

THE POSTHUMOUS AMERICANIZATION OF JASON LEE, 'PROPHET OF OREGON'

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ABSTRACT

Known as the "prophet of Oregon," the Reverend Jason Lee was born in Stanstead Township in 1803 and died there in 1845. This historiographical essay examines how Lee's Canadian origins were long denied by nationalistic American historians in their efforts to portray him as a heroic exponent of their country's expansionism. Although historical revisionists of the 1960s and 1970s shifted the emphasis to Lee's religious mission, they continued to discount the fact that he spent three quarters of his life in a British colony, assuming that this experience was of little or no relevance. The lack of material on Lee's earlier years makes it difficult to demonstrate otherwise, but this essay argues that he could hardly have avoided being influenced by the British Wesleyan missionaries who converted him, and by the increasingly conservative nature of the colonial society that he lived in. That influence helps to explain why, as historians in more recent years have discovered, Lee was more interested in saving Native souls than in wresting the Oregon Territory from British control.

RÉSUMÉ

Connu sous le nom de « prophète d'Oregon », le révérend Jason Lee est né dans le canton de Stanstead en 1803 et y est décédé en 1845. Cet essai historiographique examine comment les origines canadiennes du révérend Jason Lee ont été longtemps niées par les historiens nationalistes américains qui se sont efforcés de le dépeindre comme un héroïque défenseur de l'expansionnisme de leur pays. Malgré le révisionnisme des années 1960 et 1970, qui a davantage mis l'accent sur la mission religieuse de Lee, les historiens ont continué d'ignorer le fait qu'il a passé les trois quarts de sa vie dans une colonie britannique, présumant qu'il s'agissait d'un fait peu ou pas du tout pertinent. En raison du manque de documentation sur les premières années de Lee, il est difficile de faire la preuve du contraire, mais cet essai note qu'il aurait difficilement pu éviter d'être influencé par les missionnaires wesleyens britanniques qui l'ont converti et par le conservatisme grandissant de la société coloniale dans laquelle il vivait. Cette influence permet de comprendre pourquoi, comme l'on découvert récemment certains historiens, Lee démontrait plus d'intérêt à sauver les âmes autochtones qu'à ravir le territoire de l'Oregon au contrôle britannique.

In the spring of 1906, during an era when the public commemoration of founding heroes was at its height,¹ a large party of dignitaries assembled at Salem's Methodist church to re-inter the remains of the Reverend Jason Lee. Known as the Prophet of Oregon or alternatively as the Father of American Oregon,² Lee was credited with ensuring the victory of the United States over Britain in the Oregon boundary dispute by introducing a number of American missionary families and challenging the Hudson's Bay Company's authority. The prayers, sermons, and speeches, which began at 10:00 in the morning, did not end until well past 8:00 that night. The laymen who spoke included a newspaper editor, a university president, two judges, a former secretary of state from the State of Washington, and the lieutenant-governor of Idaho. Fifteen clergymen were designated as honorary pallbearers, and among the six active pallbearers were two ex-governors and a judge.

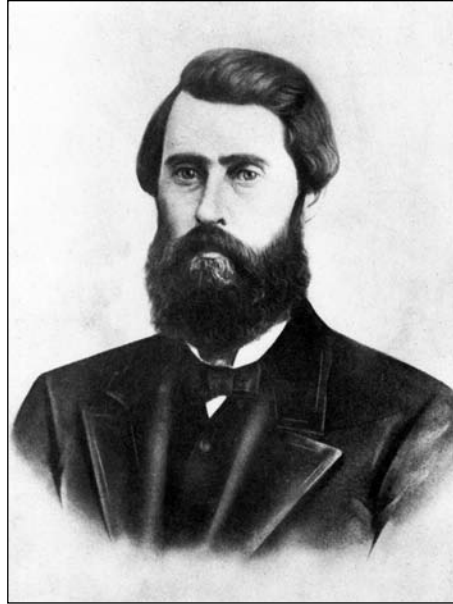
The speakers were effusive in their praise of the man who had died sixty-two years earlier, in 1844, when the Oregon Territory was still being fought over by the Americans and the British. The Honorable H.K. Boise declared that from Lee and his associates "emanated moral and educational influences that illuminated the darkness that overshadowed this almost barbarous region." In the same vein, the Honorable Allen Weir stated that

the civilization of which he was the forerunner and founder swept across the continent, subduing the savage races, overcoming obstacles, and changing conditions; and now, at the dawn of the twentieth century, it has passed all former boundaries and has crossed the ocean to the Philippines, Hawaii, and other islands of the sea.

Lee had not only set these steps in motion, but, according to the Honorable W.D. Fenton, "with the eye of a prophet in 1834, [he] saw the great commonwealth of 1906. He saw the march and power of empire, and that the flag of his country would, in less than a century, wave from Panama to the Behring Sea." Judge Morland could only add that Lee "was a strong patriot and was ardently attached to the country under the flag of which he was born."³

Depicted by a contemporary as "a large athletic young man, six feet and three inches in height, with a fully developed frame, and a constitution of iron,"⁴ Jason Lee had become one of the Progressive Era's archetypal American heroes, representing as he did a combination of "primitive masculinity" and "civilized manliness."⁵ Historians described how he had crossed the continent three times prior to the railway era, bravely facing the dangers of the western

American frontier in a determined attempt to Christianize the Indians and defend his Oregon mission. Moreover, as the speeches at the re-interment ceremony revealed, Lee was assumed to have played a key role in ensuring the realization of American manifest destiny. It was clearly considered to be inconvenient that this American hero had not only spent thirty of his forty-two years in a British colony, but had also died and been buried in his native Stanstead. The transfer of Lee's remains to Oregon and the impressive official ceremony of 1906, noted above, could correct this problem, at least symbolically.⁶ However, the effacing of his Canadian origins, literally carved in the five-and-a-half-foot headstone that was also transported from Stanstead, required a careful manipulation of the historical record.



JASON LEE (1803–1845)

Affirming his status as the father of American Oregon, this portrait of Jason Lee was hung on the wall behind the Oregon state speaker's chair in 1920.

Source: Oregon Historical Society

One of the honorary 1906 pallbearers, the Reverend Albert Atwood, was first to address the question of Lee's birthplace in detail, in his book, *The Conquerors: Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country Embracing Facts in the Life and Work of Rev. Jason Lee, the Pioneer and Founder of American Institutions on the Western Coast of North America*. This lengthy historical study, published a year after the re-interment ceremony, attempted to prove that Lee was a true American by pointing to his Puritan lineage as well as to the seventeen members of the extended Lee family who had fought in the War of Independence. According to Atwood, Lee's own father, Daniel, had "participated in the battles of Lexington, White Plains, Long Island, and other engagements of the Revolutionary War."⁷

While he did acknowledge that Jason Lee was born in Stanstead Township in 1803, several years after his family had moved north from Rutland, Vermont, Atwood insisted that the Lees "had entertained no doubt" but that they were still living in Vermont. Indeed, they were

“greatly disappointed [...] to find themselves in Canada” when the Webster-Ashburton Treaty finally settled the boundary’s location in 1842.⁸ This myth became so accepted that Lee’s biographer for the *Dictionary of American National Biography* states even more categorically that he was born in “Stanstead, Vermont (now part of Quebec, Canada)!” The fact is that the 45th parallel had been established as the boundary line as early as the Quebec Act of 1774 and ratified by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, nine years before the Eastern Townships were officially opened to settlement. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty did extend the Vermont boundary slightly further north, but there could have been little doubt that it would extend as far as the Lee homestead on lot 10 of the 10th range, for it lay three and a half miles inside the line.⁹ Certainly, the young Jason Lee would have been aware that he was not living in the United States.

Most of the pioneer settlers of Stanstead Township were non-Loyalist families from the Merrimack and Connecticut Valleys, who had arrived around the turn of the 19th century in search of inexpensive land and freedom from taxes.¹⁰ Neighboring Vermonters clearly did not have a strong sense of national identity themselves at this time, for smuggling through the Eastern Townships to Montreal grew more common during the years of Jefferson’s Embargo and the War of 1812. However, cross-border invasions in both directions made the borderline more tangible to Vermonters as well as to the settlers of the Eastern Townships.¹¹ Furthermore, cross-border religious circuits were cut during the war. Then, in 1821, American Episcopal Methodist circuit riders were replaced by Wesleyan Methodist missionaries sponsored by London. With their Anglican counterparts, whom the London’s Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had selected and funded, the Wesleyans soon effected a dramatic change on the religious landscape of the Eastern Townships. The Church of England became the largest Protestant denomination in the region as a whole, followed by the Wesleyan Methodists, who were at least as determined to counter American republican influence in the region, and who had established a particularly strong position in Stanstead.¹²

While one of the most recent studies examining Lee in detail claims that he was converted through the efforts of his nephew, Daniel Lee, and an itinerant evangelist, the fact is that his headstone assigns the credit to Stanstead’s two British Wesleyan missionaries.¹³ The dramatic revival stimulated by the Reverend Richard Pope in the village of Stanstead in 1824 lasted a remarkable three or four years and converted over 200 people (including most of the village’s leading citizens) to Methodism. It also extended to the outlying settlements served by

Pope's assistant, the genteel Reverend Thomas Turner.¹⁴ After his conversion in 1826, Lee remained a manual labourer for three more years, but he finally enrolled in the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts in 1829. Upon returning home the following year, Lee taught in the Stanstead Seminary, which had recently been founded by local Methodists (including his cousin, Erastus Lee), and continued to study for the ministry under the tutelage of the local Wesleyan incumbent while serving as an unordained local preacher.¹⁵

But local prospects were not promising as religious enthusiasm declined with the severe economic hardship caused by crop failures during the early 1830s, and Stanstead's Wesleyans began to defect to the more radical American-based Reformed (or Protestant) Methodists. In August 1833, the Reverend William Squire lamented that "we have nominally twelve classes, out of these only one in the habit of meeting; all the rest, I may say, are formally given up."¹⁶ Yet Lee, said by Atwood and other historians to have considered himself fully American, was not one of these deserters. Nor was his much older brother, Elias, who helped foster another Stanstead revival two years later.¹⁷ By this time, however, Jason and his nephew, Daniel (Elias's son), had established a mission in the distant Pacific Northwest.¹⁸

This remote posting was not Jason Lee's first choice, for he had offered his services to an Indian mission launched in 1832 by one of his mentors, Thomas Turner, at Lake St Clair in Upper Canada, where a dramatic conversion process was then taking place.¹⁹ Lee must have been aware that this mission provided the Wesleyan missionaries with the opportunity they were seeking to re-enter Upper Canada, which they regretted conceding to the American-based Methodist Episcopal mission in 1821.²⁰ He must also have been aware that the British missionaries had been accusing their American counterparts of fomenting disloyalty. The reason he did not join the British ranks in Upper Canada was simply that his appointment was delayed by the death of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's secretary in London. As a result, Lee accepted the offer made by Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of his alma mater, to establish a Methodist Episcopal mission in the Oregon Territory. Lee was then admitted into the New England Conference and ordained as "Missionary to the Flathead Indians."²¹ As the Canadian Methodist historian, John Carroll, lamented in 1871, "but for the circumlocution and delay that then attended the introduction of a colonist, however talented, into the regular ministry, [Lee] might have continued to bestow his labors on his native Province."²² In fact, the man said to have played a key role in ensuring that Oregon became an American state would have been aiding the British cause in Upper Canada.

American historians have not always denied Lee's Canadian origins.²³ The account published in 1870 by his Oregon acquaintance, William Henry Gray, suggested that the United States government chose missionaries as its agents in the Oregon Territory because the Hudson's Bay Company could not object to them the way it did to independent traders. Jason Lee, Gray claimed, had a particular advantage because of his Canadian birth.²⁴ However, no subsequent historical account would echo his assumption that the British fur-trading company's chief factor in Oregon welcomed Lee because he was a Canadian, much less speculate on the influence of Lee's initial British Wesleyan affiliation.

H.H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, ghostwritten by Frances Fuller Victor in 1886, depicted Jason Lee as a typical American frontiersman for whom "forest freedom proved a relief from the prison walls of prescribed forms." Lee's "brusque straightforwardness was but simple honesty, unalloyed with clerical cant," and his character "unfolded in beauty and fragrance under the stimulating prairie sun." However, Lee became more of a colonizer than a missionary when he "discovered that the tribes of the Willamette Valley and of the Columbia River west of the Cascade Mountains, were hopelessly diseased and depraved." Deliberately misleading his sponsoring society and those contributors who were "earnest in sewing-societies [and] church sociables," Lee focused his energies on recruiting American settlers for Oregon. Victor concluded, nevertheless, that Lee was neither "a bad man" nor "a good man becoming bad," and, while there was no evidence that he "ever became a naturalized citizen of the United States," he had endeavoured "to make the most of himself, to do the best for his country, whether laboring in the field of piety or patriotism." In short, Lee's work as a promoter of American colonization was "much more beneficial to mankind" than his efforts as a missionary to the Natives could ever have been.²⁵

Subsequent studies would also emphasize Lee's role as a colonizer, though one without personal ambition or guile. In the first full-length biography, published nine years after the Bancroft volume, the Methodist clergyman, H.K. Hines, stressed the dying missionary's longing for Oregon, where his two wives had each died in childbirth:

With every evanescent flash of the expiring embers of life, Oregon again arose on the horizon of his mind, and for the moment her vales and hills filled all the field of his vision. To reach Oregon, to live, if live he could, with and for her; to die, if die he must, under her peaceful skies, and lay his dust at last where she for so long had been his heart, was the measure of his earthly desires.



LEE HOUSE

Built by Elias Lee between 1804 and 1806, this substantial brick house would have been almost new when it became the young Jason Lee's home after the death of his and Elias's father in 1806. Descendants date this photograph of the house, which is still occupied, as being between 1869 and 1880. Source: Ray and Diana Baillie, Imprints II: Discovering the Historic Face of English Quebec (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 2002), 94. The photo is from a private collection.

Hines may have planted the seed for Lee's reburial seven years later by lamenting that in the Stanstead cemetery "there reposes precious dust that Oregon covets as her own [...]. Surely the hero should rest by the side of the heroines." While he made no claim that the Lee family thought they had settled in Vermont rather than Lower Canada, Hines still insisted that "all that made and moulded [*sic*] him, blood, education, life-work, were American, and made him the fit representative of the most intense American ecclesiasticism on the continent in the great work of his life in Oregon."²⁶

As we have seen, the Reverend Atwood's aptly titled *The Conquerors*, published eight years after Hines's biography, was still less restrained in its judgments. Not only did it declare that Lee was an American without qualification, it insisted that he was effectively acting as an agent of the United States government.²⁷ On a more global scale, Lee was God's own agent for "opening the doors of Asia and the islands of the sea to the Gospel, to Christian civilization, to the Bible, to schools, to commerce, and to all the potential instrumentalities that God has ordained for the betterment of human conditions and the uplift of the world."²⁸

The assumption that Lee was essentially American would persist. In 1930, the Reverend John Canse published a history that again stressed Lee's role in the Americanization of the Pacific Northwest, paying little attention to his missionary efforts among the Aborigines. Canse also stated that the Lee homestead was on the Derby Line / Rock Island border though, as we have seen, it was well to the north at the time Lee was born.²⁹

Much the same stance was taken two years later, in 1932, in the biography by the University of Idaho's Cornelius J. Brosnan, which stressed that "Lee laid the foundations of the American state." While Brosnan declared that "Lee was first of all a missionary", he added that, "with characteristic New England clear-headedness he realized the futility of attempting to rescue the vanishing Indian race, and foresaw the future occupation of the country by white settlers from his own race."³⁰ Nevertheless, Brosnan did acknowledge Lee's Canadian birth, as well as being the only historian to mention that his eastern fundraising tour extended to the Eastern Townships early in 1839 when local Tories contributed financially to his Oregon mission.³¹

Nineteen thirty-four brought yet another hagiographic publication, when a special issue of the *Pastor's Journal* marked the centennial of the Lee mission to Oregon. Lee's Canadian origins were largely ignored, but Robert Moulton Gatke of Willamette University, stressed that "first, foremost, and always [Lee] was a Christian missionary to the Indians, certain careless historians notwithstanding."³² This would become a major theme of the academic studies that eventually followed, beginning in 1961 with James Robert Decker's Indiana University dissertation. His was the first detailed study to argue that Lee was "at heart a Christian missionary, not a colonizer."³³ During the following decade, Robert Loewenberg went still further by arguing that Lee had promoted American settlement only "to provide a stable colony of pious and industrious men and women" so that he and his clerical fellows would be "free to itinerate among the Indians." Indeed, Loewenberg argued, Lee was quite willing to see the American claim restricted to the land south of the Columbia River, thereby acceding to the maximum pretension of the British.³⁴

While Decker repeated the mistaken assumption that, because the exact location of the Vermont border was in dispute until 1842, Lee was "an American even though born in Canada,"³⁵ Loewenberg was the first historian not to ignore or attempt to explain away Lee's Canadian origins. He wrote: "the Connecticut valley town of Wilbraham and the border town of Stanstead, Canada, made up the two sides of Lee's eastern experience, and he cherished memories of

both places.”³⁶ By insisting, however, that “Lee’s missionary career in Oregon cannot be understood apart from its contextual underpinnings in American Methodism and American ideology,” Loewenberg simply discounted the influence of the conservative British Wesleyan missionaries who converted him, as well as the colonial environment in which he grew up.³⁷

Such a perspective is somewhat understandable given that Canada did not yet exist as a country during Lee’s lifetime, that the border townships were originally settled by New Englanders including Lee’s own democratically-inclined family, and that there were strong social and economic links across the border between Vermont and the Eastern Townships. In fact, Stanstead was one of the most persistently American townships in the region, resistant to the Church of England missionaries as well as to the strict discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.³⁸ But there were none of the cross-border political networks that characterize North America’s First Nations borderlands or those in other continents,³⁹ much less the institutions of local government and taxation that fostered the democratic and political protest tradition south of the border. There had once been strong links between the Masons on both sides of the border, but these were broken by Vermont’s anti-Masonic hysteria in the later 1820s.⁴⁰ When the Rebellion of 1837 broke out, Stanstead remained overwhelmingly loyal to the British tie, though Lee’s nephew, Elias Lee, Jr., was arrested on spurious grounds.⁴¹ Therefore, even though the New England origins and democratic politics of Jason Lee’s family help to explain his easy transition into American mission work, the fact remains that he came of age during an era when the border was marking significant divergences in religious and political trajectories.⁴² He, therefore, could not avoid being influenced by the more conservative religious and political culture that was developing in the Eastern Townships due in considerable part to missionaries such as the two who converted him.

How that influence manifested itself in Oregon can only be a matter of speculation, though this view of Lee does conform to the revisionist interpretation that he was more interested in saving souls than in American expansionism. Also, his preoccupation with attracting pious and educated Methodist laypeople to serve as ‘missionaries’ in Oregon brings to mind the persistent complaints of the British Wesleyan missionaries that Stanstead and the surrounding townships lacked a suitable lay-elite to supply the unordained local preachers and class leaders required by the itinerant Methodist system. For example, the Reverend William Squire of Stanstead complained in 1833 about his inability “to enforce our discipline as it can be done in societies where

there are sufficient Leaders."⁴³ The founding of the Stanstead Seminary to train the required local elite without the necessity of sending young men, such as Lee himself, to New England colleges would also have its parallel in his establishment of the Oregon Institute (which became Willamette University).⁴⁴ Finally, if Lee was a man wracked by indecision and self-doubt as the revisionist historians claim,⁴⁵ it may partly have been because -- like most English Canadians, to one degree or another -- he was torn between conflicting British and American influences. In the final analysis, however, what is striking about the Lee historiography from a Canadian perspective is how the construction and perpetuation of the American nationalist myth suppressed the influence of one border while celebrating the creation of another.

ENDNOTES

I wish to thank Chelsea Horton for her very helpful research assistance, Nick Guyatt and Jay Taylor for their critical comments, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial assistance.

1. Patrice Groulx, "In the Shoes of Samuel de Champlain," in Raymonde Litalien and Densi Vaugeois, eds, *Champlain: The Birth of French America* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 335.
2. Robert J. Loewenberg, *Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission, 1834-43* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 68.
3. Rev. A. Atwood, *The Conquerors. Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country Embracing Facts in the Life and Work of Rev. Jason Lee, the Pioneer and Founder of American Institutions on the Western Coast of North America* (Tacoma, WA: Jennings and Graham, 1907), 197-204.
4. Quoted in Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon* (New York: MacMillan, 1932), 27.
5. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), chapter 1.

6. The process of moving Lee's body apparently began in 1904 with a letter from Mrs Smith French of The Dalles, Oregon to Colonel Frederick D. Butterfield of Derby Line, Vermont. Butterfield was a Civil War veteran and wealthy tap and die manufacturer who spent his winters in California. He superintended and covered the costs of disintering and shipping Lee's body and tombstone to Portland, Oregon, where Lee's son-in-law, Professor F.H. Grubbs, placed them in the safety vault of that city's Title Guarantee and Trust Company. The re-interment was timed to mark the sixty-second anniversary of Willamette University. Lee's original tombstone was replaced with one flush to the ground in 1975. Atwood *Conquerors*, 197; Arthur Henry Moore, *History of Golden Rule Lodge* (Toronto: Willam Briggs, 1905), 150–1; Sylvia Mattson, *Missionary Foot Paths: The Story of Anna Maria Pittman (Mrs. Jason Lee)* (Salem: Mission Mill Museum Association, 1978), 66, 110.
7. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 207; Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 18–19.
8. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 207–8.
9. Richard Lates and Harold Meeks, "The Line Which Separates Vermonters from Canadians: A Short History of Vermont's Northern Border with Quebec," *Vermont History*, 44, no. 2 (1976): 74–7. The local history by B.F. Hubbard provides somewhat contradictory information, stating on one page that Daniel Lee settled on lot 10 of the 10th range in 1797 and on another that he "pitched" on lot 1 of the same range in 1800. The latter lot was directly on the international border, but Lee had sold this lot and was living on lot 10 by the time Jason was born. B.F. Hubbard, *Forests and Clearings. The History of Stanstead County, Province of Quebec* (Montreal: Lovell, 1874), 31–2, 155–6.
10. Joel Andres, "The Pattern of Pioneer Migrations to Stanstead County, 1793–1840," *Stanstead Historical Society Journal*, 7 (1977): 45–50.
11. See J.I. Little, *Loyalties in Conflict: A Canadian Borderland in War and Rebellion, 1812–1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
12. See J.I. Little, *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792–1852* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), chapter 2.
13. Malcolm Clark, jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon, 1818–1862* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 75. For the full text on the headstone, see Atwood, *Conquerors*, 205.
14. Little, *Borderland Religion*, 182–4; John Carroll, *Case and His Contemporaries*, vol. 3 (Toronto: Welseyan Conference Office, 1871), 89–90.

15. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 26–31; Kathleen H. Brown, *Schooling in the Clearings: Stanstead, 1800–1850* (Stanstead: Stanstead Historical Society, 2001), 134–5.
16. Quoted in Little, *Borderland Religion*, 185.
17. Little, *Borderland Religion*, 186–7.
18. Jason reportedly lived in Elias’s household for a time after their father died in 1806. (Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 22). The Reverend Daniel Lee was, until Loewenberg’s revisionist work, depicted as the ineffectual counter to his uncle Jason. Robert J. Loewenberg, “‘Not ... by feeble means’: Daniel Lee’s Plan to Save Oregon,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 74 (1973): 71–8. See also Robert Boyd, *People of the Dalles: The Indians of the Wascopam Mission* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).
19. On this mission, see Elisabeth Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784–1867* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), 38–9; and John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 91.
20. See Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 182–4; and Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).
21. For a detailed examination of the origins of this mission, see Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), chapter 1. Daniel Lee had not yet been ordained, but he had been traveling in the New Hampshire Conference for more than two years. H.K. Hines, *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, Containing the Wonderful Story of Jason Lee* (Portland: H.K. Hines; San Francisco: J.D. Hammond, 1899), 46–54; Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 13–15, 33.
22. John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries, or The Canadian Itinerants’ Memorial*, vol. 3 (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), 396–7.
23. On the earliest Oregon histories, see Chad Reimer, “Borders of the Past: The Oregon Boundary Dispute and the Beginnings of Northwest Historiography,” in John M. Findlay and Ken S. Coates, eds, *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002).
24. W.H. Gray, *A History of Oregon, 1792–1849, Drawn From Personal Observation and Authentic Information* (Portland: Harris and Holman; New York: American News, 1870), 622. On Gray, see Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 29.

25. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 57, 61, 166–8, 174, 209–10, 214, 220–1.
26. Hines, *Missionary History*, 316–19. Hines was the brother of the man who raised Lee's only child. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 25n38.
27. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 29.
28. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 178–80, 193.
29. John M. Canse, *Pilgrim and Pioneer: Dawn in the Northwest* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930), 39, 297.
30. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 276–7.
31. The most generous Canadian contributor to the Oregon mission in 1839 was the prominent conservative merchant and politician, Samuel Brooks. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 21–2, 128–33.
32. Robert Moulton Gatke, "Jason Lee, the Trail Breaker," *Pastor's Journal*, 5, No. 1 (January 1933), 11.
33. James Robert Decker, "Jason Lee, Missionary to Oregon. A Reevaluation" (PhD dissertation, University of Indiana, 1961), 1. The older view persisted, however, in Dorothy O. Johansen, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2nd edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 161–5.
34. Robert J. Loewenberg, "Saving Oregon Again: A Western Perennial?" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 78 (1977): 341–3. Loewenberg also claims that Lee discouraged immigration during his 1838–9 fund-raising tour, and that the migration that did take place to Oregon was caused "by factors having nothing to do with Lee." Robert J. Loewenberg, "New Evidence, Old Categories: Jason Lee as Zealot," *Pacific Historical Review*, 47 (1978): 354–5. See also Robert J. Loewenberg, "Creating a Provisional Government in Oregon: A Revision," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 68, 1 (1977): 13–24. Kent Richards had already revived the hint by Bancroft/Fuller that Lee and his associates were attempting to establish a Methodist theocracy. See his "The Methodists and the Formation of the Oregon Provisional Government," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 61, 2 (1970): 87–93. But Clark's *Eden Seekers*, published in 1981, simply ignored this revisionist interpretation.
35. Decker, "Jason Lee," 3–4.
36. R.J. Loewenberg, "The Idea of Equality in Ante-Bellum America: Oregon a Test Case" (Phd dissertation, Yale University, 1972), 57–8.
37. Loewenberg, "Idea of Equality," 59. Clark's *Eden Seekers* (75) repeats the spurious claim that Stanstead was considered Vermont territory at the time of Lee's birth, "but a boundary correction threw it into Lower Canada."

38. See J.I. Little, "The Mental World of Ralph Merry: A Case Study of Popular Religion in the Lower Canadian – New England Borderland, 1798–1863," *Canadian Historical Review*, 83 (2002): 338–64; and J.I. Little "The Methodistical Way: Revivalism and Popular Resistance to the Wesleyan Church Discipline in the Stanstead Circuit, 1821–52," *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses*, 31 (2002): 171–94.
39. Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History*, 8, no. 2 (1997): 225. Most detailed studies of the Canadian-American borderland have focused on the impact of the boundary on the Native population. See, for example, Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 2006); Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on North American Borderland* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001); and Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005).
40. Moore, *Golden Rule Lodge*, 14–21, 66.
41. Elias Lee, Sr., had already been defeated as Stanstead's pro-Patriot candidate in the 1836 by-election.
42. On religious and political culture in Vermont, see David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont* (New York: AMS Press, 1966, reprint 1939); John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller, III, *Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); and Randolph Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). On religious and political culture in the Eastern Townships, see Little, *Borderland Religion*; and Little, *Loyalties in Conflict*.
43. Quoted in Little, "Methodistical Way," 178.
44. Loewenberg, *Equality*, 123.
45. Loewenberg ("New Evidence," 347–8) refers to Lee as a "fluttering soul" and ineffectual "bumbler who was easily swayed by stronger personalities." Clark (*Eden Seekers*, 105) claims that he was "possessed by confusion and vacillation." Somewhat more sympathetic is the recent portrayal in Gray H. Whalley, "'Trophies' for God: Native Mortality, Racial Ideology, and the Methodist Mission of Lower Oregon, 1834–1844," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 107, no. 1 (2006): 6–35.