

EWING YOUNG AND THE GREAT CATTLE DRIVE OF 1837

By

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Presented to

California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, Inc.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 1

Background

 The Mexican Cattle 2

 Ewing Young. 3

The Great Cattle Drive of 1837. 6

Appendix 22

Selected Bibliography 24

Reproduction of Ewing Young's Petition. 26

PREFACE

The first great cattle drive in the West took place in California, not in Texas as one might expect. Santa Clara County was the starting point and the destination was the Willamette Valley in Oregon. The year was 1837. The leader was Ewing Young, a fur trapper by trade; his cattle drivers were a school teacher, fur trappers and farmers. Not one of them had experience as cattle drovers. These men brought California cattle to the Oregon Territory to supplement the settlers' meager livestock holdings which were always at the mercy of the great Hudson's Bay Company. It is to the school teacher Philip Leget Edwards that we are indebted for the information we have available to us as he kept a diary of this trail drive from beginning to almost the final days. It was a journey that the participants would speak about with bitterness for the rest of their lives, not fully realizing they had begun in earnest to break the strangle hold of the Hudson's Bay Company on the settlers and farmers, and had opened the commerce between Alta California and the Oregon Territory.

BACKGROUND

The Mexican Cattle

The Spanish cattle progenitors of the Mexican/California cattle were those brought by Columbus to Hispaniola (the island of present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) on his second voyage to the New World in 1493.¹

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Spanish cattle became established in the area that is now Texas and to a lesser extent in New Mexico. Nothing is known of their physical characteristics except that they were adapted to a warm dry climate. There are frequent references in literature to "black" cattle. It is likely they were of varied colors as were the original cattle peculiar to Spain in the sixteenth century. They have been described as rather small, well shaped, light brown or dark Jersey color, similar to the wild deer in shade and usually carrying a dark streak along the spine, with a rather heavy cross at the shoulders.²

Little use was made of the cattle and they multiplied rapidly in the favorable climate. Those that were slaughtered for their hides more than met the requirements for beef, since the tongues were the only parts of the carcasses kept for food. Only a small number were used for draft and very few were milked. Except for those animals kept for daily needs, cattle ran in a semiwild state.

1. John E. Rouse, World Cattle III: Cattle of North America (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937, p. 356.
2. Ibid.

During the eighteenth century Spanish military and the religious element that accompanied them, took cattle into present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California in sufficient numbers for permanent herds to be established. The Spanish cattle were the ancestors of the Longhorns.

With the freedom to roam and lack of selective breeding, the Spanish cattle descendants became the Mexican cattle. Those retained in a domesticated state by the missions and later by the hacienda owners were not subjected to any particular breeding control.

When the California missions were secularized, the cattle were seized by the Mexican government and divided into the great herds which were controlled by the Mexican officials.

Ewing Young

Ewing Young was born in Washington County, Tennessee. His date of birth is unknown, but it is known he was alive in 1794.³ He was apprenticed as a cabinet maker at an early age. Like most boys in his time, he learned to hunt and trap.

Young joined William Becknell and twenty others in May 1822, to journey to the Interior Provinces of Mexico to open trade. Becknell had made the journey once before and found the Mexicans were ready for commerce. Young found adventure and profit and made the trip between Missouri to Santa Fe and Taos seven times between the years 1822-1826.⁴

3. Kenneth L. Holmes, Ewing Young, Master Trapper (Portland: Binfords & Morts, 1967), p.3.

4. Ibid, p. 10.

Fur trapping for beaver skins appealed to Young and he became successful. Among his friends and business associates were William Wolfskill, Peg Leg Smith and Kit Carson. Encounters with Indians were to be had all along the routes he took.

He took as his common-law-wife, Maria Josefa Tofoya, a girl from a well known Taos family and they had a son Joaquin.

Beaver trapping was exploited until the realization that new territories must be found and the Mexican government's enforcement of laws and tariffs led Young to leave the Mexican territory in 1834 and begin his California adventures in earnest, although he had made two trips into California before.

In 1830 when Young and his men were at the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, they became involved in an incident which brought them in close contact with Mexican leaders both secular and clerical at San José Mission. There was an uprising among the "Christian" Indians led by one Estanislao, who persuaded a number of his fellow converts from the missions of San José and Santa Clara to run away with him and join a group who had established themselves behind a crude fortification on the San Joaquin River. Father Narcisio Duran, president of all the missions, requested a small body of troops under the leadership of Sergeant Antonio Soto follow the Indians and break up the gathering, but the rebels sent the Mexican troops into a hasty retreat and Soto died of wounds sustained in the fight.

Jose Berreyeza recorded the involvement of Young in his report of July 15, 1830.⁵ Alcalde Francisco Jimenez and a small group of friendly Indians went in search of the runaways, but were unsuccessful. Learning some Americans were nearby, he asked for their help. Young and eleven of his men responded and were involved in a three-hour fight with the hostiles. Young and his party set fire to the Indians' houses and several Indians were wounded.

According to Kit Carson, who was in Young's group, the runaway Indians gave in and the prisoners were turned over to those from whom they had deserted.⁶

Between the years of 1832-1834, Young and his men explored and trapped in the Great Valley of California and even ventured into hunting sea otters along the Pacific Coast. They met trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company and encountered the tragic evidence of the great malaria epidemic of 1833 that would engross all of California before it spent itself.

At one time Young thought he might settle in California and engage in mule trading. He was restless and with the prospects of making a great fortune at trapping ending, he agreed to guide Hall Jackson Kelley to the Willamette Valley in the Oregon Territory.

5. Ibid. p. 51 ff.

6. Christopher Carson, Autobiography (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935) p. 15-16.

Kelley was a controversial Boston school teacher who wished to colonize Oregon, although he had never been there. He had for many years, been outspoken about his distrust of the Hudson's Bay Company. He made himself unpopular with Thomas Oliver Larkin, a prominent merchant of Monterey, by trying to recruit Oregon settlers from his workers and sailors. By this time Young had encountered so much bureaucracy from the Mexican government, and the Mexican officials began to realize they were losing money and profits by allowing Anglos to trade, that a new adventure of horse-trading with settlers in Oregon was appealing.

The party of seven men and ninety-eight horses and mules started out for Oregon. A group of nine others joined them with fifty-six more horses. The decision to let these men accompany them would have a lasting effect on Young's life, as the horses they added to the remuda were stolen and word had been rushed by ship to Dr. John McLoughlin, the British factor of Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River from the California Governor Jose Figueroa. As the men were nearing their destination, posters were found on trees accusing Young and his party of being horse thieves.⁷

THE GREAT CATTLE DRIVE OF 1837

Young's welcome to Fort Vancouver by McLoughlin was not pleasant as all doors were closed to him. He felt he had been falsely accused of wrong doing. He could not receive

7. Holmes, Ewing Young, Master Trapper, p. 107.

any supplies, nor could he trade. He and his followers settled down in the Chehalem Valley and let his horses live off the prairie. His remuda of seventy horses and mules, years of experience living on the frontier and his ingenuity and his ability to be a jack-of-all trades were his only assets. In spite of his bad reputation, Young decided to settle in Oregon and he built himself a cabin across the Willamette River from the Methodist Mission and French Prairie where French Canadians had settled.

Only he and his men were independent of McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company. The rest of the settlers were entirely dependent on the company, and the chance for growth was nearly impossible, as the company would allow them livestock, but all offspring had to be returned. All supplies had to be purchased or traded for at the outpost. The settlers literally "owed their souls to the company store." Unless the attitude of the company changed, the Hudson's Bay organization and the colonists would never harmonize.

A disillusioned Hall Jackson Kelley, "The Apostle of Oregon" left Oregon only after spending a few months, never to return.

Young passed his time improving his property. He built a sawmill and erected a distillery. For two years he and McLaughlin were at odds.

At this point of time, late winter, 1836, a visitor from the United States, Lieutenant William A. Slacum, a personal representative of President Andrew Jackson, sailed up the

Columbia River on a chartered brig, the Loriot to study conditions in the Oregon country.

Slacum was able to soothe over the problem between Young and McLoughlin and in due course was instrumental in organizing the Willamette Cattle Company.

A meeting among the settlers, McLoughlin, and Slacum was held at the Methodist Mission on January 12, 1837 and proved to be productive.⁸ Young told of vast herds of cattle that could be procured in California. He suggested that they could be driven overland from the Bay Region. Articles of agreement were drawn up for a stock company to be known as the Willamette Cattle Company. Young was chosen leader of the venture.

Slacum proposed to take a party of men from the settlement to California on his ship without charge. Members of the party were:

Ewing Young - Leader
 Philip Leget Edwards - Treasurer
 John Turner
 James A. O'Neal
 Webley J. Haushurst*
 Calvin Tibbets
 Lawrence Carmichael
 George Gay
 William J. Bailey
 Pierre Depot
 Amable Arcouette⁹

8. Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXI, F. G. Young, "Ewing Young and His Estate" Sept. 1920, p. 206.

*Returned to Oregon.

9. Holmes, Ewing Young, Master Trapper, p. 120.

McLoughlin and Young each made some concessions. McLoughlin had enough faith to invest \$558.00 in the venture and Young agreed to dismantle the whiskey still.¹⁰

Enough money was raised by private and Hudson's Bay subscriptions to purchase at least five hundred head of cattle.

They set sail on January 23, 1837, and with stops at Bodega Bay, Fort Ross, and San Francisco, they arrived at Monterey, March 2.

Young was met with a setback when he learned from General Mariano Vallejo, the military commander of Alta California, that he would have to contact the Civil Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado for permission to purchase cattle. On March 11, 1837, Young rode from San Francisco to Santa Barbara with the following letter of introduction:

(Designation endorsed on back)
 "Mr. Young's Petition to the Govr California")

To His Excellency Gov of the State of Up California.
 Sir: Your Petitioner would beg leave to inform Your Excellency that there is on the Willamette River south of the Columbia a small settlement of Citizens of the United States. This community have from their origin laboured under many difficulties for want of horned Cattle of which they have none. But knowing that your Excellency is aware of the advantages they confer, your petitioner cannot think it necessary to express in detail the reasons why Cattle are indispensable to the prosperity of an Agricultural People. Under these circumstances a part of the Citizens of said Community on the 13 day of January A. D. 1837, formed themselves into a joint stock Company for the purpose of procuring Cattle from Upper California. The object of your petitioner as well as that of said company, are expressed in the following extract from their Articles of association viz "Whereas we the Undersigned settlers upon the Willamette River are

p. 209. 10. Oregon Historical Quarterly September 1920,

fully convinced of the utility and necessity of having neat Cattle of our own in order successfully to carry on our farms and gain a comfortable livelihood, and whereas we find it impossible to purchase them here as all Cattle in the country belong to the Hudson's Bay Company, and they refusing to sell them under any circumstances, and as we believe that the possession of cattle will materially benefit the whole settlement, we the undersigned do therefore agree &c, &c."

In pursuance of the object expressed in these articles, a party of Ten American Citizens and three Indian Boys of whom I was chosen Leader, took passage in the American Brig Lorient, Capt Bancroft, of which vessel Wm. A. Slacum Esq of the United (States) Navy was charterer.

In compliance with the wishes of said Association, your Petitioner would pray your Excellency's permission to purchase Cattle to the number of Five or six hundred head of the Citizens of California for the purposes expressed above. And relying on the friendly relations in which the Citizens of the United States have always stood to those of your Government and on your personal generosity, he awaits determination

I am your Excellency's
Humbl & Obedt Servt

San Francisco
10th March 1837

(Signed) Ewing Young¹¹

A problem appeared in the form of an old colonial law which forbade the exportation of male and female animals from the colonies. With the help of General Vallejo Governor Alvarado and the Padre Presidente, permission was finally granted to allow the departure of the cattle.¹²

Edwards returned to Fort Ross and collected some of the men who had remained there. All met in Monterey. Although Young had been successful and received permission for the cattle drive, he had to deal with the civil government as they were in complete control of the Franciscan mission cattle

11. Ibid, pp 206-207

12. Philip Leget Edwards, Diary of Philip Leget Edwards: The Great Cattle Drive In 1837. San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1932, p. 21

as the Mexican Government had taken over all livestock in the process of secularizing the Franciscan missions. Edwards thought this to be an unjust act and had written such in his diary.¹³

Edwards recorded in his diary some events that were the beginning of a long ordeal. He and Young had ridden to Yerba Buena.

Thursday, May 24th

"Mr. Young crossed the bay to see Gen. Vallejo who was appointed agent of the government in selling us cattle.

May 29th

Mr. Young returned from San (Francisco) Solano, having purchased seven hundred cattle at \$3.00 per head, to be received 200 at a rancho of San Francisco and 500 at the Mission of San José.

June 1st

Took leave of Yerba Buena and camped $\frac{1}{2}$ league beyond the Mission of San Francisco. Calling at the Mission to see the Administrador, he used every means to evade giving us 170 cows and 30 bulls, wishing to inverse the numbers, saying that his Mission was due that of San (Francisco) Solano that number of cows and bulls. Mr. Young returned to get the orders translated and proved it to be correctly written.

Friday, June 2d

Mr. Young returned, the Administrador having consented to comply with the order. Passed a very difficult road to a rancho about 25 miles to the S.W. on the sea coast.

Sunday, June 4th

Moved about a league to another corral.

13. Ibid, p. 20.

Wednesday, June 7th

We have been detained here until this morning. The Administrador has been collecting cattle. Some have been confined in the corral since Monday morning without food or water. We however got off this morning by paying the Administrador 1 rifle \$30.00 value, 6 shirts \$2.50, and \$20.00 cash, to be divided, as he alleged, among his Indians. The whole was, however, an exaction he had no right to make, it being the custom of the country for the vender of cattle to assist in driving them off the rancho. For the above consideration he insured our number as far as a rancho called St. Martin's, being a small peninsula on which the cattle were easily guarded, and as we afterward learned a part of the Mission land. No fresh water under a half league--cold and windy--cattle suffering such from thirst, and drinking salt water.

Thursday, June 8th

Left early this morning--had difficulty in counting the cattle. Mr. Y. had a sharp altercation with the authorities. Retained but five men to assist us, who we dismissed within nine miles of Santa Clara. The others had been dismissed at the Rancho of the Pulgas. One dollar to each of them we retained. Reached the Mission of Santa Clara at dark, with the loss of three cattle which had tired out, and with much difficulty got our cattle into the corral. Ate nothing all day. A couple of reals procured us a little brush by which we raised a little fire and broiled a little wretched, partly dried meat. Slept in the corral with our animals, a partition separating us and the horses from the cattle.

Friday, June 9th

Started before sunrise. Passed the Pueblo de Alvarado,* and a half mile beyond allowed our animals about three hours to feed. Camped at the rancho of Don Higuera, having with much difficulty got permission to put our cattle in the corral, his Donship being drunk. Just before sunset, as some of the men were driving the cattle towards the corral, they took fright and were with much difficulty got back and driven into the corral. Three or four were probably lost. Ate nothing during this toilsome and perplexing day, except a few morsels of bread at the Pueblo.

*Pueblo San José de Guadalupe

Saturday, June 10th

Moved early, stopped for breakfast about a mile beyond the Mission of St. Joseph's, (San José) and reached the rancho of Robert Livermore, 16 miles distant.

Sunday, June 11th

Guarded the cattle. Mr. Young returned to the Pueblo. Moved 16 miles to an old thrown-down corral--partly repaired it. Guarded the cattle at night.

Tuesday, June 13th

With an elk and bullock skin tied up the corral.

Sunday, June 18th

Went to a valley within a half mile of (Mission) San José and encamped.

Tuesday, June 22d

This morning received the 500 cattle due from this Mission.

It has been the desire of the Administrador to collect up all the wild cattle possible for us. While making his collections, those first put in the corral have been starving, some of them seven days without either food or water, except when guarded out a few minutes at a time. Some were so feeble from starvation and others so crippled from rough usage, that we left eleven unable to ravel the first league. The Administrador agreed to supply these at the Mission sheep pasture; but when we reached there, he said the cattle had all gone off, and now we must either return to the Mission or take an order on some rancho on our way. We did the latter, as it was impossible for any of us to leave our band. About sunset reached a lake or bulrush pond, where we guarded the impatient cattle on horseback all night, half of us guarding while the others slept. Last night I rode to Livermore's, 16 miles, after sunset, and returned by sunrise this morning--was on horseback all day and half the night. One young cow being crippled, tired out, and being fat, was killed a league from camp, and partly eat for supper. 14

14. Ibid., pp 20-23,

So it went, day after day. It was over five months since the party had left the Oregon Territory. By this time they had hoped to be finishing their drive, but they were only a few miles from their starting point. Being inexperienced and not realizing cattle were far different in their physical ability and stamina than horses, they nearly met total disaster crossing the San Joaquin River near what is now the City of Martinez, with a landing made upstream from Benecia on the opposite shore. This was to be the test of how they would ford all rivers they would encounter.

Edwards described the event as utter disorder and confusion.

July 20th

This afternoon finished swimming the cattle across the San Joaquin, at which we have been engaged since the 12th. A corral had previously been made on the bank to prevent the cattle from scattering abroad. On the 12th we drove them in, and immediately made an effort to drive the cattle across, but the water being deep at the going in, they took fright and refused to swim. We now caught a few calves, and, towing them across with skin lassos, succeeded in driving their mothers across also, a few heifers only following. On the 13th we made up our minds for a desperate effort. In the morning, mustering all our force, we determined to make an energetic effort to do what all perhaps augured a hopeless experiment. With about seven hundred wild cattle in the corral, we got on our horses and began the attack. Being unsuccessful, we dismounted and tried on foot; still in vain. We now, with logs, brush, etc., made another fence, dividing the corral, and driving the cattle into smaller part again to get them into river, but they bore down our partition fence instead. Some got outside of the corral altogether, and it took much care to prevent them from bearing down the main corral. We removed our partition fence and strengthened the main corral, preparatory to another trial, and, crowding the cattle into it, called all hands to the charge. We this time succeeded in getting nearly all

of them into the river. Some got halfway across, but all returned to us except seven, which reached the other side, two being caught by the canoes, and seventeen which were drowned. In these sallies, when we huddled up the cattle on the bank and had formed a circle around them, then came the "tug of war." Jump as we would, strike as we would, bawl as we would, threaten as we would, our line was broken. A furious bull would anon rush by, horning and kicking. We were exposed to a broiling sun and enveloped in clouds of dust. The latter article was seized upon by the sweat and we soon presented faces hideous enough to appal either man or beast. Finally, we abandoned our object, stretched a rope across the river, and began to catch the cattle with the lasso, and tow them across the river by means of bulrush boats pulled by the rope stretched across. On the boats were seated two or three men, some to pull and some to hold the cattle. Two, three or four were taken at one time. Skin canoes were first tried, but did not answer so well. 15

Finally the last of cattle were across the river. They rested the livestock on the north shore for a few days, meanwhile purchasing some more to replace those drowned or lost in the crossing.

They had been nearly a month at this task.

Edwards concluded his entry for July 20, with this description of the traildrive thus far:

"Little sleep, much fatigue. Hardly time to eat, many times. Cattle breaking like so many evil spirits and scattering to the four winds! Men, ill-natured and quarreling, growling and cursing! Have, however, recovered the greater part of the lost cattle and purchased others. Another month like the last, God avert! Who can describe it." 16

A pack horse rushed into a tule pond and soaked their entire supply of gunpowder. Young sent Edwards back to Yerba Buena to obtain more powder.

15. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

16. Ibid., p. 26.

Finally at noon July 27, they started north to make their way through the searing summer heat of the Sacramento Valley. Although the days were hot, they found the nights cool. They followed the present-day Highway 99 that climbs up from the Valley north of Redding. Huge mountain peaks arose in front of them and the men's tempers were just as high. The diary entry for August 26 describes the frustration.

"...A tremendous mountain rises before us which we fain would have attempted, but Mr. Young, having rode up it for some distance, returned in half an hour swearing that "a still higher mountain was on the top of this." "Now," said he, "if you are a philosopher, show yourself." Animals were of course hard to guard where there was nothing to eat. Some of the men being tired of eating dried meat insisted on killing a beef. Mr. Young did not consent, as he very reasonably did not wish to carry the meat over the high mountains ahead. A very rough and disagreeable quarrel ensued. Some had sworn they would kill one at all events. Mr. Y. defied them, and told them to "kill one at their peril." 17

The party slowly worked its way through the mountains. The horses were so spent from fatigue and hunger that they were of little use. The cattle had become so weak, that the drivers resorted to "hallowing, bawling, stones, clubs and everything on which we could lay our hands,"¹⁸ to achieve every inch of progress.

The depression and disgust for the whole venture was reflected in the August 29th entry. The party had just experienced great thirst and had found a little stream.

17. Ibid., p. 32.

18. Ibid.

"Short sighted man! Happy that his knowledge is not prospective! Else he would not venture upon some of his most ennobling enterprises. Few of our party, perhaps none, would have ventured upon this enterprise could they have foreseen all its difficulties. It boots little to reflect that the future gains will amply compensate for present suffering. Most of the party cursed the day on which they engaged, and would hardly have exchanged a draught of cool water for their expected share of the profits. We encamped 4 or 5 hundred yards from where we had descended into the river valley, at about 4 p.m. Plenty of wood and water, and some grass. A good beef was killed, a part soon cooked and almost as soon consumed, we having eaten nothing all day. Thrice happy evening, unknown to those who have not known the contrast of the morning! And were it not for that fearful mountain before us we should all forget all our toils in our present happy condition; or, if remembered, only remembered to endear our present enjoyments. But meantime another quarrel with Wood and Mr. Y. about the beef. Our horses were so exhausted, for the first time on our trip we guarded them and the cattle on foot." 19

The men continued through the mountains driving the cattle on foot. Finally, they encountered some Indians who told them they would soon be out of the mountains. They had lost forty-nine cattle since passing through the mountains. Loss of both cows and horses continued as the animals would wander away at night to search for food and water.

On September 8th and 9th, they camped near the foot of Mt. Shasta to reorganize the herd. Another count of the cattle revealed that there were six hundred and eighty left. They had started with eight hundred.

The reflection of the frontiersman's attitude toward Indians was shown in the account of the killing of an Indian on September 12th. A small party of friendly Indians came in to camp in the Shasta Valley. Edwards overheard the

19. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

drivers planning to kill them, but he did not have the opportunity to tell Young of the plot.

"We had just let loose our horses and sat, when a gun was fired just behind me. Gay and the Indian were sitting within ten feet of each other, when the former shot. The Indian sprang up to run when Bailey also shot at him. The Indian ran about 20 paces and fell dead, down the hill. Some of the scoundrels now hallooed, "Shoot the boy! Shoot the boy!" The little fellow, however, turned a point of rocks, plunged in the brush, and, as he was not pursued, he escaped. They afterwards alleged it was only to prevent his spreading the news. At the sound of the gun, Mr. Young asked vehemently, "What's that?" and began censuring the act. I sprang up, calling it a mean, base, dastardly act, and that such men were not to be depended upon in danger! Bailey retorted, "Are you to be depended upon in danger?" I replied, "Yes." "We'll see," said he. I said, "yes." Carmichael was one of the first to censure the murder, but he now joined others against me. "We are not missionaries," said he, "we will avenge the death of Americans." Mr. Young and myself soon saw that it was of no use to wrangle. Some of the party were silent--most were in favor of the act. Only one that I recollect spoke against it. Turner, Gay and Bailey were three of four survivors of a party of eight men who had been defeated at the next river, and several of the survivors were much mangled. Turner's wife had also escaped. This they allege as their justification. But the murder was committed four days before reaching the place of their defeat, and the Indians may have been of another tribe. Nor could any consideration of private revenge, allowing its legality in itself, authorize endangering the property of others. We must now prepare ourselves for fighting our way through the hostile Indians. This fool act, as Mr. Young said, "cost us half our animals." One act of barbarity is not to be omitted. Camp and Pat stripped the Indian of his skin clothing, and left him naked. The Indian had a bow and about 10 or 15 arrows. Only two arrows in the pouch had stone points. 20

The cattledrive continued. Some of the men got into a violent quarrel as they climbed the Siskiyou Pass. They wanted Young to stop the herd in the valley below. Young was firm and he was able to get the rebels to move.

The last entry of the diary reads

"September 18th

Moved about sunrise. Indians were observed running along the mountains to our right. There could be no doubt that they were intending to attack us at some difficult pass. Our braves occasionally fired on them when there was a mere possibility of doing any execution. About 12 o'clock, as we were in a strong and brushy pass between the river on the right and a mountain covered with wood on the left, firing and yelling in front announced an attack. Mr. Young, apprehensive of an attack at this pass, had gone in advance to examine the brush and ravine, and returned without seeing Indians. On making further search he found them posted on each side of the road. After the firing of four guns, the forward cattle having halted and myself, having arrived with the rear, I started forward, but orders met me in front that no others should leave the cattle, Mr. Young, feeling himself able, with two or three men already with him, to rout the Indians. In the struggle Gay was wounded in the back by an arrow. Two arrows were shot into the riding horse of Mr. Young while he was snapping his gun at an Indian not more than ten yards off. To save his horse he had dismounted and struck him on the head, but he refused to go off, and received two arrows probably shot at his master. Having another brushy place to pass, about four or five of us went in advance, but were not molested. Camped on the spot where Turner and party were defeated two years ago. Soon after, the men on day guard said they had seen three Indians in a small grove about three hundred yards from camp. About half of the party went, surrounded the grove, some of them fired into it, and others passed through it, but could find no Indians. At night all the horses nearly famished as they were tied up. Night set in dark, cloudy and threatening rain, so that the guards could hardly have seen an Indian ten paces off, until the moon arose about ten o'clock. I was on watch the first half of the night."

(Here the diary ends. In the midst of action the picture fades. There is no conclusion, and to other sources we must go to learn of the successful termination of the great cattle drive.) 21

This action took place near the Rogue River.

The rest of the drive would have followed what is now Highway 99 or Interstate 5 over into the Umpqua watershed, then into the Willamette Valley. They found grass for their livestock and took their time following the west bank, thus avoiding the major tributaries, which flowed in from the Cascade Range to the east.

The number of cattle that survived the expedition was six hundred and thirty. The evaluation of the expenses and losses brought the prices up from three to nearly eight dollars each. The livestock were divided in the manner agreed upon when the company was formed, the subscribers taking all that could be purchased with their money at seven dollars and sixty-seven cents a head. The earnings of the men who went as drivers collected one dollar a day and were paid in cattle at the same rate.

Young's investment in cash and services was \$1,119.27 $\frac{1}{2}$ which calculated into approximately one hundred and thirty-five cattle.²² Added to his large herd of horses, the cattle made him the wealthiest American in the territory. Although he was never able to have a written retraction of his label of "horse thief" because of Governor Figueroa's death, his success in this venture placed him in a new and respected position.

21. Ibid., pp. 46-47

22. Young, "Ewing Young and His Estate", p. 208.

He had achieved his goals: he led in raising the standard of living of the Willamette settlers in the matter of food, shelter and power. Independence from the Hudson's Bay Company was established. He laid the foundation for the ascendancy of democratic government at a time when benevolent autocracy had ruled. All through the hardships, bureaucracy, and misdealings with the Mexican government, he remained true to himself. Life and business transactions would have been made easier if he had obtained Mexican citizenship. He chose to remain an American.

As an individual, he was both hated and respected. Philip L. Edwards in his diary and Kit Carson in his autobiography referred to "Mr. Young."

Young died at the age of forty-seven years. He had remained in Oregon. An acorn was planted on his grave and a sturdy oak developed, marking his resting place.

Four qualities that raised Mr. Young above the average pioneer were: vision, enterprise, discernment and purpose.

Among Mr. Young's possessions, found at the time of his death, was a two volume set of Shakespear's works.

Perhaps he read these lines:

"He is their god; he leads them
like a thing
Made by some other deity than nature,
That shapes man better"....

Coriolanus. Act IV, sc. 6, l 90 (Cominius)

APPENDIX

(Ewing Young's Expenses in California as Leader of
the Willamette Cattle Company, 1837.)

Bill of Expenditures from the Treasury of the Willamette Co Viz	
For guid from Bodago to Capt Cooper's mill	1.00
And Travelling Expenses from San Francisco to Monterey and returning	8.00
	<u>8.00</u>
	\$9.00

12 March 1843	Ewing Young
Bill of Expenditures in going to Santa Barbara and returning to San Francisco, for the purpose of bying (sic) horses and getting permission to drive cattle viz	
Cooking Utensils	2.50
Translating Petition for permission to drive out Cattle	3.00
1 Saddle	2.25
5 Ropes and 1 Sinch	2.75
Horse and Voccaro hire and taking care of horses	12.00
Traveling Expenses	11.00
1 Rope	.25
	<u>33.75</u>
	\$33.75

24 May 1837	Ewing young
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(Treasurer's Statement)

Received of
19 Jan. 1837 Receipts of amounts to be invested
according to articles of association of the
William (sic) Cattle Co

P. L. Edwards

\$371--the amount paid by Ewing Young for horses
at South for Company
24 May 1837

Ewing Young

\$810 \$810 for Govt of California for Cattle
Mr. Guadalupe Vallejo

1st June 1837 Yerba Buena
 (List of Subscribers to Funds and Contributions
 of Services)*

	(Cash and Services)	(Services)
Ewing Young	\$1119.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	
P. L. Edwards	442.73	
Jas O'Neil	326.72 $\frac{1}{2}$	
C. Tibbetts	182.83	
P. Depo (Depot)	210.25	
E Equette (Amable Arquoit)	189.54	
J Turner	176.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Geo Gay	165.00	
L. Carmichael	233.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wm Bailey	121.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	12.00
J Edmunds		68.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Wm Peter		60.08 $\frac{1}{3}$
Benj Williams		76.00
Saml Campbell		111.50
H Wood		130.00
C Maci (?)		61.00
Moore (?)		34.00
Mr Lee	624.00	

*The contribution of William A. Slacum to the funds of the Willamette Cattle Company is not mentioned in the Treasurer's statement. Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition, v. IV, p. 359, gives Slacum's share as twenty-three head which in 1841 were counted as having increased to eighty-six. These were sold by Slacum's nephew to Dr. McLoughlin for \$860.

Williamette Settler	3.10	
Dr. McLoughlin	558.00	
Messrs Douglass and Finlayson	300.00	
Williams & Jim		20.00 ²³

23. Ibid, pp. 207-209.

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Interviews

Conversation by telephone, January 20, 1982 with Brother Timothy Arthur, O.F.M. on the subject of the disposition of Franciscan mission cattle at the time of the secularization of the California missions.

To His Excellency Gov. of the State of W. California.

Sir

Your Excellency would be glad to inform
 Smith of the River California & several settlements
 of Citizens of the United States. This community have
 from their origin labored under many difficulties and
~~persecution~~ for want of timely relief of what they have
 done. Had knowing that your Excellency is aware
 of the advantages which they enjoy, your Excellency
 cannot think it necessary to enquire in detail the reason
 why they are indispensable to the prosperity of an
 Agricultural People. Under these circumstances
 a part of the Citizens of said Community on the
 13 day of January A. D. 1837, formed themselves into
 a joint stock company for the purpose of procuring
 cattle from Upper California. The object of your
 Excellency as well as that of said company, are
 expressed in the following contract from ~~the~~
~~articles~~ their Articles of Association viz "Whereas
 the the undersigned settlers upon the Wallawalla
 River are fully conscious of the utility and
 necessity of having met cattle of our own in order

successfully to carry on our farms and gain a com-
 fortable livelihood, and whereas we find it impossible
 to purchase them here as all the cattle in the country
 belong to the Hudson's Bay Company, and they are
 willing to sell them under any circumstances; and as
 we believe that the population of cattle will not only benefit
 us generally, but will materially benefit the whole
 settlement, we the undersigned do therefore agree that

In pursuance of the object expressed in these
 articles, a Party of Ten American Citizens and three
 Indian Boys of whom I was chosen Leader, took
 passage in the American Bay Toward, Capt Bennett
 of which vessel Wm A. Slamm Esq of the United
 States was captain.

In compliance with the wishes of said
 operation, your Excellency would pay your Excellency
 any's permission to purchase cattle to the number
 of 5000 or less hundred head of the Citizens of
 California for the purpose expressed above,
 and relying on the friendly relations in which
 the Citizens of the United States have always stood
 to those of your Government and on your per-
 sonal generosity, he waits determination

San Francisco I am your Excellency's
 10th March 1837

Wm A. Slamm