Blaine had reported from Portland on June 20, 1856: *Last Sunday morning I preached the funeral sermon for two of the children who died last week (He does not say of what illness) ... It was most affecting to witness the grief of those parents, whose almost idolized darlings were suddenly snatched from their embrace, when they parted with their dear forms for the last time.* He also listed dysentery, bilious fever, cholera morbus, ague, and whooping cough as prevalent in Portland at that time. Tuberculosis was also present, as in the case of a promising young preacher, Nehemiah S. McAlister, who had died of “consumption” in 1860 at the age of thirty.

1/4 Went over to the Keeney School house where we were to have Qr. M. with Bro. Starr. The weather clear and cold. Preached at 11 A M and held qr. Con. Went home with Jos. Pearl. Preached in the evening. Joseph Pearl is especially interesting as an example of a pioneer “local preacher” in Oregon. He was a Brownsville-area farmer born in Ohio in 1829. When he was fourteen, his family moved to Missouri, where he was converted in 1843. In 1852, they migrated to the Willamette Valley by ox-drawn covered wagon. In 1856 Pearl served in the Rogue River Indian War. He was licensed as a local preacher in 1860. Most local preachers lacked educational and other qualifications to become fully ordained elders such as David Blaine. Many of the small communities in the Willamette Valley relied on them to conduct worship, supplemented by periodic visits of the presiding elder. Local people such as Joseph Pearl provided lodging and meals for the circuit rider.

1/5 (Sunday) Love feast at 10 AM. Preached at 11 & administered the Sacrament. Took dinner with Bro. E. Keeney. Bro Van Winkle taken sick last evening with typhoid fever. Bro Starr preached in the evening. We both went home with Bro Bateman. Recd cash \$3.00. Elias Keeney was a colorful pioneer: Indian fighter, California Gold Rush participant, wagon master, and successful stockman. Like many other young men who arrived in the Willamette Valley during the 1840s, he soon left for the California gold fields. He then returned home to Missouri and purchased cattle with his gold earnings. From there, in 1851, he captained a wagon train to Brownsville, bringing his herd of 300, the foundation of his future prosperity. The Methodist love feast, mentioned repeatedly in the diary, traced its origin to the communal “agape meal” of the early Christian church. John Wesley adapted it as a gathering for personal and fervent sharing of religious experiences, sometimes involving the sacrament of communion. Eventually the love feast became less frequent but was still practiced during David Blaine’s time in Washington and Oregon.

1/6 Left Bro Bateman in the morning. Called on E. Keeney. Got our horses & came to Brownsville. Took dinner at Bro Starrs. Fed my horse. Called on Bro Deal. Came on home. Called on Bro Rudolph & got some ... Got six lbs of butter 2/1 - \$1.50. Morgan Rudolph was a local preacher and a trustee of Santiam Academy. The ever-forthright Catharine had informed her parents in an 1861 letter: *Brother Rudolph, local preacher, preached, or tried to. It always tires me so to hear him, it is such hard work for him to get off what he wants to say.*

1/8 At home – cut wood ... Had Elkins transfer from my acct to that of Bro Odell \$11.88 ... Got 54 lbs of soft soap ... Luther Elkins ran a general store in Lebanon. Several Elkins children attended Santiam Academy.

1/9 Went out to Bro Rudolph and got more ribs (?). Sent letters by Bro ... to Bro Pearne ... Bro Lippincott and Bro Starr marriage notices for record. Thomas H. Pearne was an influential member of the Oregon Conference, editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, and an early trustee of Willamette University in Salem.

1/10 Very stormy. Did not go to Mill Creek Qr Meeting. ... this afternoon – went up to the Academy – heard speaking & papers – all interesting.

1/11 Did chores – cut wood & studied some. Spent most of my study time during this week in studying Hebrew grammar. Sold big rocking chair to ...

1/12 (Sunday) Snow about 6 inches deep & still wintry. Preached at the Santiam Academy at 12 ... from John 3:3. In an undated letter of late November, 1861, Catharine had written: *Mr. B. left yesterday, had 35 miles to ride in the face of the storm. He is having a hard time this winter.* The hard time was occasioned by the disastrous flooding of the Willamette and its tributaries during November and December of 1861. Thomas H. Pearne wrote to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* on January 14, 1862 (published March 20) describing the flood, which “has swept over this entire coast, causing great destruction of property and loss of life. The water was higher than was ever known before since Oregon was settled by the whites. ... A million of dollars will not cover the damage wrought by this flood ... Fully one-fourth of the stock was swept away by the flood. ...”

1/13 I went to Mr. Georges and got 13 lbs of beef, paid .25; cash to balance on shoes 1.00; cash for ... gallons of syrup 1.88; cash for25. I took a skate in the PM, the first in Oregon – still wintry & cold. The diary abounds in references to purchases. It is often hard to tell if they are for his household or for Santiam Academy, which he might have been provisioning as trustee.

1/16 Started for Salem – Went down to Mr. Knoxs – took dinner – he renewed his note. Went on to ... Hill. Met Marshall returning because the river was too frozen to cross – turned and went to Albany. The winter of 1862 may have been even worse than the fall floods. Catharine’s letter of February 16 describes its effect on the farmers and ranchers of the region: *The snow has not been entirely off the ground since the last of December. ... As such weather is unusual here, the farmers have not provided shelter for their stock, nor have they been in the habit of saving fodder for winter use. ... And now that the snow has left the ground, the hard freezes that we have every night are destroying the wheat. ... The reports from the country east of the Cascade Mountains are terrible. The Columbia River has been frozen for weeks so that boats cannot run ... Thousands of heads of cattle have been driven from the valley up there during the last two or three years, and such have been the unprecedented cold and snow there, far worse than we have had, that a large portion of them have died, and a number of men have perished.*

1/19 (Sunday) We had no meeting at the Academy – wood was out and the young folk went off some five miles sleigh riding to hear a drunkard preach. One would like to know more about this escapade.

1/22 At home – wrote letter to Sara (?). Got 22 lbs beef of Lambert. Very stormy – snow mostly off – Got Fanny’s foreshoes50. Blaine often mentions his saddle horse Fanny in the diary.

1/29 Snow ... inches deep – cold – and going so bad I concluded to come back home – got back about four o’clock. PM got 8 lbs of sausage of Bro Rudolph, paid .50.

1/30 Worked at making a wood sled most of the day. Elizabeth Pearl paid me on Bro Odells acct \$4.38.

2/1 Finished wood sled and hauled two loads of wood. Took the buggy down to Mr. Kees barn. The Kees family figures prominently in the diary and in the history of the Lebanon area, where they were substantial land owners. Morgan and Andrew Kees were among the founding trustees of Santiam Academy.

2/3 Attended the examinations at the Academy. Got a book of Bro Odell for Johnny. .25. Catharine’s letter of February 22, 1861, sheds light on the examinations mentioned here: *Last week the examination and exhibition were held at the Academy. These exercises, though of course much inferior to those at college and in high schools in the states, where the scholars attend for several successive terms or years, passed off quite creditably considering the disadvantages under which the schools labor. Here a great portion of the scholars is in school only about three months in the year and some not so much as that. ... Our Academy was handsomely decorated with wreaths of evergreens and the motto: ‘Excelsior,’ was very handsomely done in cedar sewed on pasteboard letters. They had music, both vocal and instrumental – melodeon. This, to many was a great attraction of the evening.* Blaine’s son Johnny, age six, is here mentioned in the diary for the first time.

2/6 Went to Albany with the buggy. There follows a long list of grocery and supply purchases, with prices. One item is ten cents for postage. Among the front matter printed in the diary is “Rates of Postage.” Letters sent from Oregon and California not exceeding 1-2 ounces cost ten cents.

2/14 Went by Evans Ferry . Took dinner & got horse fed at Bro Porters, Lancaster. Went on to Bro Hulins (?) Stayed all night. Blaine refers many times to ferry crossings of the Willamette and its tributaries. They were small private toll ferries, usually charging from ten to fifteen cents for horse and rider and more for buggy or wagon. There were few bridges during Blaine’s time in Oregon.

2/16 (Sunday) Love feast at 10 AM. Preached at 11. Took coll. & administered sacrament. Bro Driver preached in the evening. Recd cash \$6.00. Isaac D. Driver, serving at Eugene, had arrived in Oregon in 1853 and become a farmer and rancher. A near fatal illness convinced him to devote the rest of his life to the Methodist ministry and in 1857 he began preaching from his own house in the Umpqua Valley. In 1858 he joined the Oregon Conference and became an important Methodist clergyman in the region.

2/17 Stayed in Eugene & wrote letter to H. K. Hines in reference to Sabbath School books and money in his hands. Preached in the evening. ... Sent letter to Bro Pearne. Harvey K. Hines was licensed to preach in New York State at the age of 16. He was sent to the Oregon Conference in 1853 and served there as a fully ordained elder for many years. In his *Illustrated History of Oregon*, published in 1893, he

estimated his "travels in the service of the church on this coast to have been by rail and steamboat 75,000 miles, by stage 5,000 miles and by ... private conveyance not less than 100,000."

2/20 Helped Bro Driver haul wood – team Fanny & ... -two loads. Bro Driver preached in the evening. Stayed all night with Sr Jennings (?). ...

2/21 Started for Marys River, Bro Driver in company. Took dinner at Bro Smiths. Crossed ferry at Monroe ferryage 10 cts pd by Bro Driver for which I owe him. Went on to Bro Sandersons.

2/23 (Sunday) Love feast – preached at 11 AM. Bro Clark at 8 PM. Day stormy. Collection \$7.25. Good congregation and good meeting.

3/1 Preached at 11 AM & held Qr. Con. Went home with Bro Pringle. Virgil K. Pringle was a prominent Salem pioneer, farmer and shoe and boot maker. A creek, street, park and school are named Pringle.

3/4 At home. Went to Bro McDonalds & ... over his apples. Did chores. Saw Dr. Ballard in reference to ... scholarship. Got Johnny shoes of Bro Wheeler (?) at Scio 1.00. The 1860 US Census lists D. W. Ballard as a physician in Lebanon. On 4/23 he vaccinated Johnny and on 4/27 he delivered Eddie.

3/7 Left home for Corvallis. Rode through the most pitiless storm of the season. Took dinner & bed at Bro Thompsons. Went on to Bro Bonds & stayed all night.

3/13 At home. Cash to Elkins for broom ... tacks Bro Odell lectured at the Academy on American institutions. This was probably a lecture to which the public was invited.

3/15 Stormy very. Preached & held Qr. Con in the afternoon. Prayer meeting in the evening. Stayed all night with Bro Roberts. Superintendent William Roberts was living in Salem at the time.

3/19 Cash to Elkins for 2 panes of window glass .25. To Jones for cloth for Johnnys pants .75.

3/23 (Sunday) Love feast at 10 AM. Good. Preached at 11 AM. Collec. \$12.25. Administered sacrament. Took dinner with Bro ... Bro Starr preached in the evening. Stayed all night at Bro ...

3/24 Started for home at 7 AM. Took dinner at Bro Isaac ... & fed horses. Bro Philip Starr was with me. Bro Miller paid me for his P. C. Ad. Reached Bro Newtons about 7 PM. Crossed at Oliphants. Ferryage .25. The *Pacific Christian Advocate* began publication in Salem in 1855 with Thomas H. Pearne as editor. One of Blaine's tasks was to secure subscriptions for the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, the *Western Christian Advocate* and the *Ladies' Repository*, all Methodist publications geared toward readers with a high level of literacy and quite broad interests.

3/25 At home after 12 o'clock. Got of Mr Kees colt & saddled it. – "Bird" hopelessly cast in the stable. Rainy in the PM. Bro Balch lectured at the Academy. Paid road tax to ... 1.50. Bird was evidently another of his horses, possibly a work horse, as he always mentions riding Fanny.

3/26 Left letter written for Bro Kingsley. Bro Gray shot old "Bird". It was hard to see her killed but she was past cure. *Requiem in pace*. Traded two inch skins for \$2.00. Bought a padlock for .50 & a shovel

for \$1.50. Worked some with the colt & hauled a load of wood with Mr. Kees team. Also took "Bird" away.

3/27 Started for Bro Millers ... Took dinner at Bro Kirks ... Came on to Bro Wiegers – stayed all night. He had no feed but wheat & bran – hard wind & muddy. Left Wesley's sermons at Bro Wiegers for which he is to pay \$2.00. Kirks could refer to Alexander Kirk, who was licensed to run a ferry on the Santiam River in 1850. Kirk's Ferry was the original name of Brownsville.

4/2 Postage envelopes .25. Stayed with Bro Driver because of storm. Called on Sr ... Made a short speech at temperance meeting. Stayed over night with Bro Driver.

4/9 At home – Helped wash & cleaned up yard some. Paid squaw for washing 1.00. The hiring of Indian women to do the washing was an established practice in the region. Emma Smood, a pioneer at Albany, recalled: "The Indians about Albany were always very friendly and never gave any serious trouble. The last of them to remain about were ... Old Lucy and Old Pete ... husband and wife. ... Old Lucy washed for mother every Monday for years and years." This quotation also illustrates the drastic decline in the local Indian population.

That the Blaines took advantage of this resource is interesting in view of their attitude toward Indians expressed in the letters from Seattle. On December 20, 1853, shortly after his arrival, David came to the conclusion that: ... *The Indians are at best but a poor degraded race, far inferior to even the lowest of those among us. .. However, they are fast passing away and will soon disappear.* Oddly, the letter quoted here does not appear in either published version of the letters. The quotation is taken from a typescript at the Huntington Library made by Thomas W. Prosch. Prosch was a leading Seattle newspaper man and collector of the city's history. This copy had to have been made before 1915, the year of his death. Frederick A. Norwood, a leading historian of American Methodism, used it in his "Two Contrasting Views of Indians: Methodist Involvement in the Indian Troubles in Oregon and Washington." *Church History* (June, 1980) 178-187.

Lacking the vote herself, Catharine had been incensed when, in 1854, the Washington Territorial Legislature gave voting rights to men of half Indian blood. She predicted in a letter of May 3 that even full Indians would "pass" and cast ballots. She went on: *You talk about the stupidity and awkwardness of the Irish. You ought to have to do with our Indians and then you would know what these words mean.* Furthermore, she was shocked at the lack of physical modesty among the Indians, writing on August 4: *They know as little of shame as the beasts of the field.*

4/11 Settled with Bro Odell – owed him on acct \$91.66. Crandall girls board \$132.00. Balance due \$40.34. Several of Catharine's letters refer to girls boarding with them in order to attend Santiam Academy, which drew students from a large area. The income from boarders supplemented their meager salary. On February 16, 1862, she writes: *The income we receive from our boarders has enabled us to meet our expenses this winter but I think we shall not keep them much longer if we can help it. It makes me more work and care than I want, and the influence of the younger girls over Johnny is bad, they are so quarrelsome.*

4/18 Got oxen of ... Kees & hauled manure.

4/19 Quarterly meeting at Lebanon. Preached at 11 AM & in the evening. Bro Lewis stayed with us over night. Sent Bro Odell \$5.00 paid next Friday.

4/20 (Sunday) Had a good love feast. Preached at 11 AM. Bro Lewis preached at 4 PM. Collection 9.82. Cash paid to collection.25. Cash to misc (?) collection. 5.00. Amount of misc (?) collection 8.00

4/21 Hauled the rest of barn manure and the chip manure with Mr. Kees oxen. The quarterly conference and love feast tucked between two days of hauling manure show the mixture of tasks Blaine performed with no apparent sense of incongruity.

4/22 Got Mr. Kees horses and plowed garden in the afternoon. In the forenoon finished trimming Bro Woodward's trees. Dr. Ballard vaccinated Johnny.

4/23 Finished plowing & harrowed & furrowed garden – planted potatoes, beans, tomatoes. Had Mr. Kees horses til noon. Sent Mr. Kees \$60. Sent letters to Bro Pearne with plan of district for ...

4/24 Worked in the garden. Planted corn, parsnips, beets ... squashes ... melons. Went to prayer meeting in the evening. The gardening entries show a wide range of vegetables being grown.

4/25 Rainy in the morning. Got 35 lbs flour on acct of Bro Odell - \$2.75 per ... Ground axe in the forenoon. Helped Bro Ostrander get his cattle over the river & cut wood in the timber.

4/27 (Sunday) Got up about 5 o'clock AM & in about an hour Blain *minimus natura* (Latin for small birth) was introduced to the light of this world - & Fanny brought forth her first born about the same time. Both offspring and both mothers remarkably smart (?) and fine. No preaching at Lebanon. The baby born to the Blaines was their second child, Edward. The diarist has clearly written the family name as Blain, not Blaine.

4/28 At home. Attending upon home affairs.

4/29 The same as yesterday. Wrote to Mother Paine, Bro Driver, Bro Woodward, Bro Kingsley, Bro Hines. Cash for salt at Elkins .50. Mother Paine was Catharine Blaine's mother. David's letter to her elaborates on the birth: *About 4 ½ o'clock in the morning wife wakened me from sweet slumber and said she thought I had better get up and milk and do my other chores, so that I might be ready to wait upon her. I made a fire and laid down till five; then milked, etc., and about 5 ½ stepped across the street and invited Dr. Ballard, our nearest neighbor, and wife if they would be so kind as to come over and stay with Mrs. Blaine until I could run uptown and invite one or two of our neighbor ladies to come down ... This done, I hastened home and had been back but a few minutes when I was presented with a handsome, fat, lively, wide awake, bouncing boy, weighing 9 ½ pounds. Of course I was very thankful and some tickled. Johnny got up and could not believe the news about the baby, but was very much pleased with the idea. He went out of doors and came in very soon, exclaiming: "Pa, Fanny has got a little colt; come out, Pa, and see how nice it is."* This baby would later be named Edward Linn. The letter sounds as though Johnny was unaware a baby was coming and was perhaps even more excited about the colt.

5/5 Kate well enough to do some kitchen work. I cut wood in the timber in the afternoon – showery.

5/8 Killed my mutton. Let Dr. Ballard have a forequarter weighing 16 lbs & Bro Odell the other – 17lbs. Cut up and salted hind quarters. Weight of sheep meat 66 lbs. Was Dr. Ballard's forequarter of mutton payment for delivering the baby? On 8/22: Killed my beef, which he sold the next day.

5/9 Got Fanny shod with her new shoes before & old ones set on behind. 2.25. Started for Salem at 9 AM. Took dinner at Bro Johnsons. Pd ferryage at Santiam City .25. Reached Bro Wards at sundown.

5/19 Ferryage at Corvallis .25. Bot at Beaches Albany 2 dollars worth sugar 2.00, 6 yds cotton flannel 1.20. Sent letter to Bro Pearne containing order on Allen & Lewis for \$12. Came home with Bro Ostrander.

5/21 Went to Albany. Took Mrs. B., Johnny & Eddie This is the first mention in the diary of the new baby's name – Edward. Left them at Dr. Shepherds & went on to Corvallis. Ferryage .50. Stayed overnight at Bro Dixons – Bro D not at home gone to the mines (?).

5/22 Got up about 4 AM & fixed hive of bees got of Mr. Teal & put them in buggy. Got started for Albany about 7 AM. Cash for hoops for Kate 2.00, postage stamps .10. Bot of Beach & Co. on acct 4 pairs socks, 2 yds calico 1.40. Came home & took bees to Bro Rudolphs. Hoop skirts began to be fashionable in the late 1850s. Some Methodists thought the "sisters" should dress plainly, but Catharine's letters show her interest in fashions. On 5/27 Blaine paid \$18 for a silk dress.

5/23 Hoed our beans, corn, tomatoes, peas, vegetable ... & beets. Went to Bro Ostranders in the afternoon. Took Kate, Johnny & Eddie in the buggy.

5/29 Wrote till noon. Went to hear candidates speak in the afternoon at the Academy. Dibbs (?) made a fine speech for the Union.

6/2 Rode home by 2 PM. Voted Union ticket.

6/3 Wrote for M. Kees all day. Received letter from Bro Miller. Union candidates in the co. all elected by a majority of 100 to 140.

6/12 Sold my cattle for \$60 to Bro Wilson to be paid Aug. 1. Hoed in the garden in the afternoon. Wilson started with his drove. This may refer to the Willamette Valley practice of driving herds of horses and cattle across the Cascades to graze on the rich spring bunch grass on the eastern side.

6/14 Preached at Salem at 2 PM. Held qur con. Prayer meeting in the evening. Stayed overnight with Bro ... Took dinner with Bro Parish [sic]. Put Fanny in his pasture. Josiah L. Parrish, born in 1806, was a local preacher, rancher and blacksmith who had come to Oregon with the "Great Reinforcement" who arrived to assist Jason Lee with the Oregon Mission in 1840. In 1849 he was appointed Indian agent for a territory extending from California to British Columbia. In this capacity, he negotiated treaties with the Clatsop, Tillamook, and Chinook tribes. He was one of the original trustees of the Oregon Institute,

which became Willamette University. At the time of his death in 1895, he was the oldest pioneer in Oregon. He spent his last years in Salem, where a school is named for him.

6/15 (Sunday) Bro Rutledge preached Mr. ... funeral sermon at ... Love feast short & unprofitable. Sacrament & collection. I preached in the evening. Talked to the Sab. Sch. In PM.

6/19 Hoed in the garden till noon. Went to Judge Thorntons in the evening on my way to Dallas. In 1848 Judge J. Quinn Thornton had lobbied in Washington, D.C. on behalf of territorial status for Oregon.

6/27 Came on to the campground. Called at Bro Batemans. Preached at 3 PM. Bro Berry preached in the evening. Annual camp meetings had long been a feature of eighteenth and nineteenth century American Protestantism, serving a social as well as religious function. The Methodists who settled in the Willamette Valley brought this tradition from their home states. The diary does not give the exact location of the 1862 camp meeting, but it was probably not the historic Methodist campground founded in 1851 by the Belknap family and their neighbors who had formed a Methodist community called the Bellfountain Settlement in present Benton County. In fact, Catharine's letter of June 6, 1861, mentions that the camp meeting is "on this circuit, at Roberts Bridge, about 10 miles from here." There is, in fact, a Roberts Road that crosses the Calapooya River in Linn County near Lebanon. The Belknap Camp meeting was in Benton County.

Even though probably not the location mentioned in the diary and letters, the Bellknap camp meeting continued during and well beyond David Blaine's time in Oregon and is the best documented camp meeting in the Willamette Valley. Descriptions of it are relevant to the Oregon camp meeting in general. The *Oregon Inventory of Historic Properties* describes it as follows: "From 1851 until the turn of the century, camp meetings were held in this location each year during the week between the last Sunday in June and the first Sunday in July (between haying and harvesting.) The wide, level space above the 'amphitheater' slope provided a place to set up tents and room for the horses to be stabled."

Ketturah Penton Belknap was instrumental in organizing the first camp meetings. She recounted years later in her memoirs published as *On Her Way Rejoicing* (original spellings and punctuation): "... so after looking the country over they settled on the grove with the big spring on it on Orin Belknaps land, and now its June and its been given out all over the country that their will be a campmeeting in the Belknap neighborhood commencing the 20 of june evey body invited to come prepared to camp and so it came to pass that many came some with whole familys with ox teams some on Horse back with their tent and Bedding packed on a poney but I have forgot to tell you how the whole neighborhood worked clearup up the ground and cleaning out the spring and getting evry thing in good shap then we all staked of the places for our tents..."

Wherever it was, Catharine Blaine's letter of July 16 describes the 1861 camp meeting: *The meeting lasted from Thursday, the 27th of June, till Monday, the 8th of July, holding over two Sabbaths. It is said to have been the greatest meeting ever held in Oregon. The attendance on the Sabbaths was not far from 2,000 people; during the week there were from 100 to 500 on the grounds all the time. This may not seem large numbers to you, but when you remember how few people there are here compared to the number with you, it will seem large. It was 10 miles from any town, Corvallis and Albany being the*

nearest, and neither have over 500 inhabitants. There was the most perfect order and good behavior, nothing that could have excited remark in a church; about 75 of the number professed conversion.

The comment about perfect order probably relates to camp meetings in her home state of New York, during which some participants ran around, jumped, shouted, or even fell into catatonic states. The more staid Methodists did not approve of such overt manifestations of religious fervor. Disorderliness was also of concern to Ketturah Belknap during the 1851 camp meeting. Of plans for the Sunday service, she recounted “ ... then the suggestion was made that they pick their men to pray, not have the long-winded ones, nor them that were too full of the Holy Ghost, for they would start Aunt Liza and she would take the Campground and spoil it all.” David Blaine’s diary continues to describe the 1862 camp meeting over the next week. Not all was joy. Brother Lewis lost his watch, Fanny wandered off home, and then it started to rain.

6/28 Prayer meeting in the morning. Good. Bro Powell preached at 11 AM. Bro T. B. Sanderson at 3 PM. Bro Alvin Waller at 7 PM. Good meeting after sermons. Several forward soon converted Christians. Greatly blessed. Alvan (sometimes spelled Alvin) Waller was a major figure in early Oregon Methodism. He began his ministry as a circuit rider in the Genessee Conference of New York, then came to Oregon in 1840 with the Great Reinforcement. His subsequent contest with Dr. John McLoughlin over a claim near the base of Willamette Falls at Oregon City, was part of the ongoing struggle between British and American interests in the region. Waller is perhaps best remembered as the tireless financial agent for Willamette University, the Methodist institution of higher education established in 1842 as the Oregon Institute. For years he traveled throughout the area preaching, conducting weddings and funerals, and, above all, raising money for the university. No doubt Waller saw camp meetings as an opportunity to do so.

6/29 (Sunday) Love feast in the morning. Bro Roberts preached at 11 AM. Bro I. D. Driver at 3 PM; Bro W.S Lewis at 7 PM. Congregation large. The meeting very good after sermons. Some converted. Bro Lewis lost his watch.

6/30 Bro Lewis & Bro Waller & Roberts, Sanderson, Driver & others left. Noah Starr preached at 11 AM. Bro Highbanks at 3 PM. Bro Deal at 7 PM. Very good after sermon ...

7/1 Love feast, sacrament & baptisms. Bro P. Starr preached at 3 PM. No preaching in the evening. Having lost Fanny from the pasture I started to hunt her - went to Lebanon in search.

7/2 Quite a rainy day. Came back to campground by way of Brownsville. ... Got Bro Silas Kearny (?) to go with me in the afternoon & found her (Fanny). Bro McKinney preached in the evening. Prayer meeting in the morning.

7/3 Rainy morning. Most of the tent folks went home. I started & went over to Corvallis. Notified Bro Berry of Bro Pearn's complaints. Stayed overnight at ...

7/4 Reached home via Albany. Ferryage .38. ... Got home in time to hear part of Bro Georges oration & all of Bro Lewis. They had quite a celebration at Lebanon. (Fourth of July) Put letter in the express at

Albany for a lady at Brownsville. Got letter for Mrs. H. Smith. The express refers to the California Stage Company, which had the mail contract between Sacramento and Portland until 1865. It provided relatively rapid transportation of passengers, mail and light freight.

7/7 Left 47.50 at ... to be sent to Bro Pearne. Left on deposit for the church \$14.00. Got home about 1 PM. Bro Lewis came with me. Worked some in the garden. Paid squaw for washing .62.

7/8 Hoed in the garden all day. Bro Ostrander & wife here in PM. Sent Judge Thorntons note for \$251.28 by Bro Lewis to Powell by request. This is one of several times in the diary when Blaine is dealing with large sums of money.

7/11 Set Susan Wilson's arm – out of joint. Hoed in the garden ... hoed with me till ... AM. Cash for fixing buggy tongue .50. Paid Jones for gloves Kates .38. This is the only reference in the diary to Blaine providing a medical service.

7/12 Went to Brownsville. Called on the way & took dinner with Bro Rudolph. Stopped over night with the widow of Wilson Blain. Left with Mrs. Kees \$200. The Rev. Wilson Blain was a Presbyterian missionary, unrelated to Blaine, who died in 1861. Again, Blaine mentions a large sum of money.

7/13 (Sunday) Preached at 11 AM & 2 PM at the United Presbyterian Church. Went over to Samuel (?) Blains to stay all night.

7/20 (Sunday) Love feast. Preached at 11 AM. Administered sacrament. Preached to Captain Drews company of volunteers at 5 PM. Although far removed from the major action of the Civil War, the Oregonians were very conscious of it. The volunteers referred to above were one of six units of the First Oregon Cavalry formed during the winter of 1861-62 under the command of Charles Stewart Drew.

Factors leading up to the Civil War had been present in Oregon for some time. Like several other large Protestant denominations, the Methodists had split over the issue of slavery. In 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, organized as a separate body. Many of these Southern Methodists made their way to the Northwest, as did non-Methodist Southerners. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South officially entered Oregon in 1858 under the instigation of the Rev. James Stuart of the California Conference, brother of the famous Confederate general Jeb Stuart. As in the "Border States," all was not peaceful between the Northern and Southern Methodists in Oregon. At a Southern Methodist camp meeting near Salem, mounted and armed Northern sympathizers (some of them Methodists) descended on the meeting with threats against the preachers and a demand that the United States flag be hoisted. The Southern preachers complied, mollified the attackers, and violence was averted.

The Blaines's abolitionist views are evident in the letters, and they feared Oregon becoming a slave state. David wrote from Portland on July 28, 1856: *I am very well assured that were the question of slavery or no slavery submitted to the people of Oregon today slavery would be admitted here. We have a large population from the southern states, the people here have large claims and cannot hire help to cultivate them, and a great many of them have had Indian slaves until now, and are too abominably lazy to work hard themselves. So you see they are just ripe for the introduction of slave labor.*

This mention of Indian slavery is interesting. The northern coastal Indians traditionally engaged in raids in which they acquired slaves for their own use and to sell to other tribes, including those in Oregon. An article in the *New York Spectator* in 1843 substantiates Blaine's claim of settlers owning Indian slaves: "We have before us a long and interesting letter from a gentleman belonging to the Methodist mission Oregon ... Many of the settlers, both French and American, buy and sell slaves. By these most of the work of the farmer is done. Will not some government notice this? Are not the laws of the Union strict on the subject of enslaving Indians?" Blaine's statement that many of the farmers from the South "have had Indian slaves until now" would indicate that the practice had ceased, leaving a labor vacuum to be filled, he feared, by black slavery.

Oregon's state constitutional convention in 1857 left the slavery question to a popular vote, with the result that approximately one third of the voters (white males) supported the right of slaveholders to bring their slaves into Oregon. Although the anti-slavery forces prevailed, the fears of the Blaines seem to have been quite justified. However, even the Unionist and prohibitionist majority sentiment was not entirely altruistic, as many homesteaders, who had to do most of their own work and pay for the rest, feared the competition of slave-owning farmers. Nor was Oregon hospitable to freed slaves. Black exclusion acts beginning in territorial times were reinforced in the 1857 state constitution that prepared the way for statehood in 1859.

Once the Civil War began, the pro-Union advocates prevailed in the Willamette Valley, holding large rallies. On June 6, 1861, Catharine wrote: *I did not wash last week in consequence of our going to Albany to attend a Union Mass Meeting. These meetings are being held all through the country. We had one here two weeks ago. Sister Odell (Elizabeth Thurston Odell, who taught at the Academy), in behalf of the ladies of Lebanon, presented the American flag, which was hoisted amid cheers. Speeches were made. The affair at Albany was grand ... about 3,000 people were in attendance, thus manifesting that their love for the Union There is to be a demonstration at Corvallis next week.*

7/24 Left Bro Woodward's to come toward home – rode on very pleasantly in company with Bros Stratton & Smith till we reached Elk Creek – where our neck yoke broke & whipple tree lines & brace (?) were broke by the horses. Went to Mr. Charles Draines (?) & stayed overnight feeling very thankful for our preservation.

7/30 Attended trustee meeting at the Santiam Academy in the afternoon. Bro Woodward arrived in the afternoon – with us overnight. Since becoming presiding elder, Blaine was a trustee rather than principal of the academy.

8/4 Went to Dr. Skiffs & got some dentistry done. Started out to Dayton at 10. Cash for lunch .75. Called at Father Odell's & Bro Coverts (?) – got ... Ferry .83. What must dentistry have been like in 1862? On 8/16 he reports: **Paid to Dr. Skiff for filling tooth 1.00.**

8/5 Reached Father Spencers overnight – left for Portland. Left for ... Ferryage over Tualatin .25. Reached Portland at 5 PM. Put horses at Father Kelleys. Heard Bro Simpson lecture in the evening – paid \$1.00. Bishop Matthew Simpson presided at the Oregon Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held at Vancouver, Washington Territory, August 6-13. A noted orator and preacher,

Simpson was one of the towering figures in nineteenth century Methodism. He had the ear of several presidents, including Lincoln, and delivered the funeral oration at Lincoln's burial in Springfield, Illinois. In those days, Methodist Episcopal bishops were itinerant and served at large, rather than being assigned to a diocese or geographic location. The five bishops rotated in conducting annual conferences and assigning located preachers and circuit riders. Simpson traveled from Pittsburgh to oversee the 1862 conference.

8/11 Cash at Miss Soc. ... 5.00 ... Returned to Vancouver in the morning. This was a momentous day for Blaine, although he does not mention it in his diary. The conference minutes for this date state: "Bro Blain asked leave of absence for one year. Granted."

8/13 Came to Portland on Express. Paid over to Bro Kingsley conference Missionary Money \$880.00 including two drafts for Upper Will. Dist. Each 68.50. Here Blaine mentions taking the stagecoach. By 1860, the California Stage Company (the Express) was providing daily coach and mail service between Sacramento and Portland. Furthermore, smaller stage companies connected towns within the Willamette Valley by Blaine's time. The stage routes, better maintained than other roads and trails, were a boon to those, like Blaine, who traveled mainly by horseback or buggy. Fortunately, considering the huge amount of money he was carrying, there were no encounters with highwaymen. However, the *History of Linn County* reports "quite a few stage holdups ... At night, around some difficult curve in the road might be heard a hoarse command to 'Throw out the express box.'" In the diary entry of 8/25, Blain identifies himself as missionary treasurer, which may account for his carrying so much cash.

8/15 Ferryage at Boones .50. Stayed overnight with Bro Roberts. In 1847, Alphonso and Jesse Van Bibber Boone, descendants of Daniel Boone, established a ferry at Wilsonville, south of Portland. It predated by a year any ferry service across the Willamette at Portland.

8/17 Came to Albany. Heard Bp. Simpson preach at 11. I preached in the evening. Stayed overnight with Bro Lewis.

8/25 Wrote up my Missionary Treasurers book – went to Bro Roberts & took supper.

8/27 At home. Went to Bro Rudolphs & took up their hive of bees – poor show – Stayed overnight.

9/6 Went to Corvallis – took wife & boys to ... & returned as far as Jefferson on my way to the Sound.. Cash for ferryage at Corvallis .40; at Jefferson .25. Stopped with Bro smith. ... Took dinner Bro Raymond. Came on to Mr. ... & stopped for the night. Here begins his trip to the Puget Sound area of Washington Territory.

9/8 Left Bro Johnsons at 7 AM reached Oregon City at 2 PM took lunch with Bro Stratton. Cash for oats .15. Reached Portland at 4 PM. Toll & ferryage .25

9/9 Cash for horse keeping 1.00 . Cash for coat and overalls ... Cash for passage to Monticello on Jenny Clark. \$8.00 Cash for postage stamps .15. Wrote to Kate at Portland & Bro Lippincott on the Jenny.

9/11 ... Travelled on to Bro ... took dinner & got to Olympia. Cash for horse keeping at Olympia \$1.00

9/12 Got Bro Doanes boat. Sent Fanny out to Bro Littlejohns & started with Bro Littlejohn & started with Osmon Doane for Seattle. Travelled all day until 10 PM. Camped on the beach. Nehemiah Doane had arrived in Portland in 1850 after nearly being shipwrecked. In 1859 he was appointed presiding elder for the Puget Sound District, with headquarters at Olympia, a post he held for four years. He braved the winds and waves of Puget Sound in a row boat to reach many of his posts. In his later years Doane was a professor of theology at Willamette University. Osmon Doane is unidentified.

9/13 Started at 5 AM – got to Seattle about noon. Took dinner with Mr. Horton & stopped with him overnight. He has fixed his house very conveniently & his garden looks so well it seemed like home. Dexter Horton arrived in Seattle in 1852 and, in 1870, established the first bank in the city.

9/14 (Sunday) Preached at Seattle – two sermons. Had a good time in our little church, the result of my labors years ago. Went to Mr. Mercers & stayed overnight. Elisa Graham was quite sick. Here Blaine refers to the Little White Church built in 1855. Asa Mercer would soon earn renown for bringing the “Mercer Girls,” mill workers from Lowell Massachusetts, as brides for the surplus bachelors of Seattle.

9/15 (Sunday) Received of Sr. D. Denny miss (missionary) money \$1.00. Put in David Dennys hand a note against the trustees of the M.E. church in S. also 4 county orders – to be applied on my lots to fence ... Here is a reference to property he had already bought in Seattle.

9/16 Stayed overnight with D. Denny. Took a walk around with Yesler – to my land got of Maynard. Started for Olympia about noon – Father Denny along. Wind & tide against us – made the foot of Vashon Island about dark – camped about ... at 11 o'clock PM. David Denny was a member of the Denny Party that first set foot on land that became Seattle. The Denny family was Methodist. Henry Yesler started the first sawmill in Seattle, and David (Doc) Maynard, was a physician, entrepreneur, Indian agent, and one of the first settlers to plat Seattle. This entry is one of several references in the diary and letters to Blaine’s acquisition of property. As church historian Frederick Norwood pointed out, “Although ministers’ salaries on the frontier were extremely low and rarely paid in full, the Blaines improved their worldly condition by acquiring choice Seattle real estate.”

9/17 Started about 4 AM with the tide – got to Olympia about 9 PM. Had headwind most of the day – worked hard – stopped with A. Denny. Here begins the somewhat harrowing return trip to Oregon.

9/18 Walked out to Bro Littlejohns took dinner & started on journey for Monticello – got to Claquats. Stopped with Bro Douglas. Paid for horse keeping to Bro Littlejohns boy \$3.00.

9/20 Rainy. Started from Huntingtons – called on Bro Hughbanks – got to Monticello – could not get any further – not able to get over the river - & no (?) boat from Portland so returned. Took dinner with Hon. Seth Catlin (?) & back to Bro Hughbanks at night.

9/22 Got across the Columbia at Rainier about 3 PM. Traveled some 9 miles by trail. Francis Evans with me. Camped in an old house.

9/24 Got to Portland about 11 AM. 14 miles – took dinner with Bro Kingsley. ...

9/25 Started for home. Ferryage .25. Fed horse at O. City. Ferryage over Pudding R .25. Got to Brownes at 8 PM.

9/26 Came on – got boots ...7.50. Recd of Knox 91.68. Ferryage over Santiam .25. Took dinner with Bro Pringle. Got to Albany. Due from Thornton \$34. 67.

10/6 Started for Portland in the buggy ... Cash at Santiam .40. Reached Bro Pringles at 8 PM. Stayed over night. He was home in Lebanon only briefly before setting forth for Portland.

10/7 Came to Salem. Left Treasurers Book at Bro Dillons. Owe \$70. ... \$5 ... on order. Came on to Sr. Whites. Stopped over night. Cash for oats at noon .25. Rev. Isaac Dillon of Salem was Statistical Secretary for the 1862 conference. He taught at Willamette University and was for a time an editor of *Pacific Christian Advocate*. In 1902, at the age of 79, he was drowned in Puget Sound while going alone in a rowboat to fill a preaching engagement.

10/8 Came on to Portland. Cash at Boones .40; cash at noon .25. Got in about 8 PM & took up our quarters with Bro C.S. Kingsley – probably for the winter.

10/9 School opened on Tuesday by Bro & Sister Kingsley. I went into school this morning. Blaine spent the autumn of 1862 working in some capacity for Portland Academy and Female Seminary.

10/30 Did not go to prayer meeting as there was a temperance lecture. Temperance was a cause dear to nineteenth century Methodists.

10/31 Gave out school bills for the present quarter. Diary entries for October, November and December are sporadic and hastily scrawled. In addition to his work at the Portland Academy, he mentions preaching at Congregational, as well as Methodist churches. He did considerable family shopping in Portland, including an overcoat for himself, perhaps in preparation for the cold winters in New York State, to which he would soon return.

The Blaines did return to New York State in early 1863. Then David received brief appointments back in Oregon and Washington from late 1863 through 1865. Obviously Catharine returned to New York, as a daughter, Martha, was born March 8, 1864 in Seneca Falls. In 1866 Blaine was back in New York as a substitute pastor in Cazenovia. He mainly farmed until re-admitted to the East Genesee Conference in 1871. In 1873 he made a visit to Seattle to sell products of the National Yeast Company of Seneca Falls. During this time he bought lots in downtown Seattle. Between 1873 and 1882, David Blaine served a number of churches in New York and Pennsylvania, with periods of farming between pastoral assignments.

The Blaines returned to Seattle in 1882 or 1883 and remained there for the rest of their lives. David did not resume active ministry. Their children either stayed in or returned to the Seattle area. John J. Blaine was a steam engineer working for the city water department. Edward Linn Blaine became an affluent businessman and distinguished church and civic leader. He was on the Seattle City Council for many

years, a longtime board member of the University of Puget Sound, and board president of the Washington Children's Home Society. He was active in both Blaine Memorial Methodist and First Methodist churches. Martha Louise Blaine married a Methodist minister, Edward White, who eventually served churches near Seattle.

David Blaine died in 1900 and Catharine in 1908. They are buried in Mount Pleasant Cemetery on Seattle's Queen Anne Hill. Probate records show that upon Catharine's death, two of the lots purchased in 1873 were valued at \$50,000. In her will, Catharine Blaine left substantial bequests to various mission and education agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Suffice it to say, the adage about the missionaries to Hawaii – They came to do good and stayed to do well – might apply equally to David and Catharine Blaine and their progeny in Seattle. Part of that mixture of "good" and "well", (to which might be added a dash of "human fallibility") is revealed in the Oregon diary of the Rev. David E. Blaine and the letters he and his wife Catharine wrote during their sojourn in the Northwest.

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