ROUTE OF JOHN WORK'S EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA, 1832-33

Drawn by John Adam Hussey
Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura

John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33
for the Hudson's Bay Company

Edited by Alice Bay Maloney

THE ORIGINAL manuscript of John Work's California expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company is deposited in the Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, Vancouver Island. It is contained in two large notebooks and is carefully written and legible save for a few places made undecipherable by blots of ink. The books are probably copies of roughly kept notes from a smaller volume, since they show no evidence of the rough journey of fifteen months by canoe and horseback, and the handwriting is fairly uniform.

A grandson of John Work, the late Henry Huggins of Marshfield, Oregon, first called the attention of the writer to this diary. He had seen it at his grandmother's house when as a boy he was sent from his home at Fort Nisqually to school in Victoria. Investigation revealed that a transcript of a portion of the journal was in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa. Photostats and permission to publish were generously furnished through Dr. Gustav Lanctot, Deputy Minister and Archivist. The original journals were later traced to Victoria, and through British Columbia Archivist W. Kaye Lamb (now librarian of the University of British Columbia) photostats of the remainder were secured and the transcript of the first part checked.

For assistance and information the writer is indebted to many scholars and institutions, government, state and county officials and to local historians in regions traveled by John Work on his long trail. His Honour, Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, cleared the pathway for generous cooperation accorded by the Canadian Archives, the Archives of British Columbia, The Provincial Library and the Historical Society of British Columbia. Other sources drawn upon for material were the Oregon Historical Society, the Washington Historical Society, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, the California State Library, The Royal Canadian Museum, Toronto, Canada, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, the U. S. Forest Service, the National Park Service, the California State Highway Department, the Shasta County Historical Society, and the Franciscan Fathers of Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Botanical notes were made by Miss Alice Eastwood, curator emeritus of
the California Academy of Sciences. Notes on the fauna of California and Oregon are by Professor Tracy M. Storer of the University of California. Anthropological notes are by Dr. Robert F. Heizer.

Space does not permit listing here of all the individuals in numerous localities who aided in tracing trails and identifying landmarks. A debt of gratitude to all who assisted is hereby acknowledged. The task of following a trail over a century old was lightened by this generous and enthusiastic aid.

As much of John Work's trail as could be traced practicably by car and foot has been gone over during the past four years when preparation of this journal has been under way. Some of the route remains just trail, and for those portions not reached personally numerous authorities have been consulted in a desire to trace his pathway through what was, in 1832-33, desert and wilderness. Today many sections of Work's route remain more or less in the same condition in which he found them. Good roads make transit of his dangerous, waterless journeys across the sagebrush desert between Malheur and Goose lakes in Oregon a matter of a few hours by automobile. The pass which Work crossed through the Cascade Range of mountains north of Lassen Peak, judging from all available traditions and records, is the first pass used by white men in their penetration of California from the north. Miss Dorothy Huggins, corresponding secretary of the California Historical Society, and the writer drove over the forest road covering this portion of Work's route on August 28, 1942, just one hundred and nine years to the day after Work made his way over the heights on his homeward journey to Fort Vancouver. The road does not follow the exact Indian trail used by the Hudson's Bay Company trappers; nevertheless, we were able to approximate his path and learn something of the difficulties encountered by John Work and his packtrain as they "took the Mountain."

The Bonaventura was for many years a stream of uncertain origin and mythical course. Father Escalante heard of it in 1776 and mentioned it by name. Old maps show it draining Great Salt Lake and flowing directly into the Pacific Ocean. In this journal of John Work its limits are known and its course is clear: "The Bonaventura is the Sacramento." As such, it was well known to the hunters and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the heat of an August day, Chief Trader John Work and his party of one hundred men, women and children embarked in boats for the first stage of their long expedition to the Bonaventura; a journey that was to take its toll in sickness and death, a journey fraught with perils and burdened by rivalry and disappointments. Nevertheless the record of its day by day progress is a document of historical value, and its revelations throw light on an obscure period of Western history.
Augt. 1832, Friday 17  Warm sultry weather. Left Vancouver a little before noon and joined the Snake Trappers, (who were sent to a little above the fort yesterday evening to take their regale,) we embarked in three boats & proceeded up the river to a little above the saw mill where we put ashore for the night. The party this year is to consist of 26 men. Our instructions are to proceed to the Old Lake [Snake?] country or the Bonaventura valley which ever may be deemed most advantageous. Our present plan is, if the season does not be too far advanced, to go by Ogden’s River where a few beaver may be caught before the river freezes over and then go on to the Bonaventura by the S. branch, but if it be too late in the season we will have to push on direct to the Bonaventura by Pit river or the N. branch. Either way our prospects of making anything of a hunt are but very indifferent.

Saturday 18 Rained part of the day. Proceeded on our journey up the river with the paddles, there being no wind, to below the first rapids of the Cascades.

Sunday 19 Fine weather. Continued our route at an early hour, got across the portage at the Cascades a little past noon, lost some time guming the boats, and then proceeded up the river with the paddles, there being very little wind and that little ahead.

Monday 20 . . . Proceeded up the river with the paddles, the wind being still unfavourable, and encamped some distance below the Dalls.

Tuesday 21 . . . Continued our journey at an early hour and by the evening had the boats & cargoes across the Dalls portage and encamped at the upper end of it. This was a hard days work on the people. There are a great many Indians here at present, some few of them have the ague. Our sick men are recovering very slowly.

Wednesday, 22 . . . Proceeded on our journey a little before sunrising and got across the portage at the Chutes before noon when we proceeded up the river with the paddles, the wind being still unfavourable, and encamped in the evening some distance below Day’s River. The Indians at the Dalls & Chutes inform us that our man Soteaux whom we lost on the 8th July was murdered by two Mountain Snakes who lay in wait for him as he passed a thicket and shot him with arrows but little reliance can be placed on the account.

Thursday 23 . . . Continued our route up the river with a fine sail wind and made a good day’s journey.

Friday 24 . . . The sail wind continued and wafted us up the river to below Utalla river. C. Grosli’s boy taken ill with the fever. The men who were ill recovering very slowly.
Saturday 25  Sultry warm weather. Hired a horse from the Indians and came ahead of the boats to Fort Nezperces.12

Sunday 26  . . . The boats reached the fort early in the morning. The people employed during the day taking their property to the camp a little distance off at the little river.

Monday 27  . . . The men employed themselves with their families.

Tuesday 28  Showery during the day. Had everything arranged to deliver the provisions to the people. Several of the men & some boys taken ill. Some with the fever & some with a cold which is very prevalent about the place and seems to be infectious.

Wednesday 29  Fine warm weather. Employed the most of the day delivering the people their provisions. Several of the people continued ill. A. Longtain had recovered a little but has again relapsed, C. Grosloi's boy has also got worse. Three were attacked with the fever during last night and today L. Boisvant, T. Tevatcon, Bte. Gardipie, J. Dorland's boy, & L. Rondeau's little girl, a child.

Thursday 30  . . . Delivered the people hand axes, leather lodges, &c. The sick still continue ill, notwithstanding the application of medicine. In addition to the fever a severe cold prevails among the people.

Friday 31  . . . Delivered the people the remainder of their assets, &c. The sick men continue ill, two men, are taken ill a boy N. Finlay and L. Rondeau's wife.

Sept. 1832, Saturday 1  . . . Delivered the people their horses. The boy N. Finlay nearly bled to death at the nose and mouth. Another of the men C. Rondeau taken ill with the fever. J. Toupin who had recovered a little relapsed & is very ill. Two of our horses strayed & have not been found.

Sunday 2  Sultry warm weather. Some of the sick getting a little better, but two more men L. Quintall, J. S. LaRocque & C. Plant's wife are taken ill. So many of the people being thus taken with the fever, is of serious consequence. Last year not a man of the party, tho' we were here about this time, took it after we arrived here except an Indian boy, and the most of those who were ill recovered during our stay here, this year it is different, the people are taken ill daily since our arrival here, this is a thing I by no means expected, and might have had the people off two or three days ago but delayed purposely expecting that those who were worst would get better and be more able for the voyage. There are now ten men and some women & boys ill with it less or more. Though I was well supplied with medicines at Vancouver, (but) there is such a heavy demand upon it that it will soon be all done at this rate.

Monday 3  . . . The people moved camp to below the rock13 where they will have a little better feeding for the horses. Some of the people still very ill, exposed to the weather as they are here and not being able to remain quiet, the medicine operates with less effect than it would otherwise do, and
even when the patients do get a little better they very frequently relapse again but we cant help it.

*Tuesday* 4 . . . cool but stormy. Some of the men being sick the people did not raise camp. I was employed writing letters.

*Wednesday* 5 . . . The people moved a little further down the river. Finished writing letters. My favourite horse which I kept here to follow the people with, was sent out with an Indian to feed, the fellow left him & his cord got entangled about a bush & he fell in the river & was drowned.

*Thursday* 6 Sultry warm weather. Left the Fort & came up with the people at Utalla [Umatilla] river, found one of the men J. Favel on the way he had remained behind the others he was so ill with the fever, I brought him up with me. Three others of the men C. Rondeau, F. Champaigne and J. S. LaRocque are very ill with it indeed, there was another new case a boy L. Lavalle was taken ill on the way, the others are recovering a little. F. Payette who has been some time ill was unable to accompany me and I was reluctantly obliged to leave him behind. This I much regret as in the event of anything happening to me he was the only person to take charge of the party.

*Friday* 7 Fine warm weather. Did not raise camp on account of the sick men. Three of them were too ill to move. We are badly situated for patients in their condition there being obliged to move & being exposed to the sun destroys the effect of the medicine, and even when they have recovered a little occasions a relapse. I had a good supply of medicines from Vancouver but such a continual & heavy demand wastes it so rapidly that we will soon have none.

*Saturday* 8 Stormy yet warm weather. Did not raise camp so that the sick men might have a little repose. Rondeau, Champaigne and J. Favel are a good deal better these three days past. But C. Plante has fallen ill. The Bindach gave the men permission to kill two marons which he says belong to some of his relatives.

*Sunday* 9 Stormy cool weather. Raised camp & proceeded S.S.W. 4 hours 13 miles to a small creek. The sick are a good deal better but still very weak, the cool weather today was favourable for them. In the evening an Indian arrived from the fort [Nez Perce] with letters from Colville & one from Mr. Pambrum, a boy that was left sick at the fort came with the Indian. F. Payette who was also left sick at the fort had recovered a little of the disease he was labouring under, but had a slight fit of the intermittent fever the next day.

*Monday* 10 Fine warm weather. Five of the horses were astray in the morning and could not be found till near noon when we moved 5 Miles S.S.E. farther on and encamped. We would not have found water within reach to go farther on. One of the men Rocquebin refused to go and
seek after the stray horses tho' three of them were his own. I was obliged to
knock him down & give him a beating.

**Tuesday 11** Fine warm weather. Raised camp & proceeded 4 hours 13 miles S.S.W. to another small creek.\(^20\) C. Plante was taken ill with the fever yesterday. The rest of the sick men recovering slowly.

**Wednesday 12** Sultry warm weather. Continued our route 4 hours 12 miles S.S.W. to another small fork.\(^21\) C. Plante a little better, but one of the women L. Rondeau's wife has relapsed. In the evening a Caiouse [Cay­
use] Indian, the Young Chief's brother came up with us accompanied by another Indian, he is just arrived from the plains, he informs us of two great battles fought with the Blackfeet by the Nezperces & F. Heads and again by these joined by the Americans. The first battle was fought on Salmon river a few days after we left it in the spring, the Blackfeet were very strong, they fought two days & carried off the half of the N. P. & F. H. horses.\(^22\) It was lucky for us that we were off... had they come upon us when above the Indian camp we would have most probably lost all our horses & likely the most of ourselves.

**Thursday 13** ... Four horses were missing & were not found till near noon when we raised camp and proceeded up the creek to a small plain in the mountains 4 hours 12 miles S.S.E.\(^23\)

**Friday 14** ... Continued our route across the mountains 4 hours 12 miles S.S.E. to a small creek where we encamped among woods.\(^24\) I intended to have pushed on and got out of the woods, but one of the men J. Toupin had a relapse of the fever and nearly died of thirst on the road, no water to be found near. This man had recovered, but has been ahead and imprudently went in the water which has caused him to fall ill again. Toupin & Pichette who was with him fell in with some Caiouse Indians on Dog's [Day's?] river,\(^25\) from whom they learned that Soteaux was killed by three Snake Indians who laid wait for him as he was passing a rock, laid hold of him & stabbed him with a knife before he had time to fire upon them.

**Saturday 15** Sharp frost in the morning fine weather afterwards. Continued our journey 3½ hours 12 miles S.S.E. to the North branch of Day's river. The two men who were ahead took 7 beaver & 1 otter.\(^26\)

**Sunday 16** Raw cold weather for the season. Continued our journey 4½ hours 16 miles S.S.E. along the mountains to the head of a small creek, the road very hilly and rugged. We are induced to take this road to avoid the stony road to go round by the forks and certainly this road is not preferable to the other, though a little shorter. A. Longtain and L. Rondeau's wife are again attacked with the fever, tho' they had both recovered of it. Toupin & P. Gilbeau are also very ill with it.

**Monday 17** Snowed in the night, squally cold weather with hail & snow showers and very cold during the day. Continued our journey 4 hours 15 miles S.S.E. on a rugged steep mountain\(^27\) & encamped in a deep ravine.
where we found barely enough of water for the horses. This was a fatiguing
day both on horses & people. The sick men continue ill. Another, T. Tevaticon who had recovered has also relapsed.

**Tuesday 18** Sharp frost in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Proceeded on our journey 2½ hours 10 miles S.S.E. to the S. fork of Day’s river where we encamped near a party of Kaiouse [Cayuse] & Walla walla Indians. The men out setting the traps. The sick men recovering very slowly.

**Wednesday 19** . . . Did not raise camp in order to allow a little repose to the sick men. Our horses are also in need of a day’s repose and to feed. The traps which were set yesterday produced ten beaver & one otter. Some more of the people were out setting traps. The Indians visited us, a little fresh meat was obtained from them. The people traded six horses from them & exchanged several. One of the men J. S. LaRocque caught one of his horses, the cord became entangled about his arms, & the animal ran of and dragged him a considerable distance among his feet, the poor man is very much bruised about his head and arms, it is a wonder he was not killed.

**Thursday 20** Frost in the night fine weather afterwards. Raised camp & proceeded 4 hours 15 miles S.E. up the river. The men out with their traps 13 beaver taken. Some of the Indians visited us in the evening.

**Friday 21** . . . Continued our journey 4 hours 15 miles S.E. up the river to where we have to leave the river and strike across the mountains to the S.E. Commenced night watch last night as we are now coming among the mountain Snakes who are notorious thieves and would no doubt steal our horses should they find a chance. It was three individuals, a father & two sons, of these people on the east side of the mountains on the head of burnt river who murdered our man Soteaux in July last, and it being deemed absolutely necessary to punish the murderers if possible but at the same time not just to punish the innocent for the guilty, it is arranged that should any article belonging to the deceased be recognized the Indians in whose possession it may be are to be punished instantly. These villains live in detached families & seldom assemble except during the salmon season when a few of them sometimes collect together to make fishing wears [weirs]. Did we even know the family who committed the murder we might almost as well go after elk or deer as pursue them into the mountains. The people out with their traps, 9 beaver taken.

**Saturday 22** Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The men out with their traps, four beaver taken. One of the men’s J. S. LaRocque’s wife remained behind in the sulks yesterday, he went back for her & brought her up today.

**Sunday 23** Sharp frost, in the night, fine weather afterwards. Raised camp & proceeded across the mountains to the head of Sylvaille’s river 28 5 hours 18 miles S.E. Two of the men L. Quintall and J. Rocquebrin went to
take up some traps which they had set up the river in the morning and have not yet arrived, it is supposed they have missed their way in the mountains as they intended to cut across a near road from where their traps were.

Monday 24  Frost and very cold in the night. Fine weather during the day. Proceeded 2½ hours 8 miles S.E. down the river and encamped at a small fork which falls in from the Eastward. All hands went off immediately to collect lodge poles, it was late when they arrived, proper wood is very scarce. Several of the men were out setting traps and some out hunting. T. Tevatcon killed an antelope, & Voriau one yesterday crossing the mountains, Kanota killed a deer the day before J. Favel killed a deer which are the only animals besides beaver which has been killed by any of the party since we left the fort so that we would have been hungry had we been depending on the produce of the chase. The hunters observed the tracks of some Snake Indians in the mountains, supposed to be horse thieves following us seeking a chance to steal. Our two men who remained behind have not yet come up.

Tuesday 25  Cold in the night, fine weather during the day. Did not raise camp in order to allow the people time to make their lodge poles. Our horses are also in need of a little time to feed, the grass is every where so dry that the horses derive little nourishment from it. The two men who remained behind arrived with four beaver. They had to go back to our encampment in order to find the road. Tho' we saw only one family of Snake Indians, yet there were the tracks of plenty of them about our encampment after we left, they were no doubt concealed while we were on the river. Some of the men were out with their traps, 8 beaver taken.

Wednesday 26  Cold in the night, & cold cloudy weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 3 ¼ hours 11 miles S.E. down the river. The men out with their traps, 6 beaver taken. C. Plante killed an antelope. The tracks of horse thieves seen again.

Thursday 27  Raw cold weather. Continued our route 3 hours 10 miles S.E. down the river, part of the road very stony. The people out with their traps, 6 beaver taken. Some of the hunters were out in the mountains, but without success. Five horse thieves approached the camp last night but did not find an opportunity to steal.

Friday 28  Frost in the night, raw cold weather during the day. Continued our journey down the river 4½ hours 15 miles S.—part of the road very stony. The people out with their traps, 4 beaver taken. One of the men had a trap stolen by the Indians. We saw the track of these people, but cannot get a sight of any of themselves. T. Smith allowed one of his horses to stray off the road at or coming from the last encampment, and did not find him. Smith is a stupid lifeless fellow.

Saturday 29  Fine weather. Did not raise camp, as a good many of the men have their traps well set. Some of the people were out with their
traps to the plain of the lake. They saw smoke in different directions, the Indians have kindled fires to spread the news that we are coming. 20 beaver taken. F. Champaigne, N. Finlay a boy & L. Rondeau's wife are again taken ill with the fever, they had recovered and appeared quite well, but went in the water and have relapsed again. Some more of the people with them a few days back also relapsed but are recovering.

**Sunday 30** Raw cold weather. Raised camp and cut across a point of rugged stony hills and again fell upon the river in the plain 5½ hours 18 miles S., 14 beaver & one otter taken, a trap stolen by the Indians, one of the men L. Pichette saw two Snake Indians on horseback, but did not approach them as there were several others afoot at no great distance, though they appeared friendly & invited him across a small river to change horses with them, but as they were armed with bows and axes [arros?] & he only having a boy with him he did not like to trust them. There is smoke to be seen in different directions towards the lake and in the mountains. These are very treacherous barbarous Indians & though few of them are armed with guns, we require to be much on our guard among them. The men are directed to be particularly careful when out hunting & never to go less than two together lest they be surprised.

**October 1832, Monday 1** Raw cold weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed as there is good grass here. Our sick people are also ill able to move. F. Champaign is very ill, and L. Rondeau's wife is not expected to live over the night. The people were out with their traps but the marks of beaver are scarce. The river below has been lately overrun by fire. Only 4 beaver and an otter taken.

**Tuesday 2** Raw cold weather. Rained during the afternoon. Did not raise camp on account of the sick people. F. Champaign & Rondeau's wife are a little better, but another of the men J. Toupin, was again taken with the fever and had a shaking fit this is the third time this man has relapsed, if ever those who have been ill wet themselves they fall ill again. The people again out with their traps, only two beaver taken. Several of the people out hunting. Peevish killed a small antelope. Some of the people were out yesterday also hunting antelopes but without success. Peevish's gun burst and though he providentially escaped unhurt he was very near losing his arm. Some Snake Indians are lurking about us but will not approach the camp during the day. One of the men T. Tevatcon met two of them but he could not prevail upon them to come to the camp.

**Wednesday 3** Cold stormy showery weather. Did not raise camp, partly on account of the sick people and partly on account of the bad weather. The people out with their traps, only one beaver taken.

**Thursday 4** Sharp frost in the morning, cold weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 4 hours 13 miles S.E. down the river
through a swamp which would probably at any other season have been impassible.  

_Friday 5_ Heavy rain the greater part of the day and very stormy. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp. The people out with their traps, 8 beaver taken.

_Saturday 6_ Sharp frost in the morning fine weather afterwards. Proceeded 6 miles down the river 2 hours S.E. 12 beaver and an otter taken. Four wretched Snake Indians visited us.

_Sunday 7_ Stormy cold weather. Raised camp and cut across a point $^{12}$ 4 hours 15 miles S.S.W. to a small lake $^{38}$ along side of a salt lake. The salt lake is of considerable extent but destitute of wood. All the way from the station we left this morning is a chain of small swampy lakes, without wood. The hunters passed along them, they found no beaver but killed a good many wild fowl. 11 beaver and an otter were taken in the morning. From our last station I intended to have proceeded S.E. to Ogdens river and searched to the Southward of it for a river which the Indians give some vague account of, but the season is too far advanced and before we could get there even did we find a river the winter would be probably set in & the river frozen so we could not trap it were there beaver. We have been therefore induced to alter the plans and proceed straight to the Bonaventura.

_Monday 8_ Stormy cold weather. Did not raise camp in order that the people might shoot wildfowl of which there are plenty here. All hands were out and killed a good many. Two of the men who left their traps behind went for them but caught no beaver. An old horse gave up on the way yesterday, today two Snake Indians visited the camp. Four also visited us at our last station & were kindly treated. The most of these people fly at our approach.

_Tuesday 9_ Fine warm weather. Raised camp and proceeded $^{3\frac{1}{2}}$ hours 12 miles W.S.W. along the North side of Salt Lake to a small camp at the West end of it. The people out shooting wildfowl but with little success.

_Wednesday 10_ Frost in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Continued our route 3 hours 10 miles W.S.W. to a small spring near a lake which is now dry. Another lake lies behind a point of rocks behind the camp.

_Thursday 11_ Rather stormy part of the day. Continued our journey at an early hour and after a hard day both on men & horses of $^{9\frac{1}{2}}$ hours march 32 Miles, 18 Miles W.S.W. & 14 miles S.S.W. encamped without water and not much grass for our fatigued thirsty horses. We have this day made two usual days journey, in consequence of not finding water at the first station where the people used to find it when they passed this way twice before but earlier in the season than at present. On proceeding on to this place a small stony ravine, a former encampment, we have the mortification to find the spring dried up. Our situation is rather gloomy, the more so as a
number of the men have become quite discouraged and talk of turning
back lest themselves & horses die of thirst. They have taken it into their
heads that the lake the next usual station is also dried up & that the horses
will not be able to go on to the next station where they also doubt whether
there is any water at this season. None of them thought of giving me this
information before I left our last station. L. Kanota, on whose information
I can place most reliance assures me I will find water tomorrow, I am there­
fore determined to proceed. Some of the people took the precaution to
bring some water from our last station. A small hole is dug where some of
the people obtain a small quantity of muddy water taken up in spoonfulls.
Two horses gave up on the way and were left behind. Two of the men,
A. Longtain and J. Toupin who had recovered of the fever relapsed today
& were very ill, the long day's journeys with the thirst & dust to which
they are exposed is very hard upon them.

**Friday 12**  Sharp frost in the night, fine weather during the day.
Had all hands at work loading the horses by break of day, proceeded on our
journey at sunrise and in 5½ hours 18 miles S.S.E. across a hill and along a
valley reached a small lake or rather the end of a chain of lakes where we
encamped, the water is a little brackish but can be used. I was really glad to
find it. We have also good feeding here for the horses. The sick men again
shaking with the fever.

**Saturday 13**  Fine weather. Did not raise camp. Took L. Kanota
with me and ascended a ridge of rocky hills of considerable height to the
S.E. of our camp in order to ascertain the appearance of the country on both
sides of the hills. The valley where we are encamped & where some of the
old hands who have passed here twice were afraid of dying for want of
water, is a continuation of lakes close to each other as far as the eyes can
reach tho we proceeded a considerable distance to the Southward, and
might with propriety be called the valley of lakes, the first below our camp
is brackish but in those farther down the water is fresh & good. Beyond the
hills there is another extensive valley with a small creek running to the
Northward, here we expected to find beaver as it is well wooded towards
the hills, but there is none. The Salt lake which we left on the morning
of the 10th, is probably close too here & had we proceeded due South our
road would have likely been much shorter and likely no want of water. It
was long after dark when we reached the camp. There are the tracks of
Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have
returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by
horses as well as foot people. We observed some fresh tracks of sheep on
the hills. The lakes and swamps in the valley are well stocked with wild fowl,
the people were out hunting & killed several.

**Sunday 14**  Stormy part of the day. Did not raise camp. Took C.
Plante and J. Favel with me and went 25 to 30 miles South down the valley
in hopes of finding a river by which the waters of all these lakes were discharged but without success. On passing a rocky ravine which we saw yesterday another valley with a continued chain of lakes & swamps continued as far as the eye could reach in a Southerly direction. It was long after dark when we returned to the camp. Some of the people were out hunting. L. Kanota killed a sheep. One of the men Bte. Gardipie was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning, on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill 7 Indians were concealed behind a large stone among the long grass he did not perceive them until he was close too [them] when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of the road where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with these men.

Monday 15 Stormy weather. Raised camp and proceeded W. 7 miles 2 hours across the valley, to a small lake of good water. It is probable we would find a shorter road by proceeding S. down the valley, but not being sure of the road & little likelihood of any beaver being found we were induced to take the old track which is known & where we are sure to find water.

Tuesday 16 Stormy cold weather. Continued our journey 6½ hours 20 miles W.S.W. to Salt Lake. No water to be found here. This was a most fatiguing day both on men and horses particularly the horses, the greater part of the road was very stony which has rendered several of them lame. We found good water in a small spring at the side of the lake.

Wednesday 17 Rain & snow showers in the night, stormy cold weather during the day. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed and repose after their hard day’s work yesterday.

Thursday 18 Stormy with snow and rain in the night, sharp frost in the morning. Raised camp and proceeded round the end of the lake 7 miles W. The people out hunting & killed some hares & few wild fowl, some antelopes were also seen. The station which we left this morning seems to be a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place. There are not many wild fowl about the lake.

Friday 19 Stormy rather cold weather. Continued our journey 5½
hours 19 miles S. along the W. side of the lake to its S. end where we encamped on a small river. Part of the road very stony. Many of the horses are becoming lame. Several of the people were out hunting but without success except a few ducks & geese.

Saturday 20

Sharp frost in the morning. Continued our journey up a small creek to near the foot of a small mountain which we have to cross. The hunters were out again today but without success, though they saw both some Blacktail Deer & grey sheep, but they are very shy. Some of them found some plums of a pretty good sort, the bushes on which they grow are very small. This is the first fruit of this kind I have seen in the Indn. country. C. Rondeau, L. Rondeau, J. LaRocque & J. Rocquebin killed each a horse to eat. These men have been very imprudent & did not husband their provisions with sufficient economy or they would not have had to kill horses yet.

Sunday 21

Weather not so cold as these days past. Continued our route across the mountains and along an extensive valley to a small creek near the North end of pit lake, 5 ½ hours 19 miles S. We could find no water which obliged us to march so long. The mountain we crossed is not high but part of the road was stony & hard upon the horses' sore feet. There is a hot spring in the valley a little to the one side of the road. Some of the young men went to it, the water is so hot that the finger can be barely endured in it a moment. There are a number of human skulls & some other bones in it, but how they came there there is no knowing.

Monday 22

Keen frost in the night. Proceeded on our route 8 miles S. to past the head of the lake and encamped on a small rivulet which issues from the mountains. Passed two more hot springs which emitted an offensive sulphurous smell. The people out in pursuit of wildfowl but with little success.

Tuesday 23

Stormy weather. Moved on 6 miles S. along the lake to another small creek. The water in the lake is not salt but it has an unpleasant taste. Several of the people out hunting but without success except Kanota who killed a blacktail deer.

Wednesday 24

Very stormy cold weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed and rest a little and that the people might go hunting. Several of the men were out in the mountains but without success. They saw bears, sheep & chivereau but could not come up with them. A few wild fowl were killed. There is another valley with a chain of lakes to the Eastward of the mountains. The people gathered plenty of plums yesterday & today.

Thursday 25

Raw cold weather. The small creek where we passed last night nearly frozen over in the morning. Continued our journey 2 ½ hours 8 miles S. along the lake to a small fork. The people again out hunting but without success. Three of the women & a boy eat a
poisonous kind of Mushroom and were very ill, had they not been vomited immediately some of them would probably have died. Plenty of plums gathered today. P. Satakaras killed a horse to eat.

_Friday 26_ Some rain in the night stormy during the day. Proceeded on our journey 8 miles S. to a small rivulet near the lower end of the lake. The hunters out in the mountains again but without killing anything, though there are the fresh tracks of bear, deer & sheep. A few wildfowl were killed.

_Saturday 27_ Squally with rain in the night. Stormy during the day. Continued our route 9 miles S. to past the lower end of the lake, to a small creek which may be inferred is the head of Pit river. A good many wildfowl were killed. Bte. Dubruille killed a horse to eat.

_Sunday 28_ Stormy weather. Continued our route 8 miles S. across a point & fell upon Pit river which with the addition of several small brooks from the mountains is here a handsome stream, pretty broad & wooded with willows. There are the marks of some beaver, the people set a few traps.

_Monday 29_ Some rain in the morning. Stormy during the day. Continued our journey down the river 9 miles S.S.W. and encamped a little below where a fork of equal size falls in from the Eastward. This fork runs through a swamp which is probably a lake during the season of high-water. Where we are encamped the river is well wooded with willows, there is the appearance of some beaver. Several of the people set their traps, 4 beaver taken this morning.

_Tuesday 30_ Cloudy raw weather. Did not raise camp. The men out with the traps, 15 beaver taken. Took three men, T. Tevatcon, C. Rondeau & J. Cornoyer with me to examine the fork which falls in from the Eastward, we proceeded about 20 miles up the valley to near its head, it is a swamp all the way two forks fall in from the N.E. but as the mountains are near they are probably not long. These and the river which they form are for a small distance pretty well wooded with willows and apparently adapted for beaver, but we could not get across the swamp to examine them. It is too small to take the camp so far out of the way.

_Wednesday 31_ Clear cold weather. Did not raise camp. The people visited the traps & took only 5 beaver — 15 were taken yesterday. Went again accompanied by a man L. Kanota, up the valley where I was yesterday on discovery but on the opposite side of it. The river runs through an impassable swamp all the way up the valley, the principal fork falls in at the head of it, it is of considerable size, well wooded & apparently well adapted for beaver but there is no appearance of any ever having been in it nor is there in two other small forks which fall in farther down. There are some tracks of Indians to be seen but they are as wild as the beasts and cannot be seen.

_November 1832, Thursday 1_ Sharp frost in the night, raw cold
weather during the day. This being a holiday with the Canadians did not raise camp.

**Friday 2** Sharp frost in the night. Mild weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded down the river 12 miles S.W. We crossed to the E. side of the river. The men visited their traps but with little success, only 3 beaver and two otters taken. There are tracks of Indians quite fresh, but they fly on our approach and none of them are to be seen. On the W. side of the river there is a hot spring at such a high temperature that the finger cannot be endured in it.

**Saturday 3** Frozen keen in the night, fine weather during the day. Continued our course 8 miles S.W. down the river. The river runs through a sort of swamp these two days past. The hills on both sides are bearing pretty well wooded. The hunters were out these two days, but without success. They saw the faint tracks of some deer but could not come up with them.

**Sunday 4** Sharp frost in the night. Raw cold weather during the day. Quit the river, the banks of which become rocky, & proceeded S. 12 miles across a mountain to another small fork of the river. The river where we left it this morning takes a turn to the Westward it is then pretty well wooded and apparently well adapted for beaver, but some of the men who visited it yesterday, found very little appearance of them, a few traps were set but only one beaver taken this morning. The road the greater part of the way today very stony. Several of the horses are becoming lame, their hoofs are being worn out. Found some oak in the mountains among the pine & cedar trees. F. Champaigne & J. Toupin each killed a horse to eat, provisions are becoming scarce among the people. The hunters were again out in the mountains but without success. There are some deer tracks but they are very shy, probably on account of being much hunted by the Indians whose tracks quite fresh are to be met with in every direction.

**Monday 5** Cold, blowing fresh part of the day. Continued our journey down the river 8 miles S.S.W. The road stony part of the way. This fork here is pretty large and pretty well wooded with ash, poplar and willows, but there are no appearances of beaver in it though apparently well suited for them.

**Tuesday 6** Frost in the morning, cold weather. Continued our journey 10 miles S.S.W. across a plain, a rocky hill & then another plain to the big river, part of the road very stony. The large river here runs through a swampy place & has little or no wood. Just below where we are encamped it is confined between rocky hills. There are numbers of geese in the river but very few of them were killed. The hunters were again out in the mountains but as usual without success. Several Indians were encamped here but fled on our approach and gained the rocks. Some women were found in the plains
who could not escape, they got some small presents but none of them returned to the camp.

**Wednesday 7**  
Frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Continued our journey 10 miles S.S.W. down the river and across a point to head of an extensive plain. The road hilly & very stony the most of the day. Crossed the river twice & cut across the part which considerably shortened our road. Came upon some Indians before they were aware. They fled, but some of the young men came up with them & when they saw that no harm was intended they became less alarmed. A man & a boy were brought to the camp and received presents of some small articles. At the station we left a number of Indians assembled on a hill beyond the river opposite to us but did not return to the camp until we had left it. There is the appearance of a chance beaver, a few traps were set, but the people are afraid that the people [Indians] will steal them. The river here is of a considerable size and apparently well suited for beaver.

**Thursday 8**  
Frost in the night, thick fog in the morning, fine weather afterward. Continued our journey 10 miles S.W. to the lower end of the plain at the entrance of the fork. There are the recent tracks of a great many Indians but they fly at our approach. One beaver was taken & Pichette had two of his traps stolen. L. Rondeau’s wife has again fallen ill with the fever & could with difficulty be got up to the encampment. Two of the men A. Longtain & J. Toupin are recovering but very slowly.

**Friday 9**  
Frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Proceeded on our journey down the river 12 miles S.W., the road very stony and hilly and in places lay through thickets of underwood. The horses are becoming lame, their hoofs are worn down with continual marching [on] stony road. Numbers of Indians all the way along the river. Some of them returned to the camp in the evening and received a few trifles as presents. C. Plant lost one of his horses with a load upon him & was not able to find him, his being left on the way was a piece of great negligence.

**Saturday 10**  
Frost and fog in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Did not raise camp in order that Plante might return in quest of his horse, but he did not find him, probably the Indians picked him up shortly after he was left. Some of the Indians visited us during the day & received some trifles as presents. They also traded a few pieces of dry salmon with the people.

**Sunday 11**  
Fine weather. Left the river which takes a turn to the Westward & proceeded across the woods 10 miles S. by W. to a plain on a small river near the foot of the Mountains. The hunters were again out but without success. Today we fell in with the tracks of a party with horses who may have passed this way in the spring. Who they are we cannot conjecture.

**Monday 12**  
Sharp frost in morning, fine weather afterwards. Pro-
THE MOUNTAIN PASS OVER THE CASCADE RANGE
USED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRAPPERS

Burney Mountain is on the right and Magee Peak is the sharp mountain rising highest on the left.

Photograph courtesy United States Forest Service
ceeded 5 miles up the river to another small plain at the foot of the moun-
tains where we encamped it would have been too long to cross the moun-
tains with our poor lame horses. The young men were again off hunting but
without success there are a few tracks of deer, but they are very shy.

**Tuesday 13** Fine weather, but rather cold in the Mountain. Crossed
the Mountain a distance of 15 miles S. by W. and encamped on the decliv-
ity of its S. side, among oak, pine & other trees at a small creek. Our road
hilly but not many stones, lay through thick woods principally pines on the
mountain, some of them very large, but as we begin to descend there is a
considerable mixture of oak and other trees. J. Favel killed 2 Deer, the
other hunters were unsuccessful. This was a fatiguing day both on horses
and people. Set our horses loose as there is no appearance of Indians and
those on this side of the mountains are represented to be well disposed. The
party whose tracks we saw two days ago had encamped here, they had
6 pieces.

**Wednesday 14** Fine weather. The climate appears quite changed
as we descend. Continued our course 15 miles S. by W. along the foot of the
mountain, the road hilly & in places stony. We mistook our road or we
would have been out in the plain. Some Indians quite naked came to the
camp in the evening and received some trifles as presents, they were not the
least alarmed or shy but appear afraid of the dogs & horses. Some of the
people visited their little huts the women had all fled, but the men im-
mediately offered their visitors food. The hunters were again out but with-
out success, though there were a good many tracks of Deer.

**Thursday 15** Fine weather. Continued our journey 7 miles S.W.
down the creek, the road good as we descend the wood principally oak is
becoming clear. The hunters were out & killed four chivereau, viz: Favel,
T. Tevatcon, Smith, & Peevis each one. Some of the people were out with
their traps but set very few there are some marks of beaver close by the
camp. The hunters missed 3 grizle bears.

**Friday 16** Fine weather. Continued our route down the [river] to
where it joins a large fork, Cano river. The road good. The hunters out
a few traps were set and 15 Deer & 1 Elk killed animals are pretty
numerous. Two beaver were taken.

**Saturday 17** Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order that the
people might kill a few deer and also to allow our horses to repose and feed
a little. Deer & elk killed. All hands are living well these two days and they
are in much need of it as we have been a long time with very little of any
thing fresh, indeed many of the people have very little of any thing. Four
beaver were taken. Beaver are scarce here & they are very lean.

**Sunday 18** Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 8 miles S.
down the creek to near its junction with the big river. The road good. The
hunters out & killed 7 deer. An old grizzle bear was killed, 7 beaver were taken & some more traps set.

**Monday 19**  Overcast weather, some rain. Had all hands out in quest of wood to make canoes. They found pine trees about the plain of a sufficient size. I had determined not to make canoes until farther down where it is supposed we would have found people but seeing the height of the water in the main river which is such that it cannot be crossed on horseback without much danger & consequently could not be well trapped otherwise but with canoes, we delay to make them here. Hollowing out the trees will be a laborious work. The people are divided into threes one of which is to remain ashore with the camp and two to descend in the canoes. Two Deer & a brown bear were killed & 10 beaver taken. The people found some Indians encamped on the big river, who seemed glad to see them and immediately offered them food.

**Tuesday 20**  Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The people busy at their canoes. The hunters out, & killed 9 deer. There are great numbers of geese about here, but they are shy and difficult to approach, and they are very lean beside those killed beyond the mountain.

**Wednesday 21**  Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The men busy at their canoes. Some of the young men out hunting & killed 8 Deer.

**Thursday 22**  Overcast, fine warm weather. The people still busy at their canoes. 3 Chivereau and one grizzle bear killed. 8 beaver taken in a few traps which some of the men have in the water.

**Friday 23**  Overcast, lowering weather. Did not raise camp. Our horses have good feeding here which with the rest they are getting is improving them fast. There is a large camp of natives on the other side of the river a good way up opposite where the men are making the canoes. Yesterday they were weeping & making great lamentations. Today two of the young men crossed the river to set some traps & on approaching the above camp observed several fires, six, on the first of which the body of an Indian was burning, they did not advance to see whether the other fires were occupied in the same manner. The Indians at the camp were weeping and lamenting as yesterday. Four Indians visited us during the day these are the first who have ventured near us since we have been here. They were quite naked except a small piece of deer skin with the hair on about the shoulders, they had no arms but staffs or rather rods in their hands, they were much afraid of the dogs, and also of the horses. We could draw no information from them respecting the sorrow and burning of the Indians above aluded to. Gave them some food, & a few trifles as presents which they eagerly accepted & went off much pleased.

**Saturday 24**  Some light showers during the day. Thunder and excessive heavy rain in the night. Two of the canoes were finished today the others are pretty well advanced. Four beaver and an otter were taken.
Took Kanota & the boy Peevish [?] with me to visit the camp where the Indians were burning yesterday. The Indians had all fled from the camp which had all the appearance of devastation, the most of the huts were burnt, large caches of provisions principally acorns remained but much broken down. We found the places where four individuals had been burnt, some of them not entirely consumed, their skulls remained, the hard parts of which were broken so that there is little doubt that they died by violence. There were also different places which had the appearance of graves but perhaps it was where provisions were concealed and not recepticals of the dead. The plain altogether had a most desolate appearance. During my absence the Indians who came to the camp yesterday reported their visit and by signs made it understood that a few nights ago a party of savages from across the mountains probably the chastys [i.e. Shastas?] had fallen upon the camp above aluded to while the people were all asleep, killed two of them and carried off several into slavery.

Sunday 25    Rained in the night, fine warm weather during the day. The most of the canoes ready. I directed them to proceed up the river where there is the appearance of a chance beaver, they are to remain off two days & if they find beaver worth while we are to move camp up the river. The hunters out & killed 4 deer & 4 elk the animals here are generally very lean.

Monday 26    Heavy rain the most of the day. The people with the canoes returned & state that they found no beaver worth while to stay for, but they have left their canoes too heavy & are unable to work them against the current which I conceive the principal cause of their returning. 4 beaver taken.

Tuesday 27    Overcast, fair weather. The people busy cutting away the superfluous wood from their canoes. 4 beaver taken. The young men out hunting & killed 5 elk, 3 Deer & 1 antelope. The animals are all very lean.

Wednesday 28 Stormy weather. Raised camp & proceeded across a point & down the big river to Sycamore river 10 miles S.E. The canoe party started with their canoes and are permitted to remain absent two nights. There are a great many Indians encamped along the river. They are very much afraid of the horses. Some of them visited us in the evening. Some of the men visited this fork but found no appearance of beaver tho' it appears well adapted for them. Very poor feeding here for the horses.

Thursday 29    Fair weather. Continued our route 15 miles S. across some stony hills & fell on the big river at the commencement of the plains. This was a hard day's work both on horses and people the road exceedingly rugged and stony. Crossed one small creek. We have pretty good feeding here for the horses. There is a large camp of Indians on the opposite side of the river a little below us.
Friday 30

Fair fine weather. Continued our route 14 miles S. down the river to Quesnell river and encamped near the big river. The canoes are all behind us; they are awaiting us above, the men came to the camp afoot in the evening, they have caught very few beaver yet. All the way along the river here there is a belt of woods principally oak which is surrounded by a plain with tufts of wood here and there which extend to the foot of the mountain, where the hills are again wooded. There are a great many Indians all the way along the river. They seem to live principally on acorns. There are but few tracks of animals here. Some of the men set a few traps up the little river where we are encamped. A little below our encampment I found a party of about 30 naked Indians employed catching hares with nets. They have a wear for catching fish constructed across the river opposite our encampment. None of the natives ventured to visit us.

December 1832, Saturday 1

Heavy rain the most of the day. Did not raise camp on account of the bad weather. The canoe men went off. 9 beaver & two otters taken, 2 deer were killed beside some wild fowl.

Saturday 2

Showery weather heavy rain in the evening. Continued our route 10 miles S. down the river to Bear creek where we encamped a short distance from the big river, the banks of which are so steep that our horses could not drink nor could we easily get water for ourselves. There is such a number of deep gullies along the bank of the river that it is difficult to follow its bank so that we are obliged to pass a short distance from it. Most of the gullies are full of water & many of them so deep that they are impassable. Some of the canoe people came to the camp. 11 beaver and 1 Otter taken. Passed a creek early in the day. Also passed several camps of Indians; there are also some encamped not far from us & have wears constructed in the small river for catching fish. The natives here seem to speak a different language from those farther up the river but like them are mostly naked except a small piece of skin about the shoulders; those near us are collecting wood for their winter houses and carry immense loads on their heads. There appears to be some sickness resembling an ague prevailing among them.

Monday 3

Heavy rain in the night & most part of the day. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp. 5 beaver taken in some traps which were set up the little river yesterday morning.

Tuesday 4

Cloudy fair weather. Continued our journey 9 miles S. down the river. The canoe people visited the camp. 16 beaver & 1 otter taken. The Indians are becoming more numerous as we descend the river. A grizzle bear was killed. These animals are very lean for this season of the year.

Wednesday 5

Very heavy rain in the night, cloudy fair weather during the day. Some of our horses were astray in the morning and were not found till toward evening, which deterred us from raising camp till late in
the day, when we moved two miles farther down the river to find better feeding for the horses. The river rose four to five feet the night before last and last night fell as many.

**Thursday 6** Fine weather. Continued our journey 9 miles S. down the river and encamped a little below an Indian village, which was the only place we could approach the river for our horses to drink on account of the number of gullies and the steep banks. Some of the canoers came to the camp. 15 beaver & 2 otters taken. The Indians beside whom we are encamped dwell in holes in the ground of a conical form. They visited the camp to the number of 40 to 50, and traded some trifling articles with the people.

*(To be continued)*

**NOTES**

1. Fort Vancouver, headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company, Columbia District, 1825-49. A United States military reservation occupies the site of the old fur trade capital adjoining the present city of Vancouver, Washington.

2. See “Members of Work's California Expedition” which follows these notes.

3. The “Old Lake Country” is the region of the Klamath Lakes. This district was reached by Finan McDonald in 1825, and was explored and trapped by Peter Skene Ogden in 1826-27. Thompson Coit Elliott, ed., “The Peter Skene Ogden Journals,” *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, X (December 1909), 331-65; XI (June, December 1910), 201-22, 355-99. The “Old Snake Country” would be the Snake River region.

4. “Bonaventura Valley” is the Sacramento Valley. “This year the Snake party proceeds towards the waters of Ogden’s River and perhaps to the Bonaventura or properly the Sacramento where McLeod was in 1828-29.” Letter of Chief Factor John McLoughlin to Governor George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, October 28, 1832 (transcript in Archives of British Columbia, Victoria).

5. Ogden’s River, the present Humboldt in Nevada. This stream was discovered by Peter Skene Ogden in 1828 and called by him “Unknown river.” Map, “Ogden’s Track 1829” (photostat in files of Oregon Historical Society; original in the archives of the Hudson’s Bay Company).

6. The “South branch” of the Bonaventura was a non-existent stream conjectured to drain lakes of the Great Basin.

7. Pit River, actually the main Sacramento, in rare seasons of high water drains Goose Lake (called Pit Lake by John Work), on the Oregon border in northeastern California.

8. For the next five days the party is engaged in crossing portages around the rocky barriers which impede the Columbia where it breaks through the Cascade Range. These portages are: the Cascades, the Dalles, and the Chutes. The water power produced by the Cascades is now harnessed by Bonneville Dam.

9. Twenty times in the next six weeks Work begins his journal entry with “Fine weather.” For these words three dots have been substituted in this printed transcript.

10. Day’s River, i.e., John Days River, named for an early trapper. Work is skirting the Oregon shore of the Columbia.

11. Umatilla River, Oregon.

12. “Fort Walla Walla, originally a North West Company fort on the left bank of the Columbia River, at the mouth of Walla Walla River, 5 miles below mouth of Lewis or Great Snake River; built in 1818. The Hudson’s Bay Company succeeded to this fort in 1821 and rebuilt it in 1841, the walls and bastions of brick. It was surrounded by sandy desert. The Hudson’s Bay Company claimed indemnity for this fort in 1865. It was


14. Francis Payette, originally one of John Jacob Astor’s men, remained in the employ of the North West Company and later was an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company.


17. Butter Creek, Umatilla and Morrow counties, Oregon.

18. Fort Colvile, “Hudson’s Bay Company fort on Colville River about one mile from junction with the Columbia River, State of Washington. It was a wooden fort of large size, enclosed with stockade and bastions. The buildings were made of cedar logs. Cultivated fields surrounded the fort. It was established in 1825, and of the Oregon Country forts, it was next in importance to Fort Vancouver.” Voorhies, *op. cit.*, p. 54.


20. Probably Willow Creek, Morrow County.

21. Probably Rhea Creek. Work is traversing a rough region and his route is not very clear.

22. The Battle of Pierre’s Hole took place the first week of August, 1832. “The rendezvous of 1832 at Pierre’s Hole was one of the largest and most picturesque gatherings ever held in the mountains and it was further distinguished as the occasion of one of the most famous battles of the early history of the west.” Leroy R. Hafen and William James Ghent, *Broken Hand* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1931), p. 97.

23. The camp was near the site of Hardman in Morrow County.

24. Probably Cottonwood Creek.

25. Dog River is an old name for Hood River. This may, however, be “Day’s River” —Work’s handwriting is not clear.


27. Near Seneca, Grant County, Oregon.

28. Named by Peter Skene Ogden for a trapper, Antoine Sylvaille.

29. The antelope was probably *Antilocapra americana americana*. The deer at Malheur Lake might have been the White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus ochrourus*, or the Rocky Mountain Mule Deer, *Odocoileus hemionous hemionous*.

30. Malheur and Harney lakes, with the small Mud Lake which joins them, receive the drainage of the Harney Valley.

31. The camp was near the site of the town of Burns.

32. Wright Point, a volcanic dyke over which the trail climbed.

33. Mud Lake, sometimes called Stampede Lake.

34. Malheur Lake is fresh water, Harney Lake is alkali.

35. The brigade has marched along the north short of Harney Lake, past the springs of the 00 Ranch and the isolated peak of Iron Mountain, and is aiming at Wagontire, location of the next water supply. “Interior Oregon . . . contains many interesting landmarks that are familiar to stockmen of that section. These landmarks are far apart and in
traveling through the country one always finds it necessary to cover the distance between two of them every day. They are usually watering places and it takes a hard day's travel from one to another in most cases and in some cases deep into the night. They stand out in the great Oregon desert like the beacon lights and guiding points to a mariner at sea. The stockman or traveler who does not know the landmarks of the Oregon range is in as much danger as the pilot at sea who is ignorant of the charts and maps of the country he is in. One of the most interesting of these buttes is Ram's Peak or Wagon-tire Mountain. It is marked on the maps as Ram's Peak but the stockmen all know it as Wagon-tire. This mountain is situated near the Harney and Lake county line and is supposed to be in the center of the desert. A large creek flows near its foothills and a number of springs boil out of its base. It is 30 to 50 miles from this point in any direction to other water. The water from this creek and springs flows out into the plains and is drunk up by the dry sands. "History of Central Oregon" (Spokane, 1905), p. 1094. Modern highways now make it possible to travel from Harney Lake to Goose Lake in less than a day. Work had no choice but travel from one water hole to another, which simplifies the tracing of his route in this region.

36. The party was at Alkali Lake, Lake County, Oregon, in the opinion of the annotator who traced the route. Lewis A. McArthur, president of the Oregon Historical Society, however, believes that the brigade went south from the OO Ranch to the Warner Lakes, which were east of Lake Abert and Abert Rim. Space will not be taken here for the many arguments in favor of and against each identification. The reader may draw his own conclusion from the text of the diary.

37. Juniper Mountain.

38. Lava Beds Bighorn Gray Sheep, *Ovis canadensis Californiana*.

39. Lake Abert at the base of Abert Rim. Both were named by John Charles Fremont in honor of Col. J. J. Abert, chief of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A.

40. The old trail followed the west side of Lake Abert where water was available in springs.

41. Possibly Chewaucan River.

42. Crooked Creek. The camp was probably at the site of Chandler State Park.

43. Blacktail deer are no longer found in this region.

44. *Prunus subcordata kelloggii*. These plums were a major source of food for the local Indians. The fruit pits were used by them as beads.

45. Work is following the route of the present highway.

46. Hunter's Hot Springs. Bones are still to be seen in the spring. This is a clear record of the use of hot springs as a depository for the dead. The Indians of northeastern California and western Nevada practiced this means of burial quite extensively.

47. These springs are still to be seen between the highway and the lake a short distance south of Lakeview.

48. Surprise Valley in northeastern California lies over the ridge bordering the east shore of Goose Lake.

49. Willow Creek, Modoc County, California. The brigade has crossed the 42nd parallel and is now in Mexican territory.

50. Probably *Sanicula bipinata*, a poison sanicle called wild parsnip. Pioneer annals record many tales of death from this cause in this particular locality. Work might easily have mistaken the peeled root of this plant for a mushroom.

51. Davis Creek.

52. East Fork of Pit River.

53. All Saint's Day.

54. Hot Springs near Alturas.

55. Aden Mountain.
56. The oak no doubt was *Quercus Kelloggii* Newb.; the pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Doug.; and the cedar *Librocedras decurrens* Torr.

57. The ash was *Fraxinus oregona* Nutt., and the poplar or cottonwood *Populus Fremontii* Wats.

58. The party has left Pit River at Ash Creek and crossed the hills to reach the stream again below Bieber.

59. Fall River Valley.

60. Fall River which flows into Pit River from the north.

61. Hat Creek which flows into Pit River from the south.

62. The presence of another and rival trapping party in this region was a matter of grave concern to John Work. Skillful trailers, both Indian and white, in his brigade of hunters could tell him that the camp was not that of any Hudson's Bay Company men, therefore he knew he was facing competition.

63. Camp was made on Hat Creek on what is now the Dave Doyle ranch, north of a site called Dutch Flat and not far from the Hat Creek Ranger Station.

64. The mountain pass traversed by Work's party in crossing the Cascade Range appears to be the oldest route used by Columbia River trappers on their way to California. Louis Pichette is said to have visited California in 1820-21. Work recorded on October 13 that two of his men had passed this way before. Pichette was evidently one, and Kanota, the Hawaiian, the other. The trail apparently was clearly indicated to Work, and from the entries made by him it was identified by Mr. Reuben P. Box of the U. S. Forest Service at the Hat Creek Ranger Station. The trail passed between Burney Mountain (altitude, 7,871 feet) and Stony Butte (altitude, 7,494 feet); Stony Butte is called Tamarack Peak on some maps; it lies northeast of Magee Peak. A secondary road follows this old pack trail.

65. The pines were *Pinus sabiniana* Doug., digger pine, and *Pinus attenuata* Lemmon, knob cone pine. The oaks were *Quercus Douglasii*, H. & A., blue oak and *Quercus Wisliczeni*, A. D. C., interior live oak.

66. Six pieces would be approximately three hundred pounds. While a piece varied in weight in different regions it is estimated to have been fifty pounds in Oregon, and two were a pack load for an Indian horse. Work now knows his rival's take of beaver.

67. The brigade has reached the headwaters of Cow Creek, a tributary of the Sacramento River, and follows down the divide between Old Cow Creek and South Cow Creek to the plains near Millville, Shasta County.

68. *Quercus lobata* Ned.

69. Canoe River is Cow Creek after it receives the network of tributaries which feed it.

70. Work uses the expression "the big river" for different streams encountered subsequently, but there is no doubt that "the big river" in this instance refers to the Sacramento. Camp was made opposite the site of the town of Anderson.


72. These were probably Achomawi Indians of Pit River. A cremation ceremony was going on at the time, the lamenting over the dead being part of the ritual. The staffs or rods carried by the Indians are probably identifiable as digging sticks.

73. The Klamaths and Modocs, prior to their treaty of 1864 with the Government, annually raided the Achomawi settlements on Pit River to capture slaves. These slaves were traded to the Chinook at the Dalles on the Columbia. The incident recorded here by Work probably refers to such a slave raid. The name may be "charlys."

74. Dwarf elk, *Cervus nannodes*.

75. Sycamore (sometimes Sycamous) River is probably Battle Creek. Five of the streams which were reached and called by name by Work on his progress south along the Sacramento but which apparently were named by his predecessors on this part of
John Work's California Expedition, 1832-33

Oregon West of the Rocky Mountains, compiled in the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, under the direction of Col. J. J. Abert. Wash: Hood, 1838, 25th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 470 (June 6, 1838); also in 25th Cong., 3rd sess., H. Rep. 101 (Feb. 16, 1839) and in other publications. The California portion of the map has many inaccuracies, and until Work's journal came to light there was no way to identify the streams tributary to the Sacramento from the east, named as Canoe River (Cow Creek), Sycamous or Sycamore River (Battle Creek), Quesnel's River (possibly Deer Creek), Bear River (Pine Creek), and Deception River (undoubtedly Butte Creek) which ends in a swamp.

76. An indication that horses were not yet in use by the Indians of the upper Sacramento.

77. Red Bluff.

78. Deer Creek.

79. Pine Creek.

80. The linguistic boundary noted here by Work was that between the Yana and Maidu tribes.

MEMBERS OF WORK'S CALIFORNIA EXPEDITION

"My party," wrote John Work in his journal on January 22, 1833 [consists of] twenty-eight men, twenty-two women, forty-four children and six Indians, in all one hundred, Michel's [Laframboise'] party eighteen men, twelve women, sixteen children, seventeen Indians, in all sixty-three, total one hundred and sixty-three persons."

A list of the messes of the California brigade, in John Work's handwriting, furnishes the names of twenty-six men of his party. To reach a total of twenty-eight men, Work himself must be included and one other. It is reasonable to assume that Pierre Lagasse (spelled variously LaGasse, Lagace, or Legace), Work's father-in-law and companion on later expeditions, was present at his daughter's campfire, although his name does not appear in the journal until after the advent of Michel Laframboise and his party.

Work gives the number of women as twenty-two, but in the journal mentions none by her own name. Some of this group, in all probability, were slaves; others were the consorts of French Canadian trappers. A list of the members of the expedition who were sick in August 1833, in John Work's handwriting, mentions a wife with each of the following: J. Cornoyer, J. Favel, C. Grosliui, P. Gilbeau, L. Kanota, M. Laferte, A. Longtain, Bte. Obichon, L. Pichette, C. Plante, J. Rocquebrin, C. Rondeau, L. Rondeau, T. Smith, J. Toupin, T. Tevatcon, and J. Work; also P. Bernie who had probably come with Laframboise. In many instances the fur-trade marriages were consecrated by religious ceremony after the arrival of Roman Catholic priests in Oregon and were duly recorded, although it has not always been
possible to identify the Indian women whom the trappers married as their companions on the California trail.

No births are mentioned by John Work in his daily entries, but circumstantial evidence coupled with reason indicates that more than one child was added to the census roll of the expedition. The marriage record of Louis Pichette, for instance, supports this theory. French Canadians were noted for their large families. Three small daughters of John and Josette Work—Jane, Sarah, and Letitia—are known to have been among the children of the brigade. In addition, the journal mentions “J. Dorland's boy,” “N. Finlay, a boy,” “C. Groslui's son,” “L. Lavalle, a boy,” and “the boy Peevish”; the list of sick includes “Pierre” and “Maria,” apparently children of J. Cornoyer.

Francis Payette, who was to have joined the party at Fort Nez Perce, was too ill to make the trip. If any member of the brigade assumed his duties as second in command, we are not so informed by the journal. Work evidently acted as his own clerk.

A second census of the brigade after the parties divided, on May 13, 1833, gives the number of men with Work as thirty-three, therefore we know that five of Michel Laframboise’s brigade elected to remain longer in California. One of these was probably P. Bernie, who died on September 26. No complete list of the men who accompanied Laframboise is as yet available.

The whole story of the French Canadian trappers who later settled as farmers in the states of Oregon and Washington and in British Columbia remains to be written. Sources for their personal records are diverse. In the “List of employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company” many of Work's men are indicated as working in the “Columbia District” as early as 1822. The original manuscript lists are in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and photostats are in the library of the Oregon Historical Society. The lists will be referred to hereafter as “H. B. C. List,” followed by the years in which the name of the employee appears.

The most recent evaluation of the Canadian residents at French Prairie, Oregon, “Oregon's First White Settlers on French Prairie,” appeared in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, XLIII (September 1942), 198-209. It was written by a former governor of Oregon, Oswald West. Previous issues of the Oregon Historical Quarterly are the most prolific source for information on the French Canadians. Space does not permit the inclusion of all this material here, but most of Work’s men are listed individually in the Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, Volumes I to XL, 1900-1939 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1941). This work hereafter will be referred to as Oregon Index.

Parish records of the first Catholic churches in the Oregon country contain interesting entries of the births, marriages and deaths of Canadian resi-
John Work's California Expedition, 1832-33

dents. The original parish records of St. James Church, Vancouver, Washington, and of St. Paul's Church, at St. Paul (formerly French Prairie), Oregon, are in the Roman Catholic Chancery, Portland; photostats are in the library of the Oregon Historical Society.

State and county histories, newspaper articles, particularly obituaries and pioneer reminiscences, are other valuable sources for interesting bits of history of Oregon residents when the region was still held jointly by England and the United States, populated largely by French speaking Canadians, and about to be invaded by American land seekers.

John Work's list of men comprising the various messes of his California brigade includes the names given below. Veterans of the 1831-32 expedition will be indicated by an asterisk (*).

Mess No. 1

F. Champaigne—François Champaigne* (or Champagne), a veteran of Work's Snake Brigade which returned to Fort Vancouver on July 27, 1832. A list of the members of that brigade is given in William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, The Journal of John Work (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), pp. 63-66. Champaigne accompanied Work on his Umpqua expedition of 1834. See Oregon Index, p. 114. Work's sick list of August 1833 shows that Champaigne was accompanied by his wife and at least four children.


L. Quintall—Laurent Quintal*. H. B. C. List, No. 870, 1823-24; Oregon Index, p. 607. Quintal was called a “sly dog” by Alexander Ross.

T. Smith—Thomas Smith*, a trapper, whom Work called “a stupid, lifeless fellow.” Oregon Index, p. 692. This may be the notorious “Pegleg”
Smith who was in the Rocky Mountains as early as 1826. "Pegleg's" first name was Thomas and he claimed to have worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and to have come to California at an early date.

_Mess No. 2_

_J. Cornoyer—_Joseph Cornoyer. H. B. C. List, No. 621; Oregon Index, p. 152; West, _op. cit._, p. 207. This man may have been the Carney* or Coving of the 1831-32 expedition. See Lewis and Phillips, _op. cit._, p. 63. The sick list includes a wife and three children.

_Bte. Dubruille—_Baptiste Dubruille* (or Dubreuil). Oregon Index, p. 192; West, _loc. cit._

_J. Toupin—_A hunter, probably the same as J. Toupe* of the 1831 Snake expedition. Oregon Index, pp. 744-45; West, _loc. cit._ He was accompanied by a wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list.

_Bte. Gardipie—_Baptiste Gardipie* (Gardipre, or Gadipre), a trapper. Oregon Index, p. 250. In 1846 Gardipre acted as guide for two emigrant parties. Hubert Howe Bancroft, _History of Oregon_ (San Francisco, 1886), 1, 564.

_Peevish—_Possibly Pevish, or Perish. The Pinet* listed by Lewis and Phillips may be the same person. No initial is given.

_Mess No. 3_

_M. Laferte—_Michel Laferte* (or LaForte, Lefort, Lafont, etc.), a trapper. One record gives his name as Michael Lafferty! Oregon Index, p. 380; West, _loc. cit._ He was accompanied by a wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list.

_P. Gilbeau—_This name may be Gilbain, Gilbran, or Guilbeau. Lewis and Phillips list a P. Grell.* His wife, child, and Indian are included in the sick list.

_C. Grosbui—_Possibly Grosbin*, Graslin, or Garlin. He died on September 17, 1833, leaving a widow and six children.

_L. Pichette—_Louis Pichette* (sometimes called Dupre). H. B. C. List, No. 1253, 1823-24; Oregon Index, p. 570. His wife, child, and an Indian are included in the sick list. Either the child or the Indian was named Nicholas, probably the latter. "Louis Pichette left Canada in 1817, with a company of 25 trappers, and wintered on the plains, losing seven of the number, and arriving at Astoria in 1818. Pichette roamed about in California and Oregon for twelve years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1832 he settled on a farm in the Willamette Valley, where he resided for over 40 years. He died November 20, 1876, aged 78 years." Bancroft, _op. cit._, I, 74.
Pichette was no doubt one of the men reported to Spanish authorities by Indians of interior California in 1821 as "white men clad in leather and armed with long rifles." Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (San Francisco, 1880), II, 445. Pichette was accompanied in 1832-33 by an Indian consort who became his wife. "February 3, 1840, Louis Pichette, called Dupre, formerly of St. Onis, Montreal, and Margaret Bercier were married. Said spouses recognized for their legitimate children Louis aged seven and one half years, Dominique, aged two and one half years, Rose, aged one year and six months and Esther aged one month and four days. He recognized also Edward for his illegitimate child, aged nine years." St. James Church, Vancouver, Washington, parish records, op. cit. "Louis Pichette had twenty-one offspring." Bancroft, History of Oregon, I, 74.

Mess No. 4

A. Longtain—Andre Longtain*, a trapper. Oregon Index, p. 411; West, loc. cit. A wife and three children are included in the sick list. Some descendants still live near French Prairie, and a great granddaughter, Mrs. Arthur LaRue, is a resident of Berkeley, California.

A. Masseau—A trapper. The name may be Moisseau, Majean, Moisan, Moisyau, Masson*, or Muslar.

J. Roquebin—Sometimes Work spells the name Rocquebin, or Rocquebrin. It may even be Rayburn*, Reyhn, or Rougebin. A wife and at least one child accompanied him, according to the sick list.

J. Favel—The name may be Faul*. The sick list shows that a wife and a little girl were with him.

Mess No. 5

C. Plante—Charles Plante*, or Plant, a half-breed trapper who sometimes acted as scout for the brigade. He was accompanied by his Indian wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list. See also Oregon Index, p. 577; and West, loc. cit.


L. Rondeau—Louis Rondeau*, a trapper; accompanied by his wife, a child, and an Indian, according to the sick list. H. B. C. List, No. 1070, 1823-24; Oregon Index, p. 633. "An Agreement... between Edw. M. Kern, Commanding U. States forces at Fort Sacramento (on the part of the United States) on one part and M. Rondeau, M. Morrison, M. McGilvery, M. Hitchcock, M. Meadows, M. Pillett, M. Morea, Baptiste an Indian, on the
other part” is in the Fort Sutter Papers (MSS in Huntington Library, bound transcript with printed commentaries in California Historical Society library), No. 35. Rondeau had made fourteen trips past Sutter’s Fort, “once running an express for Capt. Ringgold.” Fort Sutter Papers, No. 36.

T. Tevatcon—This name may be Tevateau, or even Thomas Tanateau as listed in Oregon Index, p. 724. A wife and a child were with him on the expedition, according to the sick list.

Mess No. 6

L. Kanota—Louis Kanota*, an Hawaiian, had been over part of the trail to California at some previous date. He was a favorite employee whom Work used as a scout. Oregon Index, p. 362. The sick list gives him a wife, a child, and an Indian.

G. R. Rocque—The name may be Raybin—it is variously spelled.

P. Satakarsa—Lewis and Phillips give the name as Satakays*.

Bte. Obichon—Baptiste Oubichon, usually spelled Aubichon but sometimes Oubishaw. Oregon Index, p. 29; West, loc. cit. His wife is included in the sick list.