

Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations



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Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations

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In This Issue

Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations is the Willamette Heritage Center's biannual publication. Its goal is to provide a showcase for scholarly writing pertaining to history and heritage in Oregon's Willamette Valley, south of Portland. Articles are written by scholars, students, heritage professionals and historians - professional and amateur. Editions are themed to orient authors and readers to varied and important topics in Valley history.

This issue looks into the topic of work in the Valley—a topic with many different facets despite its apparent universality. Articles in this edition focus on everything from the types work occupying valley residents to the way that work has shaped our communities.

In addition to the articles, the edition includes a section called: “In Their Own Words,” our regular feature which provides access to primary sources found in the Willamette Heritage Center's collections. Reproduced is the transcript of a portion of a newly acquired interview with Ruth DeSart Lively. In it she discusses her experiences as a high school student working at a store on the Wigrich Hops Ranch in the Independence area. Preserving the Valley's heritage and sharing its stories is part of a continuing process and dialogue of which *Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations* is but one vehicle.

It is with regret that we announce that Keni Sturgeon, founding editor and force behind Willamette Valley Voices, has accepted a new position at the Pacific Science Center in Seattle, Washington. We want to thank Keni for her vision in reviving a publishing tradition of the Willamette Heritage Center and dedication to encouraging and fostering new scholarship and a greater understanding of the history of the Mid-Willamette Valley. We wish her well in her new pursuits.

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Remembering Work in the Valley: Making and Searching for Meaning

Max G. Geier, Ph.D., Western Oregon University

Studs Terkel once noted that his much-admired book *Working*, "...being about work, is by its very nature about violence—to the spirit as well as to the body.... It is, above all (or beneath all), about daily humiliations. To survive the day is triumph enough for the walking wounded among the great many of us."¹ But he also pointed out that his book was about something more elusive. He described that elusive something as "...a search, too, for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a ...sort of dying. ...To be remembered was the wish, spoken and unspoken, of the heroes and heroines of this book."²

The search for daily meaning in work, to which Terkel refers, gains expression in the words workers use to describe their skills and lives, as well as in their actions in the workplace. Simply by living and working, people bring meaning to the places where they do those things. Work changes places and the people who do it. Workers in the mid-valley, even before Oregon became a territory, organized to express their dissatisfaction with working conditions, to demand changes in the terms of their employment, and to assert or protect their ability to control how and when they applied their skills to a particular job. That struggle for control played out in a legal and economic framework that was often hostile to worker demands for fair treatment or respect. As U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony M. Kennedy asserted in a 1992 judgment striking down a comparable-worth statute in Washington State, "Neither law nor logic deems the free market system a suspect enterprise."³ Workers who challenged their employers in court encountered legal authorities who viewed with suspicion any efforts to impugn the fairness of an economic system based on free choice in the marketplace. Justices like Kennedy redefined work, and by extension, workers, as just another commodity like wheat, coal, or lumber, that was tradable on the free market. Workers, however, frequently disagreed, emphasizing the human value of community, and the lives that work made possible in those places.

¹ Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do* (NY: Avon Books, 1974), p. xiii.

² *ibid.*

³ David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market During the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 12.

The struggle for control in the workplace included disagreements over whether workers had the right to draw a bright line between those portions of their lives that they committed to work, and the times they reserved for private lives and leisure activities beyond the control of those who supervised them on the job. Hudson's Bay Company employees during the early 19th century, for example, challenged terms of employment that required them to return east when their contracts with the company expired. In resisting company efforts to enforce compliance, HBC retirees formed the nucleus of local community on French Prairie, north of modern-day Salem. The lives of workers, as it happens, shaped the foundations of Oregon history in ways that escaped the notice of early historians.



Workers near Salem. Willamette Heritage Center Collections, 1997.014.0010.

Work, at a very basic level, is a measure of energy unleashed. Water flowing downhill and through the Willamette Valley converts gravitational power into a force that carves out channels and moves portions of the landscape downstream, depositing sediment, rocks, and debris in places far below their origin at higher elevations. In doing this work, water also creates the potential for downstream use and other forms of work. Various

mechanisms for harnessing waterpower made places like Albany, Salem, and Oregon City, landscapes of human work. Water-driven mills, and later, electric motors drawing energy from hydropower projects above and around the Willamette Valley, accelerated the pace of work, and helped connect people working in one location with the efforts of those who lived elsewhere.

People engaged in particular kinds of work forged community ties across expansive geographic distances, and in ways that connected people across multiple generations. David Lewis, in this edition of *Willamette Valley Voices*, examines how traditions of timber falling connected members of the Grand Ronde Indian reservation across time and space, linking 160 years of Grand Ronde residents with the far-flung forests of western Oregon. Timber fallers ranged out from the local community of Grand Ronde, working for years at a time at distant logging camps to earn wages that they sent to families in the home community. The away-lives of these timber workers helped sustain families in and near Grand Ronde who otherwise relied on farming and ranching activities that often failed to meet the basic needs of that community. This work was multi-generational, connecting elders with children as young as 6 years old in a mentoring and training relationship that helped ensure a continuity of skills and the employability of the community's youth. In an ironic twist, Lewis notes that this self-contained pattern of mentoring the next generation encouraged the belief among non-Indian employers, that Native loggers were "natural" foresters. As one consequence, logging interests opposed tribal restoration in the 1970s, for fear it would destroy logging. Despite those fears, the tradition lived on past the 1983 restoration, and the elders who maintained control over the knowledge of the craft of logging were able to pass that skill on to the next generation of timber managers, loggers, and firefighters who assumed responsibility for managing the timber holdings of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.

The theme of teaching and mentoring the next generation to carry forward established and learned values and traditions is a recurring concern among workers in the mid-valley, and it is further represented in the contributions of Peyton Tracy and Phil Decker to this volume. Tracy examines the role of missionary women in the Methodist Mission to Oregon during the 1830s and 1840s, considering the ways in which gender shaped the priorities and approach to mission work at an early stage in the development of an immigrant culture in the Willamette Valley. Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, and Cyrus Shepard, Tracy notes, worked to recruit women to serve in the Methodist Mission that they established in western Oregon. The women who answered that call brought to their work a concern for remaking community in Oregon through godly effort and lives. Tracy explores that process through the eyes and experiences of four women who were part of that concerted effort, considering their sacrifices in leaving behind established lives and

families and focusing on the work of building new families, homes, and communities in Oregon.

Phil Decker's photographic essay reminds us that the process of building community is an unending effort to connect emerging generations with the values and aspirations of those who went before. Comparing historical and recent images from mid-valley schools, Decker's photographic essay examines the ways in which schoolrooms and teachers represent, in their physicality, the idealized virtues of the era in which they are set. The images depict changing trends in classroom architecture, clothing, furniture and demographics as factors that mediate the interactions of outnumbered adults with roomfuls of children. The historical images, drawn largely from Marion County records since 1894, include a sample of representative photographs depicting interactions at Four Corners Elementary, a Salem school where Decker is also the current principal. In these images, juxtaposed against more recent images from Decker's own work as a photographer, children work under the direction of adult managers who are also workers. It is a multi-generational workplace that conveys values and skills to the next generation, in a context that reflects changing notions of virtue and value in the workplace, in and near Salem.

Examining a particular workplace, and the people who work there, is a useful approach to studying community networks, rural-urban relations, and how they change through time. Kylie Pine's exploration of the Salem Cheese Factory opens the door to a story about how enterprising individuals and farmers joined together to form dairy cooperatives where workers transformed a surplus commodity—milk—into specialty cheeses that established the mid-valley region near Salem as one of the leading centers of cheese production in the state, second only to the coastal region centering on Tillamook. In examining the craft of cheese-making, as it evolved through the mid-twentieth century, Pine traces the stories of individual cheese makers and partnerships linking rural producers with urban processes. These assembled narratives illuminate how changes in technology and transportation, and the economic disruptions of the Great Depression, transformed the kind and nature of work, and the experiences of workers, as cheese manufacturing in the region shifted from a specialty craft to industrialized production.

Rather than beginning with a process or a community, Gloria Lachelle focuses on one particular parcel of land - the University Addition to the City of Salem - and examines how, as control over that particular landscape shifted from one entity to another, the work and values attached to that place also changed. Lachelle considers how the different priorities that people apply to a particular landscape reflect shifting community values as represented in specific lifeways, fashions, and trends. The Salem Soap and Chemical Works, established on the site in 1894, was just the first in a series of industrial uses, each

with different community and environmental impacts. Subsequent industries on the same site included a tannery, a fur shop, and more recently, a parking lot. Initially a workplace destination for workers who lived elsewhere, by the late 20th century, the site had become a place where workers left their personal transportation as they continued on foot to somewhere else. No longer a place of working communities, it had become a simplified landscape of unremarkable character where people were mostly pre-occupied with individual arrivals and departures. Workers, of course, made that landscape with grading and paving machinery and materials.

Greg Garcia complicates the boundary between work and leisure in an examination of the Silverton Red Sox and their participation in the Semi-Professional Baseball Championship tournaments in Oregon and at the national level. Organized baseball, at the Semi-Professional level, combined the quintessential American past-time of leisure and sport with the entrepreneurial boosterism of business leaders in small-town America and the search for community in industrial America. The game epitomized the paradoxical nature of community-building in an industrializing landscape. Ballplayers were hometown heroes who aspired to leave their community behind to make it big in larger urban markets. They were privileged local workers whose adeptness at a sport that most people played only for leisure made them valued commodities marketable on a larger stage. Their ambitious pursuit of individual and team success made the Red Sox a magnet for local residents who gathered together in a temporary community of cheering bystanders. Garcia examines how, after the Red Sox rose to prominence in the championship season of 1939, they collapsed into financial insolvency only 16 years later, as local residents shifted their attention increasingly to the big-market, Major League teams that moved into western markets: the Dodgers and the Giants. That shift was emblematic of broader trends of industrial transformation that overwhelmed local communities in western Oregon during the mid-20th century.

The close connections between landscapes of work and community were also apparent in the shifting fortunes of the hop industry in the mid-valley. Megan Lallier-Barron examines the extensive networks of farmers in the region who produced hops for local producers and for distant markets. Lallier-Barron explores rural community linkages as represented at three stages of the hop industry in Oregon. Before the Prohibition era of the 1920s, hop workers near Springfield at the Seavey Hopyard left oral and written accounts of their experiences. During and after the 1930s, Oregon State University researchers bred hops in partnership with U.S. Department of Agriculture, leaving a paper trail of botanical innovations in the industry. Then, during the latter part of the 20th century, an emerging craft-brew industry ushered in a new era of innovation in the production and use of hops in the Willamette Valley. Lallier-Barron connects these three narratives and eras to the community traditions and cultural fabric of work and leisure in the region. Throughout

this period, however, hop workers were linked to the concerns of moral reformers, as the hiatus of production and innovation during Prohibition suggests.

The moral and transformative value of work played a significant role in shaping the arguments of advocates for disability rights in Oregon during the late 20th century. Chad E. Iwertz explores the concept of a right to work as it applies to persons with disabilities and their quest to be treated as capable, independent individuals of equal standing, through their participation in the community of workers in Oregon. Iwertz traces the efforts of two organizations in the mid-valley region that supported peoples with disabilities in their search for meaningful employment: Oregon's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Services (OVRS) and the State Independent Living Council (SILC), both of which are active in the City of Salem. By 2009, the efforts of these organizations, and many individuals, contributed to the relatively high numbers of peoples with disabilities who found employment in Oregon, where more than 6 percent of the workforce falls into this category of workers. In tracing the contours of this cautionary tale of relative success, Iwertz stresses the role of advocacy and citizen activism—a category of work and communitarian effort that challenges the assumptions that Justice Kennedy articulated in 1992.

The history of work in Oregon, and the experiences of workers in mid-Willamette Valley communities, suggests that there is a deeper, core value that drives people to unleash their energy in a combined effort to accomplish something meaningful and of lasting value. Work, as it happens, is not primarily about the marketplace of free trade. It is a personal commitment to community and the idea that little of lasting value or meaning comes without real effort. Workers in Oregon have acted on that belief through multiple generations, and their combined effort changed this place, this state, this landscape of work.

Natural Foresters: Native Timber Traditions and Logging from the Grand Ronde Tribe

David G. Lewis, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde



Figure 1. Elmer "Chip" Tom and Co-worker in the Coast Range c. 1970s. Leon "Chip" Tom Collection, Grand Ronde Cultural Collections.

Abstract: For over 160 years members of the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation have participated in logging activities in western Oregon. At the reservation, tribal peoples had few choices for making an income, and farming and ranching activities did not produce enough money to sustain them. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had administrative responsibilities but the small population at Grand Ronde did not warrant much attention or resources. Tribal men chose to join Oregon's timber industry and usually worked as loggers their whole lives. Many men left their families at the reservation while they worked continuously for many years, sending their checks home. Others recall having their families join logging camps, like Valsetz, and having women involved with logging operations. Elders talk about how they were introduced to logging at age six and were trained and experienced loggers by the time they took jobs in their teens. Logging companies would readily hire Native loggers, as they knew they were getting seasoned and well trained workers. Many times, they became team leaders because of their experience and instincts for the work. Many loggers felt that Native loggers were natural foresters. In the mid-20th century, Natives established their own logging companies. When the Grand Ronde Tribe was seeking restoration in the 1970s, local logging

companies protested, saying the tribe's restoration would destroy logging. This delayed the restoration of the Tribe for several years until it was resolved in 1983. Logging traditions continue as Grand Ronde now has over 25 years of tradition, managing over 10,000 acres of timber lands and having their young men enter into tribal logging and forest firefighting. The traditions of logging in western Oregon are inseparable from that of the tribal peoples at the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation.

Writing Back

In Oregon historiography, tribal history is not well represented. For perhaps 100 years (1850-1950), Oregon histories were mainly written from non-native perspectives. Information about the tribes was often repeated from previous generations of historian writings, to the point that detailed inclusive histories of the tribes were not written. These histories regularly sought to extoll the virtues of male white American pioneers who founded the state. Historians largely did not speak with tribal peoples when writing their histories and usually relegated tribal histories to either a spare paragraph or to the margins. As such, tribal peoples and their contributions to the early development and growth of Oregon industries and society were largely written out of Oregon history.

This essay is at several levels a history of a Tribe for the first time. Tribal contributions to Oregon were, and are, significant, especially within the state's early period, even after the tribes were removed from their land to live on federal Indian reservations. This history seeks to recapture a portion of the story of the tribes, as well as correct histories written by historians that did not include Native peoples within their telling of the full story of Oregon.

Pre-reservation

Native peoples from western Oregon have a long tradition of stewardship of their lands and forests. Tribal peoples like the Molalla, Kalapuya and Chinook interacted with their environment and respected it for the generosity the earth gave to sustain the people. Our people spoke to and cared for their environment. The world our people lived in provided a wealth of food in berries, roots, bulbs, tubers, nuts and seeds. Life in western Oregon was plentiful. Annually, the fecundity of the land overwhelmed trails and paths and the peoples' abilities to travel from place to place suffered. When the overgrowth hid deer and elk and food plants, the Native people sought to manage it.

In the valleys, the Kalapuyans set fires to weed out extra growth and renew the world they lived in. These annual fires efficiently controlled the lush western Oregon environment. Fire, like other forces of nature, has its own spirit and that spirit served to cleanse the earth of the excesses of the climate and make the land habitable.

In this manner, the tribes mastered a wide variety of ways to manipulate the environment. In the forests, tribes such as the Molalla learned to harvest cedar planks from living trees. These plank trees are rare today, but because of the nature of cedar wood, the people could make an offering, cut the tree at the base, and pull and guide the plank up as far as they could reach. They then cut the plank at the top. These planks were used for sacred and sanctified purposes, sometimes for baby boards or for ceremonial staves. Splitting planks from the cedar trees was an art form. Some tribal specialists learned to construct wood and elk horn wedges to drive into fallen cedar logs with wood and stone hammers and mallets. In this manner, carefully guided planks were enticed from the logs to line plank houses. This was a matter of balancing the force of the wedge against the weight of the log to manipulate straight and long planks from the logs. Balance in all things was a way of life for the tribes.

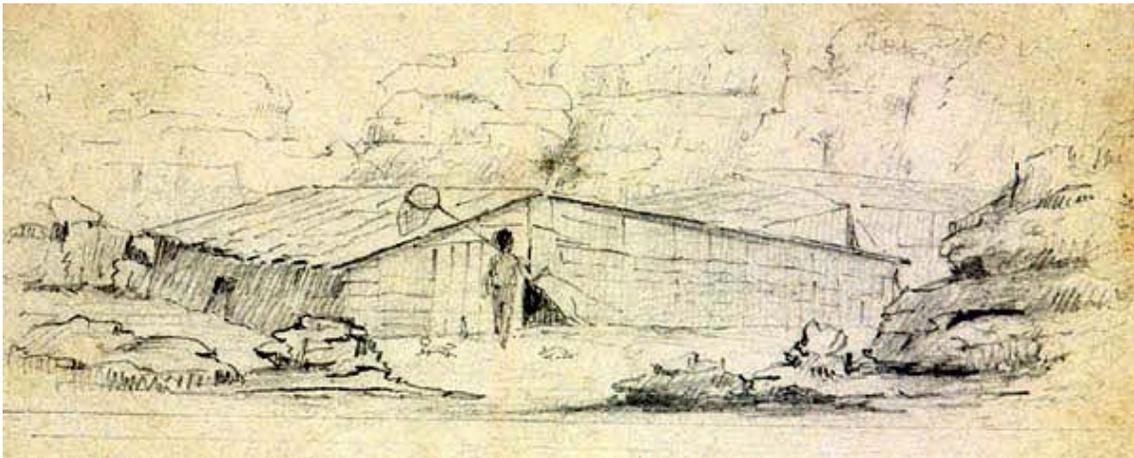


Figure 2. Chinook Plankhouse by Alfred Agate c. 1841.

The tribes found that tree bark was very good at repelling water, so the bark from trees was harvested to become the roof of a plank house. Tribal peoples were always careful to not take too much of the bark so that the tree died. They would thank the tree for giving its substance so that people may live a good life.

Finally, seasonally fallen trees, from windfall or landslide, would wash down rivers as driftwood and these were used for making canoes. Western Red Cedar was the most highly sought after wood as it resisted deterioration and could be carved in a predictable fashion. For river canoes, any sturdy log would do as the canoe would last several years if kept moist. Tribal people did not always have

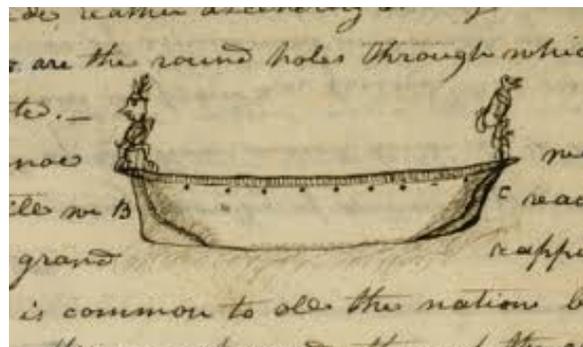


Figure 3. Lewis and Clark Journal image of Tillamook Canoe c. 1805-1806.

time to hunt for and find the best cedar log. Generally, a couple of men worked on a log for about a month; burning, scraping and hollowing it out and steaming it wider to be a canoe. Chinook people were excellent carvers and became renowned for their large western-style canoes.

The cultural experiences of tribal peoples in the forests before the removal of all tribes to the reservations¹ gave them an almost innate ability to sense and read a forest and its trees. As such, Native men have been thought of as natural foresters. Indeed, Native people's ways of managing their landscapes have been lauded by contemporary foresters and perhaps adopted by foresters seeking solutions to today's forest fires. The recent spate of massive fires in the west is thought to be primarily caused by ill-advised forest management practices that sought to suppress fire at all times. Unfortunately, when fires occur they now kill all of the trees that previously would have survived. Foresters and environmentalists now see periodic fires as a way to manage the excess fuel – the detritus and duff layers -- that builds up annually in the forests. By allowing smaller fires to burn, the fuel layers are burnt down, reducing the possibility of huge fires that kill forests.

In the 19th century, American businessmen saw Oregon's forests as endlessly rich resources to be harvested and shipped to growing markets around the country. Schooners were built capable of laying 60 foot logs in the holds for transport to the East Coast or foreign markets. The forests of the Northwest provided the raw materials for the building of the West, and for rebuilding Europe after a series of nation-state wars.

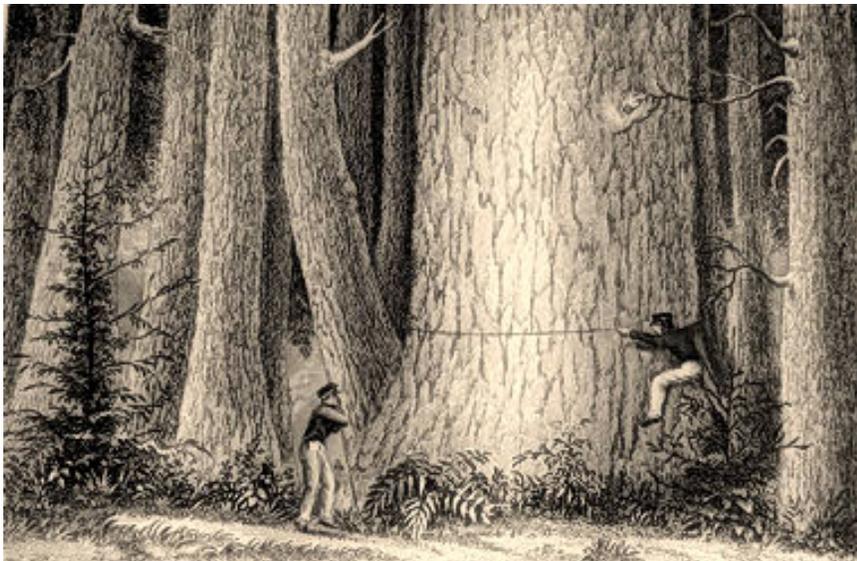


Figure 4. Charles Wilkes expedition, Trees near Astoria, c. 1841.

¹ Most tribes were removed in western Oregon in 1856, and a few small family groups remained in their lands. Several tribes like the Tillamook did not remove to the reservations until the 1880s.

In 1856, by the time the tribes were removed to the reservations, many Native people were already experienced in American-style ranching and agriculture. Tribes, such as the Tualatin Kalapuya, were skilled in farm work, and the Rogue River Tribes already had herds of horses and cattle. Some Native children gained experience working at Jason Lee's Methodist Mission and farm. Letters from Lee and William Slacum tell stories of this farm work from about 1836; the girls were taught to sew and cook, while the boys were taught to cultivate the soil. William A. Slacum in his report writes:

Several of the larger boys work on the farm in warm weather. They can plough, reap and do all ordinary farm work well—several of them evince good mechanical genius.²



Figure 5. Jason Lee's Willamette Mission, Joseph Drayton 1841.

Teaching Kalapuya children farm work was the beginning of assimilating the tribes into American culture. By the time the tribes removed to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation, they already knew much about their situation. They foresaw that they had to make the decision to move to the reservation before their people disappeared forever.

Alquema (Second Chief) said: they had once been a great people but now they had decreased to nothing, and in a short time the whites would have all their lands, without their removing.³

In 1851, during the first treaty negotiations, the commissioners⁴ discussed the problem and devised a plan:

² Brosnan, Cornelius J., *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1932. 81.

³ Beckham, Stephen Dow, *Oregon Indians: Voices From Two Centuries*, Corvallis, Oregon State University Press, 2006.

⁴ Commissioners: Anson Dart (Oregon Territory Indian Superintendent), Alonzo A. Skinner, Governor John Gaines, Colonel Beverly Allen.

It is the opinion of the commission, that the most feasible plan for the civilization and enlightenment of the Indians of this country, is to permit them to remain in the neighborhood of white settlements, and to be employed in the various industrial pursuits of the white man. The Indians ... are not only willing, but anxious, to adopt the habits of civilized life.⁵

Employment in the quote above is referring to the Natives becoming the laborers of a generation of newcomer settlers to Oregon. These Native peoples became the migrant farmworkers of their day, taking odd jobs to help American settlers establish their hold on the Willamette Plains. They would work plowing the fields, planting, harvesting, fencing and cutting wood to build the homesteads. The new metals made this endeavor easier than with traditional technologies.

The early plans for the 1851 reservations were not ratified by Congress. But in the seven ratified treaties with the western Oregon Tribes, negotiated between 1853 and 1855, there were provisions for services and institutions at the reservation that would help progress tribal peoples toward civilization. For 20 years, the federal government guaranteed schools for the tribes, help with farming and health services. But these provisions of the treaties that Tribal people negotiated in good faith were not enough to live on, and they were forced to leave the reservations to find seasonal wage labor to survive in the new culture they had joined.

Life on the reservation transformed tribal people, yet in the way they went about their yearly cycles they appear to have kept a consistently traditional lifestyle. Before the reservation, the tribes would cycle through a series of spring, summer and fall camps, and harvest, hunt and fish all of the foods and resources for their continued existence. This cycle, the seasonal round, involved traveling to encampments in different environments - mountains, river, plains and foothills. The camp could be 40 or more miles away within their territory, and the tribes practiced this pattern of life for thousands of generations. On the reservation, many families adopted the same pattern of traveling into the Willamette Valley to harvest crops for the newcomers. They would then return to their winter homesteads as they had returned to winter plankhouses previously. So for at least 100 years, many families lived in a similar style as their ancestors, only they would be paid for their work instead.

⁵ No. 66, Letter to the Office of the Commissioner, Champoeg, April 19, 1851, Letter of Commissioners Gaines, Skinner and Allen, Appointed to treat with the Indians of Oregon, Accompanying the Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1851, Senate 32d Congress, 1st session, Ex. Doc No. 1 (pp 467-468).

Logging on the Reservation

There were only a half dozen jobs for Natives at the reservation. Many people had to harvest resources from the forest and men joined local logging outfits because their experience and senses about the forest were valuable. Men would begin their career in logging at an early age. In the Grand Ronde Valley, after the railroad arrived, there were about a half dozen logging mills in the 20th century. Logging was a way of at Grand Ronde and many families lived this lifestyle generationally. Women and children participated in the logging activities if the men needed help forming independent logging outfits. There were few other viable options for men to make good money.

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, and a few years later, some 35,000 acres were assigned to individuals on the reservation in 160 acre allotments.⁶ Between 1901 and 1905, the remaining acreage of the reservation was sold for \$1.10 an acre mainly to timber companies and a few individuals. The reservation changed after allotment. At this time the reservation was administered by an Indian Legislature, begun in the 1870s and composed of representatives from the reservation's principal tribes. The representatives would advise the Indian Agent on what policies and rules to enforce on the reservation.

A result of the sale of the surplus lands of the Grand Ronde and Siletz reservations was the growth of more intensive logging near the reservation. Before 1887, permission had to be sought from the federal government to log on a federal Indian reservation. After the sale of the surplus land in 1906, logging companies could build rail spur tracks right into the Coast Range, over former reservation lands, and easily extract old growth timber. Tribal member Peter Petite spoke in 1992 about the time when Grand Ronde transformed into a logging community about 1919.

There was no work, no work whatsoever. First work there was around here there was a little saw mill out here about three miles. They only cut five or six thousand a day, and it was broke down all the time. There was just no working, you know, when I first start remembering. The first work that ever came here was ... when they start putting that railroad in from Willamina to Grand Ronde.⁷

For logging at the reservation, there were several mills in the area that provided jobs, mostly for men. The valley began to look like a company town and Vincent Mercier noted that, "There was a company store, and a hotel for single loggers who moved to the

⁶ The Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 allotted land to Indians on reservation while remainder was surplus for sale to the public. Indians had to have ½ native blood quantum or better to get an allotment.

⁷ Peter Petite. "Working in the Woods," Nora Peterson. Presented at the Grand Ronde History Conference, Grand Ronde Reservation, November 14, 2013.

area... about 1919.”⁸ The movement of production logging into the Grand Ronde area and the growth of the railroad as a way to transport logs to the mills corresponds with the sale of the surplus reservation lands to logging companies in about 1905. It would take a few years for businesses, like the Mitchell Timber Company, to develop plans, build tracks and gather resources to enter the area. On Highway 18 near New Grand Ronde, the company town of the Long-Bell Logging Company was built with barracks and log ponds for moving the logs around. They competed with other logging companies in the area for the best loggers.⁹



Figure 6. Long-Bell Logging Co. Barracks, Grand Ronde OR., c. 1940. Grand Ronde Cultural Collection.

In 1936, the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation accepted the Indian Reorganization Act causing members to create the Grand Ronde Constitution and elected a Business Committee to run the affairs of the reservation. The Business Committee was composed of five representatives elected by the General Council. They held regular meetings and adopted proposals and actions to administer farm and timber lands on the reservation.

Individual farmers made good use of the lands they were leased, and they paid the tribes for the leases from the proceeds of their harvests. One such lease of lands, Assignment #18 to Fremond Bean, was the subject of some Business Committee actions in 1940. Mr. Bean appears to have not been paying the lease, and so the committee took action to have him vacate the land. After a 30 day notice on March 2, 1940, Bean acquiesced and made plans to proceed with logging operations. The committee assigned the land to Bean and made an arrangement to recover the back rent from a local logging mill, Bebhart Mill in Willamina, from the logs that were to be harvested from Assignment #18.¹⁰ Tribal elders

⁸ Vincent Mercier “Working in the Woods,” Nora Peterson. Presented at the Grand Ronde History Conference, Grand Ronde Reservation, November 14, 2013.

⁹ Leon Tom, “Long Bell Diner Opens at Grand Ronde Gas Station,” by Ron Karten, *Smoke Signals* January 14, 2013.

¹⁰ Grand Ronde Business Committee Minutes and Resolutions, 1939-1940 pp 41-46. Copy in the Cultural Archives, Exhibits and Archives Program, CTGR.

state that Bean had his own logging operations, which he ran with his children and wife Laverne, who drove the loader. Bean was very successful in the Grand Ronde area, owned several allotments and at termination in 1954, purchased his allotment.

At the reservation, many men worked in logging and milling activities in the Coast Range. Working close to the reservation, they could return to their homes on a weekly, if not daily, basis, rather than living away from their families for months and years at a time. But when production logging took over, the timber stands began to be managed under a short-term yield plan. Clear-cutting logging involved the removal of all logs in a unit at once, resulting in the devastation of the plant and animal habitat. Bob Tom remembers when this type of logging influenced his parents' decision to move to Salem.

But there were still some things that supported the move [to Salem in the 1940s], there was production logging by some big logging companies, that were logging out the Siletz area in a short period of time versus any gradual scale. They brought in machinery and men from other states and other towns and just started doing production logging. The logging was going to run out there, you could see that, and my dad was a timber faller, and so, because that was going to happen, and then also to get us into where we could get a better education, because my dad said, probably the rest of your life you are going to work amongst non-Indian people and you need to be able to compete, to get a good job, to support your family.¹¹

For tribal members, the beginning of the collapse of logging began to be felt in the 1940s as perhaps a consequence of logging practices. The sale of the surplus Coast Range lands of the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations in 1906 helped revive the western Oregon logging economy for a few decades. The area was being managed with clear-cutting practices and this would lead to the decline in logging operations in the region by the 1940s. It is in this decade that Tribal members began hearing of the end of Indian reservations as discussions in Congress turned to liquidation and termination of the reservations. This caused state and federal politicians to turn their attention to additional untouched resources on Indian reservations like the vast forests of the Klamath reservation. The Klamath Reservation was pursued for termination because Oregon politicians thought the injection of the nearly 1 million acres of old growth Ponderosa Pine stands would revive the struggling Oregon economy.¹²

¹¹ Bob Tom, David Lewis 2006, Oral History Collection, Salem, Oregon.

¹² David G. Lewis. *Termination of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Community of Oregon: Politics, Identity and Community*. PhD dissertation, University of Oregon, 2009.

Logging off the Reservation

When logging operations moved to new untouched areas the loggers had to follow, necessitating them to remain gone from their homes for months if not years. Native loggers would stay gone from the reservation for years and send their checks home to their families, while others lived with their families in the logging towns. Logging towns, established by logging companies, had mail service, schools and homes for families. One such logging town was Valsetz (1919-1983) located above Falls City in the Coast Range south of Grand Ronde. The town was a community for loggers and a railroad depot for shipping logs from the Siletz area to the Willamette Valley. It was last operated by the Boise Cascade Lumber Company.

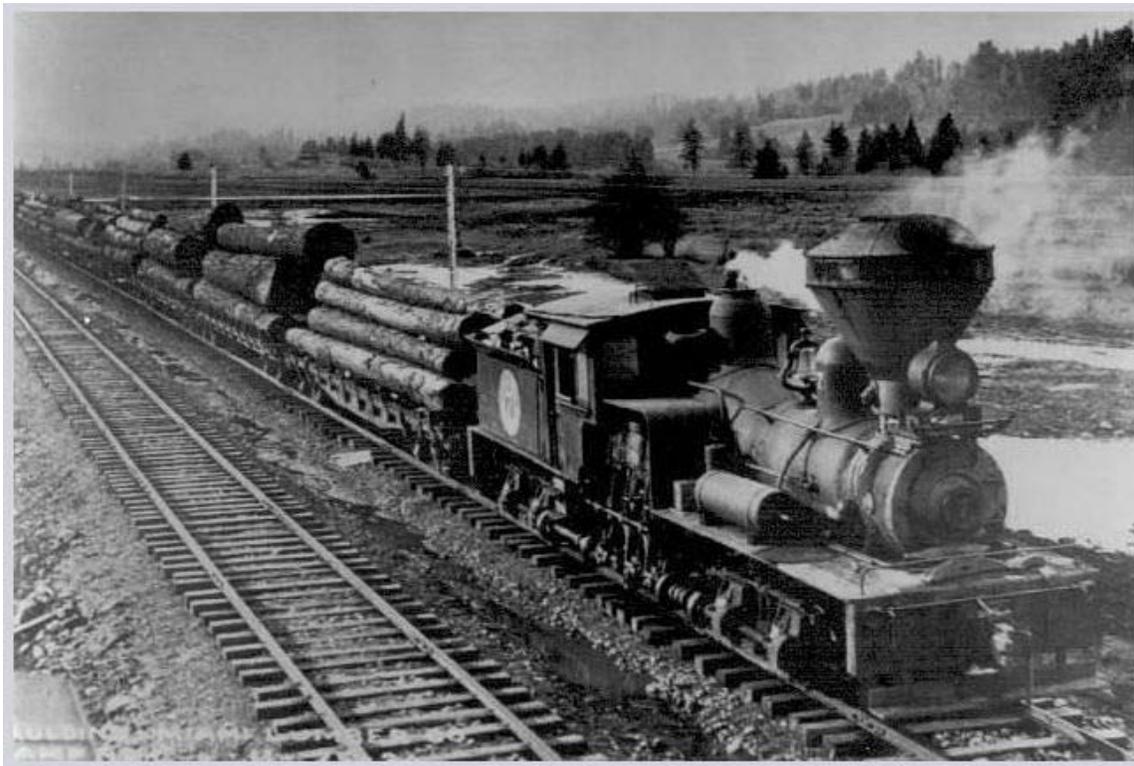


Figure 7. Log Haul from Grand Ronde to Willamina, November 21, 1921. Ben Maxwell Collection, Salem Public Library.



Figure 8. Frank and William Forster logging old growth c. 1950. Sharon Hanson Collection, Grand Ronde Cultural Collections.

Many loggers lived a solitary, tough and hardworking life. The logging crew had to act as a team and trust one another. The best would be appointed to fall trees and they could accurately predict within an inch where a tree would fall. They knew all of the signals and whistles and they operated as a team that respected one another. These skills took many years to perfect and native men began their training before they were teenagers. They were always around logging and helped around the yard doing odd tasks. On the reservation in the 19th century, tribal men were recognizable and were treated and paid as Indians, which did not fetch very good pay in those days, usually half the wages of white men. Some men chose to leave the reservation and work so that they could skirt age limits and racial barriers and get more equal treatment. Peter Petite did just this in 1925:

See I couldn't come [to work at Spalding Lumber Company] back here [on the reservation] because they knew how old I was here [15 years]. So as far as working around here, I never put in... But I worked away from here.... I knew I didn't have no education but I kind of have to give myself credit for knowing I wasn't going to set them chokers and stuff like that. So I just go to one outfit, there was a lot of outfits down on the Columbia River them days. A lot of them big outfits, so I'd go to one place and I'd work in one and I had that made up in my own mind... when I get my check I'm going to move to another outfit, another check I 'm going to

move to another outfit. Because I made up my mind I wasn't going to set them chokers I was going to find something that paid a heck of a lot more and a lot less work. Because you're going to learn something no matter what camp you go into, maybe they ain't going to be much, but it's going to be something different than what you saw already. So by the time you go to a bunch of those outfits you got things pretty well covered.

Logging as a profession continued after Tribal termination in 1954. Most people were desperate to find a job and many remained in manual labor. Logging paid very well and most men remained in the industry. Tribal Elder Sequoia Raya remembers that sometime in the 1950s his family moved to Brooks to be closer to logging operations in the Cascade Range. This was about the time of the termination of the Tribe, and he remembers that a lot of Grand Ronde families moved to that area because the reservation was being sold and few had the money to remain.¹³ Others mention the Mills City to Idanha corridor, along the Santiam Highway (Hwy 22) hosting many of the logging families.

One of the legendary stories of tribal loggers is that of Leon "Chip" Tom. Chip spent much of his life working as a logger and later became one of the tribe's leaders serving on the Tribal Council in the 1990s. Chip was a leader on logging outfits throughout Oregon and in Alaska. His daughter, Kathleen Tom, spoke recently about a time when she went into a restaurant with her sister and encountered loggers who knew of Chip's exploits. They told her that Chip commanded much respect and had a seat of distinction in the truck. Chip would make sure to put newer and younger loggers in their place and make them understand that he was in charge; Chip was all business when working and wouldn't stand any games as logging was an extremely dangerous business.

¹³ Sequoia Raya, Personal communication with author 2013.



Figure 9. Tribal member Melvin Jeffers and crew at a Mutual Logging Co. Camp in Washington State c. 1920.

After termination, the tribe entered a dark period where there was a loss of culture, relations with distant family and languages. Many people recall returning to the former reservation to visit relatives on the weekends, especially during Memorial Day. But there were few options for work and Native people were still being treated poorly by society in racist and discriminatory ways. Many Native men continued to follow in the lifeways of their parents and entered military service. Tribal Elder Don Day followed this path and after returning from several terms of service, he found logging.

I had been out of the service a brief period of time. I spent the next 10, 12, 15 years working in the woods. I think I worked... in Curry County... [worked for] a guy by the name of Roy Randelman... [they were] the last wooden spar tree [fallers] in Curry County, I had to learn to raise a tree to be the second high climber. To send up block straps and all the whistles and hand signals and stuff like that, that I utilized quite a bit. I worked for

him until they shut down. And they never fired me... Then I went to Alaska, at some logging camp up there.¹⁴

Day's story is similar to those of many Native men who struggled to find a place to belong in American society. They had become a part of this industry as one of the only high paying jobs that would employ any men who were willing to work hard.

Tribal Restoration

In the 1970s, the tribe began working towards restoration. Termination had not been successful in helping tribal members, and Oregon's politicians were convinced by the Grand Ronde Tribal Council to support restoration of the tribe. Early in the process the tribes of western Oregon underwent several challenges to their restoration from the public and from Oregon associations and corporations. Grand Ronde's restoration effort was plagued by the timber industry criticizing and lobbying against them, saying restoration would "destroy logging." They thought the tribe would somehow claim all of their lands back; all of the prime logging land in the Coast Range.

The tribe had to listen to the logging industry's critiques, and successfully answered all of their questions in a public gathering at Willamina Elementary School in 1982. The Tribe was restored in 1983 and immediately began working toward acquiring land for a reservation. The original acreage proposed was about 15,000 acres of mountainous forest lands, but critiques about logging and issues involving control of logging were big concerns and the acreage proposed was reduced to 9,811 acres. The final Grand Ronde Reservation bill, passed in 1988, included the administration of logging sales by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 20 years. The Tribe accepted this provision because it needed revenue to fund the development of the Tribal government. This provision ended in 2008. The Tribe now has a Natural Resources Department that manages its timber lands on the reservation. Many Tribal members work in the department and assist in the management of the Tribe's lands, setting schedules for logging operations and managing programs for wildlife, traditional plants and salmon.

Stories of Native loggers from Grand Ronde are now legendary. Logging families at the Grand Ronde tribe include the Lenos, Holmes, Laffertys, Merciers, Toms, Beans, Jeffers, Petites, Parazoos, and Langleys. Most of the men and women were involved in logging as their careers. Legendary tribal loggers are Leon "Chip" Tom, David Holmes, Fremond Bean, Ivan Jeffers and Ivan Langley. Both Bean and Jeffers owned their own logging companies. In this restoration era, many men who had been loggers or involved in logging operations became part of the government operations, including Mark Mercier

¹⁴ Don Day, David Lewis 2006, Oral History Collection, Salem Oregon.

(former Tribal Chairman), Don Day (former Cultural Protection Specialist), and Leon “Chip” Tom (former Tribal Council member).



Figure 10. Peter Petit c. 1940. Grand Ronde Cultural Collections.

My immediate family history did not involve a logging tradition. Growing up in Salem in the 1970s and 80s, my family harvested downed timber along the logging roads in the forests of the Coast Range and the Cascades for firewood. My father, Gary Lewis, and I would spend many a weekend up in the woods traveling the logging roads looking for scrap logs - the debris left over from logging operations. Many times we would cruise the roads above Willamina, what is now the reservation, in areas that were being actively worked by tribal loggers living in the Grand Ronde Valley. Working a chainsaw, splitting, hauling and stacking firewood was an important part of my youth and I was proficient with a double-bitted axe. In that time I grew to understand and appreciate the forests of Oregon. My Grandfather, Delbert “Deb” Lewis, and his sons Larry, Tom and Gary were all good carpenters, having built at least four cabins in eastern Oregon at Sun River and the Crooked River Ranch. Deb learned his trade in a carpentry shop in Sheridan, built one house there on Yamhill Street and two others in Hillsboro and Keizer.



Figure 11. Cedar Plank splitting by Tribal Members Don Day and Leslie Riggs, 2005. Collection of the author.

In 2001, I began working with Don Day to learn cedar plank splitting. Lead by Day we worked with a team of Native men and women during the weekends, most from Grand Ronde, to relearn this traditional technology.¹⁵ Harvesting timber from the forest is a part of our cultural heritage; a part of who we are as the Native people of this land. We honor the land for what it gives us, respect the resources and work to preserve the environment that we have lived with for millennia. In this manner, we are rewarded with abundance, being an essential part of this amazing homeland of our peoples.

¹⁵ David G. Lewis, "A House Built of Cedar Planks," Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations: Public Spaces. Willamette Heritage Center, Salem, Oregon, 2012.

The Missionary Ladies: Women's Roles in the Methodist Mission to Oregon

Peyton Tracy, Willamette University



Figure 1. Moccasin collected by Methodist Missionary Susan Downing Shepard. Willamette Heritage Center Collections, M3 2000.002.0014b.

Abstract: This article examines the role of missionary women in the Methodist Mission to Oregon in the 1830s and 1840s. The article begins with the background of the Mission and moves to accounts from Jason Lee, Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard (the three earliest missionaries to the Oregon Country) of why women needed to be recruited to serve. The article moves on to highlight four the women who answered the call and left their lives and families in the eastern U.S. to serve the Mission, make new families and grow to call Oregon home.

Introduction

When I began studying at Willamette University nearly four years ago, I quickly began to see a set of repeated names; names like Jason and Lee, Shepard, Hines, Leslie, Parrish, Judson, Richmond, Waller and more. They are attached to schools, buildings, streets, and used constantly in programs, scholarships and resources throughout my university. The names are virtually everywhere and are an integral part of Salem's identity whether residents are aware of the history attached to the name or not. During my first year at Willamette, as a curious American history student, I discovered these names were connected to some of the earliest settlers in the Salem area, Methodist missionaries from New England. It was possibly inevitable, attending Willamette and being so close to the Willamette Heritage Center and Mission Mill Museum, which contains not only two of the original houses that the missionaries resided in but a large collection of their

belongings, that by my junior year those folks would play a rather large role in my academic life.

I pursued these missionaries as a research subject in my upper-level history courses and became very familiar with their story and experiences. But I primarily heard about the men of the mission, their contributions and role in Salem's early days—and only a passing mention of a few of the women. I knew many of their names, but not how they saw their own lives and roles at the mission. A longtime enthusiast of westward movement history as well as being a descendant of overland emigrants in the mid-19th century, women's accounts of early American frontier life fascinated me, and I was very naturally drawn to the Methodist women's records and stories as they told it. What they revealed to me was a highly complex traditional-yet-unconventional role that these women filled, being asked to not only maintain a moral, pious standard but also being asked to rise to the challenge of living in a very harsh, demanding environment in a way many of these women may not have been accustomed to prior to the mission.

Over the course of my research, I concluded that the women of the Methodist mission to Oregon were almost always the submissive, domestic members of the community yet were the essential foundation to the mission. Following the period's prominent attitude of the cult of true womanhood, these women typically worked in the home, filling the traditional female role as nurturer, wife and mother, and were expected to be moral, Christian ladies. They were also expected to withstand the difficulties of frontier life, rise to the new role put to them as a missionary and missionary wife, all while maintaining the house and home. However, by asking them to rise to these challenging conditions, it also gave some women the opportunity to push the boundaries of their roles. At the same time, being part of a religious institution isolated from large populations, pushing the boundaries too far could be very punishing and create a very complex and nebulous moral environment for these women to navigate. Through all these challenges, their faith always continued to be an important component in all of their lives, and they remained a primary (though usually unacknowledged) support for the mission community. It is my opinion that without their presence, the mission would not have lasted as long or achieved what it did in the early days of settlement in Oregon.

To establish the context of my research, I first give a brief history of the Methodist mission, how it came to be, the struggles it faced and how and why women came to Oregon. Then I delve into what my examinations of both their personal records and what other historians have concluded about these women revealed about the experiences of women at the mission. For the purposes of my exploration, I chose to focus on four women. Two of the women were among the first reinforcement, Anna Maria Pittman Lee and Susan Downing Shepard. The other two women, Almira David Raymond and Chloe

Clarke Willson, came out in the Great Reinforcement, each one contributing a different perspective on life at the mission throughout its ten year existence while also offering important insights into what role women played in the mission on the whole. Bringing these experiences together, I argue that while the majority of these women continued to maintain their traditional roles as the homemaker, they were integral to the success of the mission and bore witness to a burgeoning, influential community in the early days of American settlement in the West.

History of the Methodist Mission to Oregon

In order to understand women's role in the Methodist mission, it is important to understand what brought this community to Oregon in the first place. Europeans, Canadians and Americans had all been present in Oregon as early as the 16th century, but didn't establish more permanent settlements until the early 19th century.¹ Several trading companies, including the American Pacific Fur Company and the British Hudson Bay Company, created forts near the Columbia River in 1811 and 1825, respectively, and explorers, French-Canadian fur trappers and other very early settlers, used these two forts for support, trade and communication.² It was these men that the Native Americans living in the Willamette Valley first interacted with. From these first meetings, the Native Americans contracted diseases like malaria and other infections that ravaged their tribes, causing a drop in population from around 19,000 in the valley to less than a thousand by the time the Methodist missionaries arrived in 1834.³

In 1831 a group of four Native Americans from beyond the Rocky Mountains arrived in St. Louis, Missouri, allegedly asking to meet with Mr. William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition specifically. There are records of them meeting but no records of what was discussed; the only printed report of the incident stated that they came to ask about the white men's religion.⁴ Whether or not this is true we may never know, but the story caught on like wildfire. It spread throughout the country which was in the midst of a great revival in Christian fervor, known today as the Second Great Awakening. The report was eventually printed in *The Christian Advocate and Journal*, a New England Methodist newspaper. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MSMEC) read this story, and quickly decided to send a group of missionaries to Oregon to meet the needs of these Native Americans. One Wesleyan minister, Wilbur Fisk, upon reading the article, immediately thought of his former student, Jason Lee, and recommended him to

¹ Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon* (Portland: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1922): 62-109.

² Carey, *History of Oregon*, 238-262.

³ Robert T. Boyd, "Another Look at the 'Fever and Ague' of Western Oregon", *Ethnohistory*, 22 (Spring 1975): 135-154.

⁴ Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 14-15.

lead the mission.⁵ Soon, Mr. Lee, along with his nephew, Daniel Lee, two Methodist teachers, Cyrus Shepard and Philip Edwards, and a clerical assistant, Courtney Walker, were prepared to head west with their guide, Nathaniel Wyeth.⁶ They arrived in Oregon in September 1834 and, with the help of the Hudson Bay Company in Fort Vancouver, as well as some established French Canadians, set up their first mission station on the Willamette River in a location known as Champoeg, about ten miles north of present day Salem.

Their work began slowly, as it took quite a bit of effort to simply establish the site, called Mission Bottom, before any conversion work could begin in earnest. They made the trip from Fort Vancouver to the site, and then worked to build a shelter for themselves, a farm to sustain the settlement, and a barn in which to store their crops. However, their greatest hindrance was the foreign climate, which kept them sick much of the first year in the valley.⁷ Shepard spent the first winter at Fort Vancouver, too ill to stay isolated at the mission, and the following fall Daniel Lee was so sick they decided to send him to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) to recuperate. Around that time, Mr. Edwards left the mission to establish a school on the French Prairie, and Mr. Walker left that winter when his contract expired. This left only Lee and Shepard at Mission Bottom, still weak and unable to manage both the missionary work and sustaining themselves and the farm.⁸ They relied on the help of other American and French-Canadian settlers to assist them, but the help was intermittent as many of the men were migratory workers.⁹ By 1836, it was abundantly clear that the three missionaries needed reinforcements at the mission, and Lee wrote back East to the MSMEC, as well as family and friends for help.

The men specifically expressed a desire for women to join the mission. They were very keenly aware of the roles that women and children, as part of family units, played in society in the East when suddenly faced with establishing that lifestyle with only single men. Many of their journal entries and letters to friends and family back home include lists of the sort of activities they were responsible for, including caring for the orphan Native American children and keeping house for the missionaries.¹⁰ These sorts of activities were designated as women's work in this period and surely must have been

⁵ Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 13-14.

⁶ Brosnan, *Jason Lee: Prophet*, 33-46.

⁷ Lee, "Letter to Dr. Wilbur Fisk, March 15, 1836" in *Jason Lee: Prophet*, 78-79.

⁸ Malcolm Clark, Jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon 1818-1862* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981), 92-93.

⁹ Daniel Lee and Joseph Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1968), 28-133.

¹⁰ Cyrus Shepard, "Letter published in The Christian Advocate and Journal, January 10, 1835" in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard, Willamette Mission Teacher* ed. John Hook and Karin Lightner (Portland: Commission on Archives and History, Oregon-Idaho Conference of the United Methodist Church, 2002), 111-113.

somewhat foreign to these men on the frontier. Farm work in this period also, in the average household, would have been supported by the entire family, including children. It also would not be too bold to assume the men might have simply been lonely or longing for female company. Shepard and Daniel Lee both had fiancées back East who they hoped would one day join them.

Additionally, women were understood to be a “civilizing” influence, meaning they were expected to be able to tame the theoretical wild, aggressive natures of men with their more devout and pious nature. Not only would these traits be helpful from a missionary perspective, but they would also be essential for colonization and permanent American settlement in Oregon, which, given later actions of the mission men, was likely on their minds on some level, even at this point in time. In a letter to his mentor, Dr. Fisk, dated just five months after their arrival in Oregon, Lee discussed the need for reinforcements, specifically stating:

“I have requested the [Missionary] Board not to send any more *single men*, but to send men with *families*... A great favour could not be bestowed upon this country, than to send to it pious, industrious, intelligent [sic] females. I am not singular in this. The Gov. and other Gentlemen of the [Hudson Bay Company] (though they have native wives) say that white females would be of the greatest importance to the mission, and would have far more influence among Indians than males.”¹¹

Cyrus Shepard wrote seven months later to his fiancée, Susan Downing, and requested she join him in Oregon. He said “female assistance is much needed at this mission and appears indispensably necessary to its future prosperity.” He then goes on to say he admired “the fervent zeal” she had for conversion, particularly of Native Americans and how she was willing to sacrifice for God’s work, and in detail explains the work and difficult trials she would find in Oregon.¹² He still implores her to come, and indeed she answered his call as the MSMEC had granted the mission their reinforcements. In the First Reinforcement, as it came to be known, were Dr. Elijah White and his wife and family, Mr. A. Beers and his wife and family, Mr. William H. Willson, a layman, and three single female teachers, Elvira Johnson, Susan Downing, and Anna Maria Pittman. Miss Pittman was intended to be Jason Lee’s wife, though they had only met once briefly in New York.¹³ They, as did all the following reinforcements, traveled around South America rather than overland, stopping in Brazil, Chile and Hawaii on their way to Oregon. Another round of reinforcements were sent out a few months later, bringing

¹¹ Jason Lee, “Letter to Dr. Wilbur Fisk, Feb 6, 1835” in *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon*, 73-74.

¹² Cyrus Shepard, “Letter to Susan Downing, Sep. 22, 1835” in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard*, 114.

¹³ Theresa Gay, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee* (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1936), 27.

Reverend David Leslie, his wife and children, and two single individuals, Henry K. Perkins and Margaret Jewett Smith.¹⁴ By 1838, there were seven contracted missionary women in Oregon.

Even with these reinforcements' arrival, the mission was still facing quite a few problems. Disease was still a major concern, and the number of converts compared to what they hoped to achieve was still dismal at best. Additionally, the missionaries felt strained between their religious duties and their responsibilities to the community. There was ongoing tension which continually escalated for the duration of the mission between the missionaries. Likely primed by exhaustion, poor health, cramped conditions, homesickness, disappointment at the lack of converts and sheer boredom, disputes arose frequently over administrative decisions, power, finances, and aims for the mission.¹⁵ Lee, disheartened as he was being held largely responsible for the failure of the mission, had the vision of a major expansion to restore his reputation and achieve some success. Lee, along with a number of other missionary men and two Chinook converts renamed William Brooks and Thomas Adams from the mission school, chose to go back East to gather support for these goals. When he departed, Lee left his wife at the mission six months pregnant.¹⁶ He arrived in St. Louis in the fall of 1838, to news that his wife and newborn son had died during childbirth, the first deaths among the missionaries.¹⁷ While he was touring the East, raising money and recruits, he met and married Lucy Thompson; remarrying quickly because he felt – and, according to his letter to Anna Maria's parents, felt urged by others around him – that he needed to have a wife in order to be a successful missionary in Oregon.¹⁸ By the end of the tour, Jason Lee had managed to gather fourteen families to be missionaries, farmers and other supportive laymen for the mission. Among them were fifteen married women, and five single women to be teachers, bringing the total number of women to twenty six.

By the time the “Great Reinforcement” arrived in Oregon in 1840, there were a number of mission stations throughout the area – The Dalles or Wascopam Station on the Columbia River, Clatsop Plains near the mouth of the same river, Willamette Falls near present day Oregon City and Nisqually near present day Tacoma. Around this time, Jason Lee also elected to move the main mission station south to a plain called Chemeketa by the Native Americans, and referred to it as Mission Mill (located in modern day downtown Salem).¹⁹ The “mission family”, as it had come to be called, was now made up of about 80-90

¹⁴ Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 150.

¹⁵ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 104-105.

¹⁶ Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 152.

¹⁷ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 186.

¹⁸ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 187-189.

¹⁹ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 131.

people, missionaries, families, laymen, non-missionary settlers, and converts – about a third of them adult women.

The First Reinforcement: Anna Maria Pittman and Susan Downing

When the first women arrived at the mission in 1837, they faced a very dire situation at first that differed greatly from the experience of other women that would follow in the next few years. Anna Maria Pittman and Susan Downing were among the first five missionary women to venture to Oregon. Anna Maria Pittman, born in New York City in 1803, was raised in a large, religious family. She was formally educated at a school upstate, and upon leaving school and returning home became enthralled in the church and missionary work.²⁰ She applied for a position as a teacher in the mission reinforcement and was selected along with Elvira Johnson and Susan Downing, Shepard's fiancée. Susan Downing was also from New England, but the exact information as to when and where she was born is unknown; she was living in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1834 when Shepard wrote and asked her to join him. She had long been betrothed to him, and agreed very quickly to go to Oregon. While Susan²¹ went to Oregon with the intention of marrying her fiancée, Anna Maria was only vaguely aware that she was intended to be married to Jason Lee, though neither had a particularly strong inclination to wed the other when that plan became clear. In his diary, Lee wrote:

“I...was asked if I intended to [marry her]. I stated my principles in reference [to] marriage and then replied that though a lady should travel the world over in order to become my wife, yet I could never consent to marry her, unless, upon *acquaintance* I should become satisfied, that, that step would be conducive to our mutual happiness and the glory of God.”²²

Accounts differ on whether one or both parties fell in love or whether they married each other out of expectation and necessity, but regardless they eventually warmed up to each other and married after a few months.

The scene that unfolded when the first reinforcement arrived at the mission house serves as a good anecdote to represent what the arrival of the reinforcement meant for the stability of the mission. After traveling the seventy or so miles from Fort Vancouver to the Mission House, the new arrivals, guided by Jason Lee, were anxious to see the place they would call home. Upon entering the mission house, they found a recovering Daniel

²⁰ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 4-5.

²¹ I have chosen to refer to the women by their first names rather than their surnames in order to avoid the confusion of switching between their maiden and married names, as well as not refer to the women and their husbands by the same name.

²² Jason Lee, “Diary of Jason Lee, July 30, 1838,” *Oregon Historically Quarterly* 17 (1916): 409.

Lee caring for around twenty sick Native American children by himself, while a still incredibly ill Cyrus Shepard, clad only in a brown linen smock, attempted to cook dinner at the kitchen table.²³ By the spring of 1837, the three remaining men were not doing very well and very desperately needed the help; they could barely care for themselves, much less the Native American children they continued to take in, or complete their other duties as missionaries. The reinforcements would change all of that. They all crowded into the single Mission Bottom residence – five unmarried men, three unmarried women, the two families with their five (soon to be six) collective children – a space that had previously only been occupied by three single men. Dr. White quickly took over tending to the sick, and the women left on their work as homemakers. Elvira taught, Susan cared for the healthy Native American children, while Mrs. White, Mrs. Beers and Anna Maria managed the household, cooked and cared for everyone else and turned the bachelors’ house into a more traditional home – or at least as much as the one small building could be in such conditions.²⁴

They stabilized the mission’s foundation by taking over the domestic tasks, allowing the men to regain their strength and eventually pursue their missionary work. Had the first reinforcement (or the second a few months later) not arrived when they did, the mission would have likely had to have been aborted due to disease – all three men had been sick and two of the three had already had to seek outside care in order to survive. Particularly, I credit the women, in taking care of the men’s basic needs in accordance to the traditional role of women in American households, for the mission’s survival. The women filled their roles as both women and missionaries by living up to the cult of true womanhood by cooking and managing the household and offering extra help in the monumental task of caring for, taking in and educating so many Native American orphans. In doing so, they allowed the mission to steady its shaky start and pursue its goals without being concerned about maintaining their basic needs.

But it still wasn’t easy. It was after the second reinforcement arrived with seven more missionaries that they built their first additional housing. By November of 1837, when the first single family cabins were finished, twenty-four missionaries had been living in a 32 by 18 foot – 576 square feet – cabin for five months, while also caring for about twenty orphaned Native American children under the same roof.²⁵ There was next to no privacy, with the space equaling out to approximately 12 square feet per person in the Mission house (For a point of reference, the average American house has more than 70 times that space per person today).²⁶ It isn’t surprising that such cramped quarters incubated a

²³ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 55.

²⁴ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 157-164.

²⁵ Susan Downing, “Letter to Mrs. Joseph A. Lloyd, Nov. 1, 1837” in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard*, 141.

²⁶ “How big is a house? Average house sizes by country,” by Lindsay Wilson, last access November 10,

constant presence of disease. Dr. White was the mission's only trained medical physician and he could only do so much with what resources he had access to in the isolated Willamette Valley. Alongside these conditions, they were all slowly adapting to living on the frontier, as many of the missionaries were accustomed to urban or suburban life in New England. They were forced to make do with what they had or wait several months for supplies to be shipped once requested, doing extra work to acquire basic necessities, and being mostly self-sufficient. Additionally, it was a very rare occasion that they interacted with anyone besides the seventeen people that lived at Mission Bottom, and usually then the same few French-Canadians or Fort Vancouver settlers and traders. It wasn't long before these conditions helped to fuel underlying tensions between the missionaries, usually, though not exclusively, between the men, which affected everyone in the mission. Power struggles arose between several of the leading missionaries, most dramatically a years-long feud between Lee and Dr. White that eventually led to an almost-brawl and Dr. White's forced removal from the mission.²⁷ Numerous complaints were written against Lee by nearly every reverend at the mission throughout the ten years it was operational for his lack of administrative skills and inconsistent leadership.²⁸ Tensions over leadership, if it was as poor as they claimed, would have greatly impacted the women of the mission not only as missionaries but as the wives of the men filing these complaints (or in Anna Maria's case, being the wife of the man who these complaints were lodged against).

Despite the difficult conditions, Susan and Anna Maria still found their lives not without joys. Susan writes to her family extensively about her interactions with the Native American children, saying "I am pleased with the natives especially the children They are very affectionate bright and interesting... we try to treat them like brothers and sisters and we love them very much."²⁹ She also references learning their language, even writing some of it down. She describes the scenery as very beautiful throughout the first months she is in Oregon, and continually expresses her happiness to being in Oregon. Throughout her letters she doesn't seem the least bit resentful or angered for being summoned to such a difficult life in Oregon, unlike other women who did express frustration. Unlike some of the records from the other women, Susan's letters are all about her daily life, the people around her, and the community. She speaks very brightly and optimistically, even in regards to negative things that occur in the mission like disease, poor conditions and conflicts. For example, in one letter dated October 8, 1839, she writes to a friend in Massachusetts thanking them for the box of supplies they sent. The box included clothing and she spent much of the letter talking about the clothing situation of her family at the

2013 <<http://shrinkthatfootprint.com/how-big-is-a-house>>.

²⁷ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 134-135.

²⁸ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 160-161.

²⁹ Susan Downing, "Letter to Mrs. Joseph A. Lloyd, Nov. 1, 1837" in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard*, 141.

mission, then a short report on her daughter and how she's growing up at the mission. She signs off with only one short post script stating she's been sick for some time but "you need not think much of it, only a slite touch of the feve and ague."³⁰ According to her letters, Susan simply lived her life at the mission, finding challenges and joys together. Anna Maria, similarly writes, "I am happy here, though I have not forgotten home and all its endearments, and if I can be useful here among these wretched race of Adam's sons and daughters here I will toil here I will live and die and be buried. God is here, and Heaven is as near as at home."³¹ Though usually containing a great deal more religious thoughts in her letters compared to Susan, she speaks extensively of her daily duties, indicating they lived very busy lives trying to care for so many at the mission, largely in regards to food preparation and acquisition of their own land and trade.

However, the one thing both women surely have in common is a rather intense urging in their letters for their family to write them. They both urge their families to give greetings and fondness to friends and other family members, and to keep them in their prayers, and to write often. Letters from home were small miracles. Susan wrote in one letter six months after arriving,

I had the happiness of receiving the letters from my friends as soon as they came, Can you have any ide[a] how glad I felt, I think you cannot I opened them with a fluttering heart and trembling hand... how thankful I aught to be for this, and that I have ben permitted [sic] to hear from hom [sic] so soon after my arriveal [sic] here.³²

She later expresses her hope that she hears from home once a year at least. Isolation from the world they had previously known was clearly something these early women dealt with, and loneliness and homesickness would continue to be an ongoing struggle among the missionary women. Perhaps in their letters they exaggerated or even lied about their happiness in Oregon, but we may never know. What they did write about demonstrates that it was something on their minds that affected them each day and felt the need to write home about. A woman could express opinions but in the end the final word on important decisions like joining or leaving the mission fell on the man in the marriage. The letters home may have been exaggerated in order to save face, making up for the decision to go to Oregon that many of their families back East disapproved of from the start.

Numerous women, including Mrs. White and a number of others from later reinforcements, were hesitant not only to go, but desired to turn around before they even

³⁰ Susan Downing, "Letter to Sarah Jenkins, Oct. 8, 1839" in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard*, 152.

³¹ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 158.

³² Susan Downing, "Letter to Mrs. Joseph A. Lloyd, Nov. 1, 1837" in *The Diary of Cyrus Shepard*, 140.

arrived. While the women I studied all chose of their own volition to go to Oregon, many women went with their husbands whether they wanted to or not. Mr. White in his memoir, *Ten Years in Oregon*, discusses how his wife was the first to suggest going, but then changed her mind. It was only after a lengthy discussion that they finally signed on.³³ In their evaluation process, the MSMEC were explicit that any wives that were to accompany their husbands must be as determined and comfortable going as their spouses.³⁴ While in many cases, like that of the Hines family, both spouses were prepared to go and moving to Oregon turned out fine, others did not have such happy results. According to one woman's letters of the voyage around South America, Mrs. Waller and Mrs. Babcock, the wives of two missionaries in the Great Reinforcement, would have returned to New England by the time they reached their first stop in Rio de Janeiro.³⁵ Numerous families returned East throughout the course of the mission but particularly in the later years, sometimes at the husband's decision, other times because of the wife and children – most commonly because of their health. This follows the cult of true womanhood that deemed a woman was supposed to be submissive, though they may have exerted their influence on their husbands in order to leave the mission with domestic or family reasons. However, it is also clear that this was not the only case, as the four women I studied all chose to go of their own will, demonstrating at least some level of agency among these women. This agency in making decisions for their own lives was becoming more and more common in the early 19th century, particularly in the women from more urban environments.³⁶ While being at the mission encouraged their traditional role and held them to it by isolating them from the more progressive attitudes of urban centers, women were still able to influence their husbands and families and, by extension, the community they lived in.

The Great Reinforcement: Almira David Raymond and Chloe Clark Willson

The other two women I studied were Almira David Raymond and Chloe Clark. Arriving three years after Anna Maria and Susan settled in Oregon, they came to the Willamette Valley with the Great Reinforcement, accompanied by fifty other new recruits, and found themselves in a very different situation than the earlier women had. Almira David, from West Troy, New York, heard about Jason Lee and his tour throughout New England, and was very intrigued and believed mission work was her calling. After hearing him speak in a nearby town, she had a vision of herself “in the midst of the throne of God with a glittering crown on my head, and native Indians on every side of me, crowned, who were

³³ Dr. and Mrs. E. White, *Ten Years in Oregon* (Ithaca, NY: Andrus, Gauntlett & Co., 1850) 17.

³⁴ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 21.

³⁵ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 21.

³⁶ Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30 (1978): 624.

blessing me for being instrumental of their conversion.”³⁷ She believed it was her destiny to go to Oregon, however, the MSMEC was adamant that all women be accompanied by a fiancé or husband, or they needed to be employed as a teacher. Almira was not prepared to go to Oregon as an educator, and she was not related to anyone in connection to the mission so she had to find someone to go with. Enter Mr. William Raymond, who was also hoping to go to Oregon. He introduced himself and proposed (and she accepted) on the same day. She comments “I should once have thought this very imprudent and unwise...” but decides to marry him, and “let others do or say what they may.”³⁸ This is not a unique tale, either. Women, as a rule, had to be accompanied to travel and either had to have some form of contract or be married to a missionary to go on such a long voyage to somewhere so unknown. In fact, when Susan Shepard returned to Massachusetts in 1843 after her husband died, she married another missionary simply to go home. If a woman was single while at the mission, she was expected to marry eventually – and very nearly all of them did.

This included Chloe Clark, who after arriving in Oregon shared a courtship and eventually became engaged to William H. Willson, who arrived with the first reinforcement. Born to a wealthy family in Connecticut, Chloe was always deeply religious and attended Wilbraham Academy, the same school Jason Lee attended.³⁹ She was twenty-one when she left for Oregon in 1839 as a teacher. She married Willson the following August after being stationed in Nisqually. In her very detailed diary, she primarily chronicles her religious activities and experiences, including all the church and prayer meetings she attended. She also recounts milestones during the voyage, her interactions with other missionaries, her chores and daily life



Figure 2. Chloe Willson. Willamette Heritage Center Collections 2007.001.1613.

³⁷ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 15,

³⁸ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 17.

³⁹“Chloe Clark Willson,” Salem Public Library, accessed November 27, 2013,

³⁹< http://www.salemhistory.net/people/chloe_willson.htm>.

experiences. Life was different for these Great Reinforcement missionaries; the stations were somewhat more established, and they weren't working to survive the same way the first reinforcement missionary women had. Some stations, like the Dalles and Willamette Falls were finding success in their conversion efforts, while other stations were met with indifference or even occasional animosity. These women fell into work fairly quickly; in her journal, Chloe discussed making shirts for the Native Americans, instructing their children, and enjoying married life with her husband as often as she prayed for strength or discussed difficulties she faced. But not an entry goes by where she does not reference her faith.

In the writings of all of the women, their beliefs and faith are discussed in intense detail, which shows how important faith was to these women. That of course is to be expected of a group of missionaries, but their faith played an immense role in their lives whether or not they actively engaged in the missionary work. Of the four women I studied, three of them wrote extensively on their religion in most of their diary entries and letters or minimally had very religious tones in them, if not referencing them directly. In Chloe's diary, there are only a handful of entries that don't contain some amount of praise or prayer within them, often either glorifying God and his goodness, or appealing to God to watch over her and give her and those around her guidance, protection or strength. Almira, in a lengthy letter to her parents, wrote about the spiritual state at the mission among the Native Americans and other settlers, in the mission, as well as herself. In her conclusions she wrote "I might tell you many things concerning myself and family but this I do not think would be interesting to you."⁴⁰ Noting her religious activities and thoughts being more interesting than the activities of her family – her parents' grandchildren – does demonstrate exactly how massive a role religion played in her life. Furthermore, Anna Maria's poems are full of Christian imagery and prayer-like language, as these poems were often written to someone like her parents, brother, husband or friends, and read like a prayer for them.⁴¹ All of their personal records reference frequent prayer meetings, services among themselves and with the Native Americans and surrounding settlers. Given the infrequency of the letters or journal entries, these religious activities were important enough to note in not only letters to family (where they may have been writing to demonstrate their faith to the receiver to make a certain impression) but in their personal records as well, which they may not have intended for others to read. In all of their records, religion is a topic discussed and therefore was a very meaningful, prominent, important part of their lives that they turned to often throughout their presence at the mission.

As a scholar in the present day, it is hard to read their religious writings sometimes when

⁴⁰ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 35.

⁴¹ Gay, *Life and Letters*, 203-209.

they are so problematic and, frankly, racist. Of course, placing modern values on historic texts defeats the purpose of studying them, but it does open up discussion about their values and intentions as missionaries. These women by no means disregarded the cultures they were trying to convert; they did spend time among the Native Americans, visited them on numerous occasions and wrote about them often. While they may not have embraced their culture and in fact, according to missionary women's scholar, Patricia Grimshaw concluded, chose their roles in the home over adapting to the cultures of their converts, interacting with them was required as part of their job as missionaries.⁴² They did believe that they were doing the right and Christian thing by trying to convert the Native Americans to their beliefs; they believed that in doing so, they were saving them from a fate worse than death. Chloe writes in her journal: "These heathen are the purchase of [God's] sons [sic] blood and sure they shall not be left in darkness. He let a thousand lives more precious than mine be sacrafised[sic] before these blood bought souls be left to perish in their depth of misery."⁴³ She and the other missionary women believed that they were sacrificing their comfort and safety to save the souls of the Native Americans. As such, none of the women really spoke out in opposition to what they were doing to the Native Americans, but either worked hard to continue converting or were not involved and saw to the house and home more exclusively. It was a very challenging choice to work as a missionary that had severe repercussions for all parties involved, but it should be understood that the missionaries believed they were doing the right thing.

In addition to these challenges, these women were faced with many of the same challenges that the earlier women dealt with, like adapting to frontier life, disease, and homesickness, but also found themselves in a very different situation than Anna Maria and Susan had. Instead of being crowded into one small building like the early missionaries were, they were sent all over the Pacific Northwest as part of Jason Lee's plan for expansion. He hoped to increase converts and morale, and possibly also distribute the people so the cabin fever that sparked so many of the disputes from earlier years would not be as prevalent. He sent the new recruits to the various mission stations in Fort Nisqually, The Dalles, Clatsop Plains, Willamette Falls and the Mission headquarters which Lee chose to move to Chemeketa Plains.⁴⁴ At each of the outer stations, there were maybe five or six American settlers at the most; for example, Chloe lived at Fort Nisqually station with Rev. J. P. Richmond and his family and eventually, William Willson, where they officially met, courted and married.⁴⁵ While Almira initially lived with many more people at the mission headquarters, in 1842 her family was

⁴² Patricia Grimshaw, "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women and 'the Cult of True Womanhood'," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 19 (1985): 74

⁴³ Chloe Clark Willson, *Diary of Chloe Clark Willson*, 18 (April 4, 1841).

⁴⁴ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 130-131.

⁴⁵ Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 226.

transferred to the Clatsop station near Astoria, where she was one of three women, the other two being Mrs. Frost and Elmira Phillips, another teacher.⁴⁶

An unfortunately common experience of women at the mission was that of violent behaviors among the men to enforce their authority. Almira Raymond, Nancy Hawkins Judson, the second wife of missionary Lewis H. Judson, and Margaret Jewett Smith Bailey, a missionary teacher who married layman Dr. William Bailey, all sought divorce for abuse. Almira additionally sought divorce on the grounds of adultery. During court proceedings she revealed that her husband and Elmira Phillips, the missionary teacher who boarded with them, had carried on an affair for sixteen years by the time she filed for divorce in 1863.⁴⁷ Miss Phillips had boarded with them since they moved to the Clatsop station twenty-one years earlier.⁴⁸ Testimony during the trial claimed both her husband and Phillips were abusive to Almira and her children, claiming that they whipped, kicked, strangled, struck, and frequently threatened the family.⁴⁹ Coming out in public and discussing this was a major step for Almira, given that it took sixteen years for her to do so. It was during the later years of the mission that Almira wrote frequently to her family about how lonely she was, and how she was largely left in her home to care for her children with only her husband as constant company. This very well may have been some unspoken commentary on an unhealthy relationship in the making, possibly even referring to the early years of his abuse, though it is impossible to say for sure. Nancy Hawkins Judson filed for divorce with the Oregon state legislature about nine years after the abuse began, after she claimed he poured boiling water on her.⁵⁰ Both William Raymond and Lewis Judson were very well-respected men in the community and had other well-respected and prominent men to defend them. Both denied some of the accused behavior; Judson in particular claimed that his wife had abandoned some of her motherly and wifely duties, but any abuse he did commit towards her was not in scolding but in a heated moment of provocation.⁵¹ While the rest of the country was moving against violence in households, it was still not an uncommon occurrence for husbands to be abusive in this period. The isolation among the population in Oregon, exacerbated at each of the stations, allowed for that kind of abusive behavior to continue unchecked.⁵² It is clear through all the personal records examined that women in the mission lived very traditional roles, and coming out about this violent behavior would have been a very bold

⁴⁶ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 36.

⁴⁷ David Peterson del Mar, "Violence Against Wives by Prominent Men in Early Clatsop County," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 100 (1999): 438.

⁴⁸ David, *Westward to Oregon*, 36.

⁴⁹ Peterson del Mar, "Violence Against Wives," 439.

⁵⁰ Peterson del Mar, "Violence Against Wives," 441.

⁵¹ David Peterson del Mar, *What Trouble I Have Seen: A History of Violence Against Wives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 441-442.

⁵² Peterson del Mar, *What Trouble I Have Seen*, 10.

and unconventional thing to do. As a result, these women lived with this abuse for years, which made their home lives – for many of these women, the only spheres they had to exist in at these isolated stations – rather challenging to live in happily.

To further add to this difficult life they lead, much like the earlier reinforcement women, living at the mission was incredibly demoralizing. Almira, from her letters, very rarely interacted with the Native Americans, and was largely kept to the home which clearly went against her expectations of being surrounded by grateful, Christian converts. But there was little to no success in conversion at the mission, and very few Native Americans to convert in the first place. Therefore, other than managing the homes, working the farms, and other very secular daily-life work, there wasn't much to do. Boredom became a problem, and in 1843 a lieutenant from the United States Exploring Expedition visited a number of mission stations, and was markedly unimpressed at best. He was unimpressed by the preachers, their administrative abilities, their farming skills, the Indian Manual-Training School, and was outright repulsed by the missionaries themselves, calling the men specifically “vulgar and unclean”, and stating he “could not understand why even they [the women] could put up with their husbands.”⁵³ By the end of the mission, Jason Lee commented that prior to the arrival of the Great Reinforcement, everybody worked hard, and then after the arrival, nobody worked.⁵⁴ Defeated and frustrated at the dissatisfaction among the entire mission family, as well as the scathing reports that were being given by men like the lieutenant and even from members of the mission themselves, he knew the mission was in serious jeopardy.

The experiences of these women compared with the state of the mission show that while they did provide a solid foundation, filling the role of homemaker and caretaker so the men could focus on other goals and aims, it was not enough to keep the mission running on its own. The environment they found themselves in was highly difficult and after some time, extremely unhealthy. Not only were they dissatisfied with the success of converting the Native Americans, they were lonely, sick and tired, and as frustration spread, the drop in morale influenced everyone. In the later years of the mission, even prominent families headed by Daniel Lee, Joseph Frost, John Richmond and W. W. Kone, as well as the widowed Susan Downing Shepard, began leaving Oregon and returning to the East. With a number of these people, including Susan's family, they chose to leave because of the wife or the children's health or comfort. While men could have been using this as an excuse, women were using their position as the homemaker to get out of the unhappy situation they found themselves in. Their work as they continued to embrace their traditional gender roles in the home was critical in allowing the mission to last as long as it did. However, as much as that role may have contributed to the foundation of the

⁵³ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 145.

⁵⁴ Clark, *Eden Seekers*, 151.

mission, the problems overwhelming the community and isolation proved too intense to sustain their work any longer. Women could then use their influence within their domestic, family-oriented positions in the community to get themselves home.

Legacy and Conclusion

The lives of the women of the Methodist mission to Oregon were by no means easy, and continued to be difficult for the remainder of their lives. Anna Maria passed away due to complications of childbirth in 1838. Susan's husband Cyrus Shepard passed away January 1, 1840. A few years later, Susan chose to return to New England with her two children. She remarried the deathly ill Mr. Whitcomb to get passage to Massachusetts and cared for him until he died a few months after arriving. Almira Raymond, after filing for divorce in 1863, lived in Clatsop County for the rest of her life, possibly working as a nurse and taking care of her children and grandchildren. Chloe Clark Willson and her husband moved down to the Willamette Falls station in 1841, and then to Mission Mill in 1844 to teach at the Oregon Institute nearby. When her husband died in 1856, she returned home to Connecticut and put her daughters through school there. In 1863, she came back to the Salem, Oregon to head the Ladies Department of the recently new Willamette University, a position she kept for three years before stepping down and moving to Portland with her daughter where she died in 1874. The entire time she maintained that position, she housed female students and lectured them about "The Sphere of Woman" and how their position was the home, and to run a household properly and in a Christian manner so as to create a strong foundation for the future.⁵⁵

Even twenty years after the mission's closure, after witnessing the mission grow from a single, crowded cabin to a burgeoning community with a university lecturing the concept of the cult of true womanhood, women's roles at the mission had not changed drastically in the eyes of the missionary women. They served as the domestic housewife, and in doing so laid down the essential foundation that allowed the men of the mission to pursue their missionary and community aspirations. They had to perform to this role in an incredibly challenging environment, facing demanding conditions, disease, isolation, strained and occasionally violent relationships at home and an unexpected failure in their missionary goals. They were very pious, strong, determined women and while some thrived (or forced themselves to thrive) in the mission, others returned to the East when life got too difficult. Some were among the first to challenge the gender power structure, and would be followed by many women who would redefine women's roles in Oregon and the United States as pioneers in women's rights just a few decades later. However they did it, each one left a lasting legacy in Oregon in their own way, contributing directly or indirectly as the support base for those that more directly impacted the institutions and community that paved the way for early Oregonians.

⁵⁵ "Chloe Clark Willson", website.

While today Willamette University fosters a much more complex and progressive discussion of the role of women and womanhood in general, it does have a legacy of strong women to look back on and be proud of. Not only does it have these women discussed here that allowed for its creation and were among the first instructors there, but additionally the very first graduate of Willamette University in 1859 was Emily J. York, becoming a Mistress of English Literature. She was followed several years later by Lucy Annamaria Lee, the daughter of Jason Lee, who would teach at Willamette for much of her adult life. When Chloe Clark Willson stepped down as head of the Ladies Department, Lucy would succeed her. There has not been a graduating class since then that didn't have female graduates, and Willamette proudly chronicles its women's history right alongside the men's. Today, the university offers degrees in Women and Gender Studies and encourages the entire student body to think critically about how we navigate gender roles as a society and where we derive our assumptions about men and women.

Amid such a progressive community filled with feminist voices, it is easy to criticize their domestic roles in the home, but it was indisputably critical to the success and foundation of the mission. I have them to thank for their role and contribution to the early community and my university that gave me the opportunity to study them as much as the male missionaries. The missionaries' names are all over Salem, but perhaps it is good to remember that those men shared their names with a woman who faced the same challenges and adversities, and supported them and the community in the early days of settlement in Oregon.

Honoring Teachers, Then and Now

A photo essay by Phil Decker

Work in the Willamette Valley has evolved over the years, as key industries come and go, as farmland is converted into urban landscape, and as local and state governments grow. However, regardless of economic tides, the essential work of teachers has remained relatively constant: to teach children basic skills in reading, writing and math, to foster citizenship, and to nurture solid values.

Throughout the decades, teachers typically prepare their lessons and grade student work in the afternoons, evenings and on weekends. They greet children and families every morning, Monday to Friday. Then teachers are on stage throughout the workday, delivering instruction in multiple content areas. Teachers also support students with music lessons, physical education, lunch and recess. The impact of their work depends greatly on their relationships with students, as they strive to help each young person grow emotionally and socially. While parents are working during the day, teachers have always taken on the role of *in loco parentis* (in the place of a parent) by guiding student behavior with praise and consequences.

Yet despite these common elements of teaching, we can see how the work of teachers has adjusted over the years by comparing a selection of historical and recent images from local schools. In the photo essay that follows, you'll view images from the Willamette Heritage Center's archives juxtaposed with images that I created between 2009 and 2013, while serving as principal at Four Corners Elementary School in Salem. You'll notice demographic shifts, as the student population in various communities like Four Corners becomes increasingly diverse. Plus, you'll find clues to how the tools of the teaching trade have changed, in terms of instructional materials, facilities and technology.

Furthermore, some of the historical photographs in juxtaposition with their contemporary counterparts hint at significant shifts in cultural values. Today, it would be hard to imagine an entire class of students dressed in "Indian Costumes" on the front lawn of a school. Likewise, class pictures are no longer orchestrated with teachers and students draped in huge American flags, and we don't see kids engaged in wartime knitting to support our troops in Afghanistan.

As you view the following photographs keep in mind that the students you see are preparing for the workforce. Teachers help provide students with the social and academic skills they need for the workplace, whether in a cannery or in the halls

of the state Capitol. The students in the photographs are unaware of what their futures will hold; however, we do know that their futures will be intricately linked to the teachers who have guided and taught them along the way.



**Fifth Graders in Indian Costumes at East School during May Day Exercises, ca. 1910.
WHC #82.24.2.28**



Teacher Jaime Cancino conferences with students on their writing journals, in a bilingual first grade classroom, at Four Corners Elementary. Phil Decker 2012.



A teacher and an all-girl class on the front steps of Grant School, holding American flags. No date give. WHC #2012.16.1445.



Students play Simon Says when lining up after recess, before going back into their classrooms, at Four Corners Elementary. Phil Decker, 2011.



6th grade classroom at Highland Grade School in 1939. WHC #2011.4.18.



5th Grade Teachers collaborating in a weekly meeting to collectively plan instruction and common assessments. Phil Decker, 2011.



Elementary school students and their teacher demonstrating their wartime knitting projects in the classroom, ca. 1943. WHC #2004.25.142.



Orchestra Teacher Deborah Barber applauds for a student learning to play the violin, at Four Corners Elementary. Phil Decker, 2011.



The last day of class at rural Willard School, which closed on May 31, 1966 after 111 years of operation outside of Silverton. The teacher in the photo is Verna Knaeble. WHC #2007.1.1778.



Reading Teacher Deanna Bontrager helps families pick out a free book to take home at Family Literacy Night at Four Corners Elementary. Phil Decker, 2013.



A teacher working with her students at Richmond School, 1964. WHC #2007.1.1668.



Teacher Trini Mendez helps a student solve a problem during computerized math instruction, at Four Corners Elementary. Phil Decker, 2012.

My hope is that these images remind us that the work of teachers is foundational to our economy, our society and our culture. The photographs help us to appreciate the challenging work engaged in by teachers, day in and day out, whereby one adult takes on the responsibility for managing the learning and the behavior of a classroom full of children, all day long, throughout the school year, to prepare them for a successful future.

In my work with teachers for over 20 years, as a teacher and as a principal, I have noticed that in order to persevere and thrive in this increasingly complex and demanding profession, instruction needs to be more than just “a job”. For so many teachers, their work is seen as a vocation or a calling: to make a difference in the lives of children and to leave their legacy in the hearts and minds of the next generation. In addition to influencing generations of students, teachers pass the baton of their profession to the next generation of teachers through collaboration and mentoring. The images in this photo essay, spanning more than a hundred years, help to draw many generations of teachers closer together, to link them by their common work, skills, talents and mission.

A special thanks to Kylie Pine of the WHC for her research into historical images of teachers and classrooms.

Say Cheese!
Cheese Manufacture in the Mid-Willamette Valley
Kylie Pine, Willamette Heritage Center

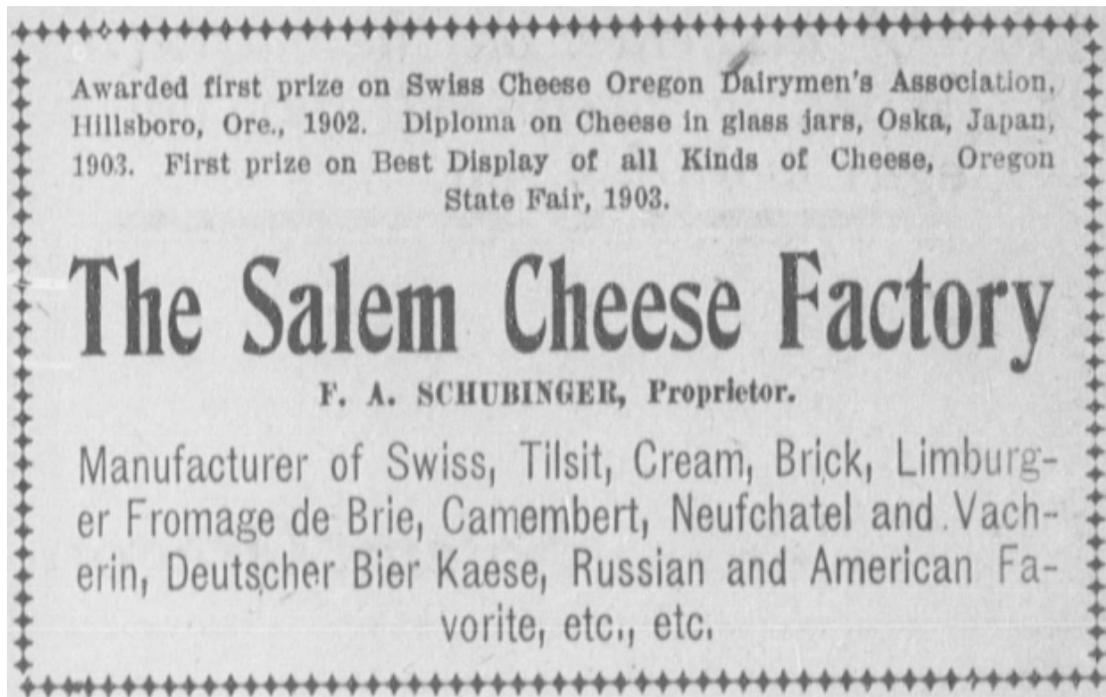


Figure 1. Advertisement for the Salem Cheese Factory that appeared in Salem's *Capital Journal* Newspaper, July 11, 1912, manufacturers' edition.

Abstract: Today, artisan cheese makers in the Mid-Willamette Valley are making a name for themselves for their fine cheese. They are not the region's first cheese makers and a little digging has shown that the Mid-Valley region has a long cheese making tradition. What started out as a way to utilize surplus milk and make it last longer, turned into a lucrative endeavor. This article gives an overview of Mid-Willamette Valley cheese making history, with an emphasis on Marion County, and provides information on a handful of individual cheese makers and partnerships, looking at their stories. The stories of cheese makers in the valley also hint at how the Great Depression and changes in technology and transportation may have directly affected the types of work done here.

Introduction

Working in an archive, I encounter a lot of intriguing tidbits of information. Most recently I found a reference to a Salem Cheese Factory. Oregon has had a long reputation for making great cheese, but the spotlight tends to focus on production in the coastal counties. Research into the Salem Cheese Factory unraveled an interesting story about

cheese manufacture in the Mid-Valley region. From enterprising individuals and farmers forming cooperatives to make use of a surplus milk product to the gradual rise of specialty cheeses, this region has been a hotbed of cheese activity. As with most research projects, the more I delved into the stories of early cheese makers the more questions were raised. I also started to infer interesting connections to bigger themes in our community history. While this article looks at the development of cheese manufacturing in the Mid-Willamette Valley, it will particularly look at the people who made cheese in Marion County. You will meet people like William Cranston, an early Oregon Trail immigrant whose name became synonymous for cheese in Mid-Valley grocery stores and Fred Schubinger, a Swiss immigrant who brought an amazing variety of exotic cheeses to Salem's collective palate. Explore the story of the Branson family who made a short-lived name for themselves as the proprietors of the first Roquefort cheese factory in the United States and the allied farmer-producers who made cheese production viable through the Garden Road and Mount Angel Cooperative Cheese Factories.

The Salem Cheese Factory

Tracking down the Salem Cheese Factory turned out to be a very difficult endeavor. After scouring newspaper articles, city directories, census records and agricultural bulletins, the story of the Salem Cheese Factory and its founder began to take shape.

The Salem Cheese Factory was established by a Swiss emigrant named F. August Schubinger.¹ Schubinger, who goes alternately by Fred, Auguste and F.A., was born in Switzerland in 1848.² In his early forties he immigrated to the United States. Departing from Le Havre, France aboard the ship *La Champagne*, he arrived at Castle Garden in New York Harbor on April 15, 1889. He is listed on the ship's manifest as a farmer and made the trip in steerage.³

The earliest reference to the Salem Cheese Factory I could locate was an 1899 article entitled "A Delicious Treat" that appeared in Salem's *Capital Journal* newspaper. This article, coupled with Schubinger's absence from the 1895 Marion County Census and the 1893 Polk's City Directory, suggests that he arrived in Salem sometime after 1895 and set up shop in a vacated cheese factory sometime around May or November of 1898.⁴ The

¹ "A Delicious Treat," *Daily Capital Journal*, 21 November 1899, page 3, column 2.

² U.S. Census, 1900; U.S. Census, 1910; Ship's Manifest for the ship *La Champagne* arriving in New York Harbor from Le Havre 15 April 1889, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897*. Microfilm Publication M237, 675 rolls. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C. Microfilm Roll: 531; Line: 21; List Number: 422B. Accessed through Ancestry.com.

³ Ship's Manifest for the ship *La Champagne*.

⁴ A lawsuit filed in State Circuit Court in December, 1902 has an R. Buetikoffer suing F.A. Schubinger to recover money due "on account of the sale of the Salem cheese factory, in November, 1898." "Court Notes," *Oregonian*, 17 December 1902, page 10, column 4. This differs from the date given by the article

article describes the Salem Cheese Factory as a “home manufactory” specializing in fancy cheeses, especially Limburger and *Fruehstueck Kaeschen* (German breakfast cheese). The phrases “home manufactory” and the use of the word “factory” in the business title Salem Cheese Factory are seemingly contradictory. “Home” suggests a product made out of the house or on the farm as part of its agricultural operations, rather than in an industrial or commercial setting. It does appear that Schubinger was involved, to some extent, in the dairying process. A 1901 classified ad, which directs parties interested in purchasing a “good two year old ful [sic] blood Durham bull” to inquire at the Salem Cheese Factory, suggests he did raise cattle.⁵ However, I would assert that the “home manufactory” is used to mean a local business as the last line of the article suggests: “It is one of the home industries, which should be liberally patronized by Salem people, especially as it gives them superior goods at lower prices.”⁶

The industrialized nature of the business is supported by a description given in a 1900 Agricultural Bulletin produced by the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station. Printed in the bulletin is a listing of creameries and cheese factories in Oregon in which the Salem Cheese Factory appears. The author emphasizes that the listing is taken from organizations that would have qualified for the Oregon State Fair prizes for commercial butter producers, meaning that the butter was “made in a factory from the milk of cows kept on two or more farms.”⁷ These criteria indicate something more than a cottage industry. Additional support for this perspective comes from a contemporary definition of the word factory. Peering back into the 1853 dictionary, the word “factory” is defined as the shortening of the word “manufactory, a building, or collection of buildings, appropriated to the manufacture of goods; the place where workmen are employed in fabricating goods, wares, or utensils.”⁸ This definition, predating the Salem Cheese Factory, indicates that our modern understanding of the industrialized nature of a “factory” as an industrial venture is similar to the use of the word by Schubinger’s contemporaries and would not be applied to a home-based operation on a farm.

In 1900, the Salem Cheese Factory was awarded a first place prize at the Oregon State Fair for its cheese.⁹ By 1901, Schubinger was garnering attention for the quantity of his

“A Delicious Treat” which states that Schubinger started business “about a year and a half ago.” As the article was published in November 1899, it is assumed that a year and a half prior would have been May, 1898. “A Delicious Treat,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 21 November 1899, page 3, column 2.

⁵ “New Today,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 4 December 1901, page 4, column 2. Article also appears December 5th and 6th of that year.

⁶ “A Delicious Treat,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 21 November 1899, page 3, column 2.

⁷ E.F. Pernot, “A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats,” *Corvallis: Department of Bacteriology, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station*, No. 63 (November 1900): 29.

⁸ Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass: George and Charles Merriam, 1853). MCHS Collections 85.55.1

⁹ “Larger Crowds Each Day,” *Oregonian*, 22 September 1900, page 10, column 4.

production, the variety of his offerings and the pageantry of his displays at fairs and exhibitions. As one reporter noted:

The institution is owned and operated by F.A. Schubinger and it is attracting attention by its large output. Mr. Schubinger daily converts 1000 pounds of milk into cheese, in the making of which he has established a reputation. His brick and limburger cheese are not surpassed and he finds a ready market for his product in the Salem and Portland markets. A metropolitan dealer recently solicited Mr. Schubinger's entire output, but he declined the offer, preferring to give his cheese a better distribution by retailing the same to individual merchants.¹⁰

In addition to the quantity of production, Schubinger offered a wide variety of choices that were frequently on display. An impressed journalist at the Oregon State Fair in 1901 reported:

Really the most interesting display in the dairy [sic] department is that of the Salem Cheese Factory, by F.A. Schubinger. It contains about twenty-five varieties of cheese, including the plain American cheese, cream and brick cheeses in many varieties, the fragrant Limburger, fromage de brie, Fruehstueck Kaese, Russian cheese, and many little delicacies in the cheese line that would stagger the average reporter to name, taste, or appreciate. But to make all these articles in a marketable manner, and dispose of them requires not only great skill as a manufacturer, but as a clever business operator as well. Mr. Schubinger is gaining a wide reputation for his products, and while no one person can use all these articles, the fact that a market for them exists is evidence of their commercial worth. This cheese factory converts a great deal of milk product into cash, and thus adds just that much wealth to the community.¹¹

A more irreverent reporter described Schubinger's repeated exhibitions and varied offerings this way:

The Salem cheese factory puts up cheese of all nations—Swiss, Holland, Belgian, English, Russian and Limburger, which is a district of Ireland.

¹⁰ "Cheese of all Nations are Made at Salem," *Daily Capital Journal*, 1 May 1901. page 3.

¹¹ "Notes form the Fair," *Daily Capital Journal*, 25 September 1901, page 3, column 2.

Mr. Schubinger is the proprietor, and he speaks several languages and makes cheese that is understood and appreciated half way around the world, and in several dialects.

He makes one brand for the free-lunch counters in Bohemian beer gardens that can fairly stand on its hind legs and holler. It would raise a moustache on the most chalky-faced dude in Salem if he would eat it for week.

Roosevelt talks a great deal about a navy, but he will never have one until he feeds his marines on this Bohemian limburger that Schubinger makes. It [sic] a delicious creamy-flavored article, smooth as an old banana, and with a smell that will part a man from his best friend.

At the State Fair the Salem cheese factory always puts up an exhibit in seventeen different brands, some with the perfume of violets and some not so much like a geranium, but what wooden-nosed man could detect the difference.

One of his finest and most powerful cheeses is the fromage de Camambert [sic]. He generally makes one as large as a grindstone and lets it get ripe enough to exhibit and when the Fair is over gives it to the Journal man. It is then past harvesting and ready to go to its own country over the seas.

But we keep it in the box and very little gets away. If you read some pretty strong editorials in this paper for a few days credit them up to Schubinger.¹²

The pinnacle of Schubinger's exhibitions came with a display he created to exhibit in Osaka, Japan in 1903. The exhibit included several cheeses in glass jars that could travel.¹³ He also won the grand prize for "display of dairy products" at the Oregon State Dairy Association Convention in 1908.¹⁴

Sometime between winning a 4th place premium at the Oregon State Fair in 1903 and 1908, Schubinger purchased a factory, moved to Stayton, sold the factory and returned to Salem. He was welcomed back by the community and his fans at the local newspaper, who called him "one of the best cheese makers in the west."¹⁵

¹² "Goes by Its own Strength," *Daily Capital Journal*, 24 September, 1902, page 5, column 5.

¹³ "Portland in Japan," *Oregonian*, 6 January 1903, page 12, column 2.

¹⁴ "Salem Last Week," *Bend Bulletin*, 16 December 1908, page 1; "Salem Last Week," *Oregon City Courier*, 18 December 1908, page 5.

¹⁵ "Swarm to Fair," *Oregonian*, 18 September 1903, page 4, column 1; "Cheese Factory at Salem," *Daily Capital Journal*, 5 May 1908, page 10, column 3.

Throughout the local news articles relating to Schubinger there is a great emphasis on the economic importance of purchasing local products. As one article reads:

Salem would soon become one of the great cheese eating centers of the world if each person in this city had the opporounity [sic] of paying a visit to the splendid cheese factory conducted by F.A. Schubinger...Mr. Schubinger personally supervises the work at the factory and sees to it that only first class products are put out. There cheese is made to suit the taste of the most fastidious (or otherwise) and in any quantity that may be desired. The next time you purchase cheese of the grocer why not ask him for that manufactured at the Salem cheese factory and get the best that can be made.¹⁶

It is unclear from the articles themselves whether this “buy local” promotional message was coming from Schubinger or from the paper and local businessmen who used Schubinger’s story to promote their own message. When considering that Schubinger himself was involved with promoting local industry through participation in “booster” events like the Rose Festival in Portland, the state manufacturers convention and banquet and as an organizer for the Marion County Manufacturer’s exhibit, it seems likely that it was the former.¹⁷

In addition to expounding the benefits to the local economy of buying locally, these articles also allude to the luxury of being able to eat “foreign” cheese made just as good in the local community. For example, the following quotation emphasizes both the exotic foreign nature of the product (and the producer) as well as the quality of local manufacture.

The Salem Cheese factory had crowds all the time, Mr. Schubinger in the largeness of his heart, and with true German liberality, gave away generous samples of Swiss, and other varieties of cheese made in his factory at Salem. He took many orders from new customers made in this way and showed them that a superior article of table food can be made here as fine as in foreign countries.¹⁸

Despite his involvement in the community, there is little known about the rest of Schubinger’s personal life. An article in the *Daily Capital Journal* calls him “the genial

¹⁶ “Cheese Factory among Salem’s busy Firms,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 11 July 1912, page 3, column 2.

¹⁷ “Manufacturer’s Association is Organized,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 30 April 1912, page 2, column 2; *Daily Capital Journal*, 23 November 1912, page 5; *Daily Capital Journal*, 14 June 1913, page 8, column 4.

¹⁸ “Everything Oregon Made,” *Daily Capital Journal*, 13 July 1912, section 1, page 7, column 4.

‘Santa Clause’[sic] of Marion County.” Seeing as the article was written in June, the term may have referred to his generosity, or perhaps his appearance?¹⁹ We do know that when he arrived in the United States he was single, literate and could speak at least English and German.²⁰ The 1905 Marion County Census for East Salem shows F.A. Schubinger at 57 years-old living with two other men, J.B. Schubinger, 28, and A. Irimper, 38, both listed as cheese makers from Switzerland.²¹ A 1905 obituary for Joseph B. Schubinger identifies him as the nephew of F.A. Schubinger. The Catholic funeral rites given for his nephew at St. Joseph’s church suggest that Schubinger may have been Catholic.²² The 1910 U.S. Census shows F.A. Schubinger as living alone.²³ By the 1915 Polk’s Directory for Salem, Schubinger, now in his sixties, appears married to a woman named Elisa. The 1920 U.S. Census indicates she was about ten years his junior and from Baden, Germany.²⁴ The 1921 City Directory is the last Schubinger appears in, suggesting he died sometime after that, although his name does not appear in the Oregon Death Index.²⁵

The Salem Cheese Factory continues, after that point, under the proprietorship of Frank Waser, a young Swiss immigrant to Oregon. Like Schubinger before him, he had experience in farm labor. He immigrated about 1919 and worked as a farm laborer in Mt. Angel according to the 1920 Census.²⁶ Sometime after 1921, he took over the business from Schubinger. In addition to manufacturing cheese, he also advertised for wholesale cheese in the city directories. This iteration of the company lasts until about 1927, when it disappears from the city directory records,²⁷ although the 1930 Census shows Waser working as a cheese maker in East Salem, living along the Turner Highway.²⁸

Research into Schubinger revealed that he was not the first, nor the only cheese maker operating in the Mid-Willamette Valley. For a time, cheese production in Marion County

¹⁹ *Daily Capital Journal*, 14 June 1913, page 8, column 4.

²⁰ 1900 US Federal Census, East Salem Precinct; 1910 US Federal Census; 1920 US Federal Census.

²¹ Marion County, Oregon Census, 1905.

²² “Joe B. Schubinger Dies of Complication of Diseases,” *Daily Oregon Statesman*, 03 August 1905, page 3, column 5. Joseph Schubinger, like his uncle, was born in Switzerland. He died in his uncle’s home at the age of 28 from complications due to tuberculosis.

²³ U.S. Census, 1910.

²⁴ U.S. Federal Census, 1920; *Salem City Directories*. R.L Polk & Co, 1915 and 1917; Elisa may have been Elizabeth Katherine Schubinger who died 1/11/1921 in Marion County. See Oregon Death Index: Ancestry.com, *Oregon, Death Index, 1898-2008* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2000.

²⁵ Schubinger does not appear in the 1924 Polk’s City Directory. *Salem City Directories*, R.L Polk & Co, 1924. See Oregon Death Index: Ancestry.com, *Oregon, Death Index, 1898-2008* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2000.

²⁶ U.S. Census, 1920. Mount Angel Precinct, Marion County, Oregon.

²⁷ *Salem City Directories*, R.L. Polk & Co, 1921, 1924, 1926-27, and 1928-29.

²⁸ U.S. Census, 1930, East Salem Precinct, Marion County, Oregon.

alone outpaced all other counties in the state. How did cheese become such a lucrative industry in this area?

Earliest Cheese Manufacturers

It would be a very difficult task to pinpoint the very first episode of cheese making in the Mid-Willamette Valley. We could guess that individuals probably were making cheese on farms long before any type of large scale production was established. We do know that cows were “lent” to retired French-Canadian trappers-turned-farmers in the Mid-Valley region by John McLoughlin, of the Hudson’s Bay Company, as early as the late 1820s/early 1830s.²⁹ Due to the lending policy, one would assume they were being used for dairying purposes. McLoughlin’s “lending” of cattle and the monopoly held by the Hudson’s Bay Company extended to the American missionaries and settlers. This policy prompted them to form the Willamette Cattle Company in 1837 which sent a party to California to bring back over six hundred head of cattle. The years leading up to the first great migrations of settlers over the Oregon Trail saw the cattle population in the Valley explode from 600 in 1838 to 3,000 in 1841.³⁰

Just as it is very difficult to identify the first cheese maker, it is also difficult to pinpoint the first industrial cheese producer in the region. We do know that there was a lot of cheese being made. By 1875, statistics published in the Edgars and Williams & Co *Marion and Linn County Atlas* indicate that Marion County was the leading producer of cheese in the state, producing a total of 70,515 lbs of cheese in the year, or about 37% of the state’s overall cheese production. Lane County comes in at a close second with 66,965 lbs of cheese and Multnomah 3rd with 15,700 lbs. By comparison Tillamook County produced a mere 300 lbs.³¹ What this doesn’t tell us, however, is how this cheese was being made. Was the cheese being made by farmers or more industrially?

An obscure reference in the January 1882 edition of *The West Shore* magazine published out of Portland indicates that there were cheese factories in the area. In describing Marion County they note:

Butter and cheese of the best quality is largely produced in several parts of the county, but principally in the Waldo hills region and the oak hill country south of Salem. The dairies and cheese factories of Messrs. Ankeny, Cranston, and Calvin Geer, have secured a wide

²⁹ James R. Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country 1786-1846* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 131.

³⁰ James R. Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country 1786-1846* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 143-144.

³¹ “Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Industrial Products of the State of Oregon, for the year 1875,” *Illustrated Historical Atlas Map of Marion and Linn Counties, Oregon, Edgar Williams Company, 1878* (Marion County Historical Society), 99.

reputation for excellence of their products. The field for dairy and cheese making in this county is an inviting one. Cheap lands can be had in the foothills, where, by slashing off the light fir brush and sowing grass seed on the ashes of the burn, a rich and permanent crop of pasturage is easily secured, with ample supplies of hay for winter use.³²

This article seems to contradict a written history of creameries and cheese factories in Oregon put forth by the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station in 1900. This article states that the factory system in Oregon had only been around for about a decade.

The factory system of making butter and cheese in this state is practically a development of the past ten years. To the best of the writer's knowledge there is but one buttery factory in the state in operation constructed prior to the year 1892. In fact the development in the U.S. has been wholly within the last half of the present century. It is generally conceded that the credit of establishment of the first real cheese factory, which served as a model and incentive to others, belongs to Jesse Williams of Rome, Onedoga County, N.Y. Mr. Williams, was an experienced and skilful cheesemaker, and in 1851 began working up the milk of some of his neighbors in addition to his own. He was so successful that the next year a special building was erected and fitted up with the best apparatus obtainable. In 1869 the number in the whole country exceeded 1000 and from that time on the factory system practically superseded the making of cheese on farms. Making butter in quantity from milk or cream collected from numerous farms soon followed...³³

This statement suggests that nationally most cheese was being made commercially, rather than at home at an early date. As with most trends, this may have taken longer to make it to new settlements in Oregon. Either way, the mention of Warren Cranston in the *West Shore* article indicates that there were cheese factories in operation in the Mid-Willamette Valley at least a decade before 1892.

³² "Marion County" *The West Shore Oregon* volume 8 no. 1 (January 1882): 3.

³³ Pernot, "A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats, pg 28.

Cranston's Cheese: A Household Name

Warren Cranston was born in Ohio in 1826.³⁴ As his son recalled, Cranston set out for Oregon in the spring of 1850, but got sidetracked in Missouri when he was offered a teaching job.³⁵ This family story is seemingly corroborated by the 1850 U.S. Census showing him living in Jackson, Missouri with his parents and six siblings, and employed as a teacher.³⁶ In 1851, the family set off on the trail to Oregon.³⁷ He apparently made a name for himself while here. In 1858, his name was put forth as a candidate for Marion County Sheriff, albeit without his authorization.³⁸ By 1860, Cranston shows up farming in the Silverton area.³⁹ Over the next twenty years his household had expanded to include his third wife, English-born Maria Emery, two daughters, a son, his mother (Roxanna), a Swiss man named Rudolph Hopf who was employed as either a Drayman (wagon driver) or Dairyman, and a Chinese cook named O.C. Lang. Cranston himself is listed as a "Farmer/Dairyman."⁴⁰ It appears that his death in 1899 prevented his listing in the chart of Oregon Cheese Factories in the 1900 Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station's bulletin. It is possible, too, that as a dairyman, presumably using the milk produced on the farm, he would not have qualified for the specifications of a factory as listed in the article.⁴¹ This latter theory seems unlikely, however, as Cranston is often praised as the model for commercial cheese factories. During an 1895 outing of the local Dairyman Association's picnic, a reporter noted:

Mr. Cranston has been Oregon's most successful cheese maker, and his factory product is on sale at nearly all our stores, and "Cranston's" cheese has become almost a family byword with Oregonians. The excellence of his product has made him an enviable reputation and he has no trouble to sell all he can put out at fair prices. The holding of the dairy meeting at his farm gives

³⁴ "A Pioneer Dead—Hon. Warren Cranston's Life is Ended," *Oregon Statesman*, 10 November 1899, page 3, column 2. It should be noted that an interview with his son gives Warren Cranston's birth date in 1827. See. Fred Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man," *Oregon Journal*, 09 November 1931.

³⁵ Fred Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man," *Oregon Journal*, 09 November 1931.

³⁶ U.S. Census, 1850, Jackson, Andrew, Missouri.

³⁷ Fred Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man," *Oregon Journal*, 09 November 1931; Gravestone Inscription, Pioneer Cemetery, Salem, Oregon.

³⁸ "Editor for the Argus," *Oregon Argus*, 27 June 1858, page 2. In this letter to the editor, Cranston pointedly asked who authorized the publication of his name as candidate for Marion County Sheriff.

³⁹ U.S. Census, 1860 Silverton, Marion, Oregon.

⁴⁰ Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man;" U.S. Census, 1880, Silver Creek, Marion, Oregon. The handwriting on the census sheet makes it difficult to read if Hopf was a Dairyman or Drayman. Either is a logical possibility.

⁴¹ Pernot, "A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats," 31. "A Pioneer Dead—Hon. Warren Cranston's Life is Ended," *Oregon Statesman*, 10 November 1899, page 3, column 2.

it a practical side, as all who wish to see a successful cheese factory in operation can probably have a chance.⁴²

We know Cranston was making cheese as early as 1875, as he won 3rd place for year-old cheese and 2nd place for “best dairy of cheese” at the Oregon State Fair that year.⁴³ His cheese was also well marketed. Between 1891 and 1895 the *Capital Journal* newspaper in Salem shows 26 advertisements marketing “Cranston’s Cheese.”⁴⁴

The interest in Cranston’s operations by the Dairyman’s association suggests why Marion County became a hotbed for cheese production. Cheese was a much more stable product than butter and could make a waste product lucrative. In a world without large-scale refrigeration this was very important. Also, facing a decrease in butter prices, cheese became an even more tantalizing prospect.

The problem, what to do with the surplus home dairy product is a vital one to the farmer. The best dairy butter from large Jersey dairies is selling at 15 to 20 cents per pound. A movement to establish local cheese factories is getting quite a toothhold [sic] among Marion county farmers and it seems the most plausible way to work off the large flow of milk during the big grass months. The cheese could be put on the market during the summer and fall and it is certainly a more rational way of disposing of the cow product than to make it up into butter at the present high competition and consequent low prices. A dairy meeting is to be held at our old friend Cranston’s place at Willard⁴⁵ next Friday to discuss the situation.

The attention given by the Tacoma Ledger to the creamery business in Washington has been brought out the fact that a great deal of unwholesome eastern butter is being brought into that state and sold at very low prices. There is not much doubt that it is often represented to be Washington creamery butter, which it is not.

The local creameries cannot sell their product at the price at which this stuff is offered. They need to do so, if the demand

⁴² “A Dairy Picnic,” *Capital Journal*, 29 May 1895, page 3.

⁴³ *Willamette Farmer*, 22 October 1875, page 1.

⁴⁴ A search was made of the *Capital Journal* newspaper using the Oregon Digital Newspaper Project database. “Oregon Digital Newspaper Project” [on-line database] University of Oregon.

⁴⁵ According to *Oregon Geographic Place Names*, the Willard area was located southeast of Pratum, about halfway between Silverton and Aumsville. Lewis A. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Place Names* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1982), 799.

for their goods among careful buyers is sufficient to keep the price above the profit-making point. The reason why the cheaper stuff is offered at lower figures is probably because it could not be sold at any price in the place where it is made. It is brought here to the coast, where its history cannot be known, worked over and colored a little, perhaps, and sold to the unwary, who are not too careful of their health, and of that of their families.

Their [sic] is every reason why those who desire to patronize home products, should buy only Oregon made butter. There is even one more, and the strongest reason of them all, and that is that it is certainly clean and wholesome.⁴⁶

In this article the promotion of the local product we found in Schubinger's story takes on another spin, the idea that the local product is more wholesome than imported products. While cheese today gets a bad nutritional rap for its high fat content, it was considered by many of Cranston and Schubinger's contemporaries as highly nutritious. In the article "Cheese and Its Economical Uses in the Diet" published in the 1908, C. F. Langworthy suggests that there are two types of cheeses: those used in small quantities for flavor and those used in larger quantities for nutritional value and flavor. The latter is described as being "known to the trade as standard factory cheese and to the housewife as American cheese."⁴⁷ Further information by the same authors in a pamphlet on cheese and the diet suggests that cheese is high in protein and fat and can provide more protein and calories per ounce than beef for about the same price. In a community where farming and other forms of physical labor required greater caloric intake, cheese was a nutritious and economical choice.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ "The Home Dairy Product," *Capital Journal*, 23 May 1895, supplement, page 4.

⁴⁷ C.F. Langworthy et al., "Cheese and Its Economical Uses in the Diet" *Household Discoveries: An Encyclopedia of practical recipes and processes*, Ed. Sidney Morse (Petersburg, NY: Success Company's Branch Offices, 1908) 1061-1082, 1063-1064.

⁴⁸ C.F. Lanworthy and Caroline L. Hunt, "Cheese and Its Economical Uses in the Diet" *U.S. Department of Agriculture Farmer's Bulletin* 487 (February 26, 1912).

The Garden Road Co-Operative Cheese Factory



Figure 1: Garden Road Co-Operative Cheese Factory as published in the Ladd & Bush Quarterly Magazine.

Both Schubinger and Cranston's operations seem to have been proprietary operations. With many dairy growers in the region, Salem was yearning for a cooperative organization which would help provide a market for milk. As the *Capital Journal* reported:

What to do with the surplus milk product during the big grass months of May, June and July, when butter is so plenty as to be a drug, and when the conditions for making it are not so favorable as in the cooler months, is today the problem of the dairy farm. Only by establishing co-operative cheese factories, where this surplus can be consolidated and put into a form where it can be stored for the markets later on can this difficulty be overcome. To do this successfully the co-operative cheese factory must be an up-to-date institution, with an up-to-date management. The co-operative cheese factory will have to compete with the most perfectly equipped factories now in the land, and its product will have to be up to the demands of the market on the whole northwest. But with a surplus milk product now practically going to waste, and with horses cheap enough for the slaughterhouse to haul this milk to the factory, there is no reason why the local cooperative creamery cannot compete with the largest and best equipped institutions in the world.⁴⁹

Some local farmers took this to heart and started the Garden Road Co-Operative Cheese Factory in 1916 where Garden Road crossed the Little Pudding River, just east of

⁴⁹ "A Dairy Picnic," *Capital Journal*, 29 May 1895, page 3.

Salem.⁵⁰ Milk was brought in to the factory by one truck and two horse-drawn wagons.⁵¹ The factory was originally operated by John Zoller, who had immigrated from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.⁵²

By 1917, Carl Willman served as cheesemaker. He would make about 500 lbs of cheese every other day. An article published in the Ladd & Bush Quarterly Magazine describes the cheese making process:

There is a great vat which, when filled with fresh milk, is heated by pipes running underneath the vat. After a proper amount of heat and stirring, the cheese settles to the bottom in a granulated form. The cheesemaker tests it by applying a hot iron to a small particle of cheese taken from the vat. When it strings just right it is ready and the whey is drawn off and run into a large vat out in the yard, from which the farmers haul it home and feed it to the swine...As the whey drains off the cheese combines until the small particles disappear and become one mass. Then it is ready for the moulds. The cakes are laid away in the warehouse to ripen. In about two months they are ready for use, but they improve with greater age. Some contend that cheese must be at least six months old before it is at its best.⁵³

The success of these early cheese factories seem to have rested in the use of excess product to make a longer lasting product. Other Mid-Valley cheese manufacturers relied upon the uniqueness of their product to boost sales. Such is the case of the Falls City Roquefort cheese factory, the first Roquefort cheese factory in the United States.

The First Roquefort Cheese factory in the U.S.

Because Fanny Branson, fresh from the open ranges and wide expanses of Eastern Oregon, looked out upon the wooded ranges and saw the milk goats thriving and producing splendid yields of the rich, creamy, white milk, so sweet and free from foreign flavors that it is absolutely different, and saw that the production would warrant the manufacture of cheese for commercial purposes, and because she was dissatisfied with the ordinary returns from the common square brick cheese commonly manufactured and sold as

⁵⁰ "Fruitland News," *Capital Journal*, 28 March 1916, page 6, column 2.

⁵¹ "Fruitland News," *Capital Journal*, 26 May 1916, page 6, column 2.

⁵² "Bethel News," *Capital Journal*, 27 April 1916, page 7, column 3; "Galloway makes many new citizens," *Daily Capital Journal*, 29 July 1912, page 1, column 3.

⁵³ "Garden Road Cheese Factory," *Ladd & Bush Quarterly* volume 3, no. 3 (January 1917), 27.

“Swiss cheese,” we have the domestic Roquefort cheese today that is the equal, and by many connoisseurs, pronounced the superior of any imported from France.⁵⁴

So begins the saga of the first Roquefort cheese factory in the United States. Jay S. and Fanny Lamberson Branson moved to Falls City in 1919 and purchased the Teal Farm along with their promising herd of goats. On their ranch, named Hazel Dell, the Bransons in cooperation with Avalona Teal raised Swiss Toggenburg and Saanen goats and English/Middle Eastern Nubian dairy goats. The advantage to raising goats was that they could graze on rough terrain where cows could not and were less picky about their fare. The process for making the goat-milk cheese is very similar to that described at the Garden Road Cheese factory. The goats are milked and the milk is heated. Additional steps include salting the cheese and curing it. Each of these processes had their own buildings on the farm. Ten days into the curing process, the cheese was poked with wires to allow for more air circulation and the growth of the mold that gives Roquefort cheese a distinctive pattern.⁵⁵

The Falls City Roquefort cheese factory used packaging bearing the symbol of a covered wagon. In 1925, the entire product of the factory was sold to a company in Portland. While the *Oregon Statesman* reported great things about the company in 1927, it apparently didn't last much longer.⁵⁶ By 1930, the Branson family had moved to Dallas, where Jay was employed as a car stacker in a lumber mill.⁵⁷ The timing of the company's demise seems to line up with the onset of the stock market crash and the Great Depression. These events may also have played a role in the incredible disappearance of dairy farms in the Mid-Willamette Valley.

Boom and Bust: The Decline of the Cheese Industry in and Around Salem

In looking for cheese makers in city directories for the Salem area, I began to notice an interesting pattern in the listings for dairies. In 1917, there are 27 dairies listed in the classified directory encompassing the greater part of Marion County.⁵⁸ By 1934, the City Directory has seven pages, with over 300 individual dairies listed.⁵⁹ A short 6 years later,

⁵⁴ Abigail W. Watt, “The First Roquefort Cheese Factory in the United States,” *Oregon Statesman*, 16 July 1925, page 10.

⁵⁵ Abigail W. Watt, “The First Roquefort Cheese Factory in the United States,” *Oregon Statesman*, 16 July 1925, page 10.

⁵⁶ Abigail W. Watt, “The First Roquefort Cheese Factory in the United States,” *Oregon Statesman*, 16 July 1925, page 10; “First Roquefort Cheese Factory in United States near Falls City, and Making Better Progress than Ever,” *Oregon Statesman*, 21 July 27, page 4; U.S. Census, 1920, Fall City, Polk County, Oregon.

⁵⁷ U.S. Census, 1930, Dallas, Polk County, Oregon.

⁵⁸ *Salem City Directories*. R.L Polk & Co, 1917.

⁵⁹ *Salem City Directories*. R.L Polk & Co, 1934.

the number of dairies is down to 23.⁶⁰ It is possible the editors of the city directories during these years had different criteria for who was listed and who was not listed. Such a dramatic difference, though, begs the question what happened?

Certainly the timing of this disappearance is suggestive of a relationship with the Great Depression. An increase in production leading up to the stock market crash in 1929 would explain the growth from 1917 to 1934. Pressure on mortgage-holding farm owners after the onset of the Great Depression may have caused the rapid decline. There may have been other factors, too, such as changes in technology and transportation.

Early cheese makers in the valley were motivated by making a shelf stable product and eliminating surplus milk supplies. Changes in technology that allowed people to keep foods fresher longer would eliminate a need for a constant supply of fresh product and allow products to travel longer distances. While refrigeration technology was developed in the 1890s, the use of the home refrigerator did not come into general use until the 1940s.⁶¹ The 1938 invention of an efficient refrigerated truck by Frederick McKinley Jones allowed for milk products to be trucked longer distances, an advantage to the already well established refrigerated railcar, as trucks were not bound by following rails.⁶² Perhaps these new developments led to the decline.

Early cheese makers were also motivated by falling butter prices as they looked for new ways to turn a profit. Perhaps the rapid growth of the dairying industry caused a glut in the market. Excess product from so many producers would over time reduce the cost of milk, making an individual dairy farm less profitable. The decline may have been the result of natural attrition due to market forces.

More research into this topic would be necessary to figure out the root cause of the decline in dairies. Similar to the dairy industry, references to the cheese makers in the city directory dwindle and there is no one producer that seems to be consistently marketing over long periods of time.

Mt. Angel

The disappearance of dairy farms around Marion County didn't mean that cheese production just stopped. The Mount Angel Cooperative Creamery, established in 1912, made their first cheese in 1942.⁶³ Marketed under the name Mt. Angel Rose Valley

⁶⁰ *Salem City Directories*. R.L Polk & Co, 1940-41.

⁶¹ "The Story of the Refrigerator" Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers. Washington, D.C, accessed 4 December 2013, <http://www.aham.org/ht/a/GetDocumentAction/id/1409>.

⁶² "Frederick McKinley Jones" National Inventors Hall of Fame. 2007, accessed 4 December 2013, http://www.invent.org/hall_of_fame/343.html

⁶³ "Smile When You Say Cheese Here," *Capital Journal*, 19 September 1967, special section, page 4.

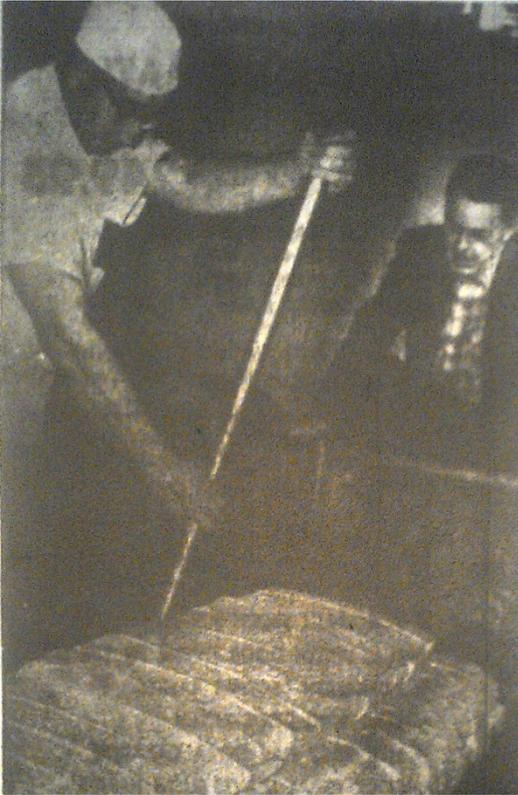


Figure 3: Mt. Angel Cooperative Creamery's head cheesemaker John (Hans) Frank, left and plant manager Joe Berchtold (right) slicing cheddar as published in the Oregon Statesman. February 26, 1960.

Cheese, their cheese was sold in the Willamette Valley and San Francisco areas. The plant made 575,000 pounds of cheese per year and was “the largest single year-round industry” in Mount Angel. The plant was operated by head cheese maker John (Hans) Frank and the company overseen by a board of directors made up of members from Mount Angel, Silverton and Salem.⁶⁴

The Mount Angel Cheese Cooperative was bought out by the Farmers Cooperative Creamery based in Carlton, Oregon in 1969.⁶⁵ They continue to use the Rose Valley brand name in marketing their butter products.⁶⁶

Cheese Today: Quality over Quantity

Today, Oregon doesn't even make the top ten list of cheese producing states in the country. (California receives that honor producing 196,289,000 lbs in the month of January in 2012.)⁶⁷ Oregon does, however, come in fifth behind Wisconsin, California, Idaho and Iowa in the production of American Type Cheeses

(which include Cheddar, Colby washed curd, stirred curd, Monterey and Jack cheeses) producing 176,802,000 lbs in the year 2012 in six plants.⁶⁸ It also makes a showing in Cottage Cheese curd production.⁶⁹

Despite its relatively low output nationally, several local factories are making a name for themselves in the niche market of artisan cheese. Following in the footsteps of F.A.

⁶⁴ Mervin Jenkins, “Mount Angel Famous for Tasty Cheese,” *Oregon Statesman*, 26 February 1960, section 3, page 16.

⁶⁵ Richard Engeman, *The Oregon Companion: An Historical Gazetteer of the Useful, the Curious, and the Arcane* (Portland: Timber Press, 2009), 111.

⁶⁶ “Rose Valley Butter,” Farmers Cooperative Creamery, 2014, www.rose-valley.org.

⁶⁷ Dairy Products 2012 Summary USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service, April 2013 <http://usda01.library.cornell.edu/usda/current/DairProdSu/DairProdSu-04-29-2013.pdf>

⁶⁸ “Total American Type Cheese Production by Month-States, US, and Regions 2012,” *Dairy Products 2012 Summary*, USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service, April 2013, <http://usda01.library.cornell.edu/usda/current/DairProdSu/DairProdSu-04-29-2013.pdf>

⁶⁹ “Cottage Cheese Curd Production by Month,” *Dairy Products 2012 Summary* USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service, April 2013, <http://usda01.library.cornell.edu/usda/current/DairProdSu/DairProdSu-04-29-2013.pdf>

Schubinger and the Branson family, this new generation of cheesemakers is providing a huge variety of rare and exotic cheeses close to home. With the awards they win, they are placing the Mid-Valley on the map again for a great place to raise dairy herds and make cheese. So next time you take a toothsome bite out of the Willamette Valley Cheese Company's award winning Horse Radish Havarti or Farmstead Gouda, take a moment to enjoy this newest revival of the strong cheese making tradition in the Mid-Willamette Valley.⁷⁰

Partial Listing of Cheese Factories in Marion County

This list was compiled from various sources and shows a listing of cheese manufacturers the author found mentioned in sources used for this article. Dates are only given if a source could be found and dashes help indicate the possibility of the manufacture happening before or after the dates listed.

Business Name	Location	Dates of Cheese Making Operations	Cheesemaker/Owner	Type
Laurence Creamery ⁷¹	Laurance	1895-1900-	George W. Weeks	Proprietorship
Laurance Cheese Factory ⁷²	Laurance	1900-	J.D. Richmond/Isaac Stevens	Co-Operative
Salem Cheese Factory ⁷³	Salem	May 1898- c. 1927	F.A. Schubinger, later Frank Waser.	Proprietary
Munker's Cheese Factory ⁷⁴	Salem	Prior to 1898		

⁷⁰ In 2010 the Willamette Valley Cheese Company placed 1st in the Flavor Added Havarti category and 3rd place in the Dutch Style, All Milks division at the American Cheese Society awards. "Awards" Willamette Valley Cheese Company, 2014, <http://www.wvcheeseco.com/awards>.

⁷¹ E.F. Pernot, "A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats," *Corvallis: Department of Bacteriology, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station*, No. 63 (November 1900): 31.

⁷² E.F. Pernot, "A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats," *Corvallis: Department of Bacteriology, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station*, No. 63 (November 1900): 31; "Larger Crowds Each Day," *Oregonian*. 22 September 1900, page 10, column 4.

⁷³ E.F. Pernot, "A Preliminary Bulletin on the Prevention of Smut on Oats," *Corvallis: Department of Bacteriology, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station*, No. 63 (November 1900): 31. Note no date is given for establishment of organization in this article; "A Delicious Treat," *Daily Capital Journal*, 21 November 1899, page 3, column 2. Date of establishment is given as about a year and a half before November 1899. *Salem City Directories*, R.L. Polk & Co, 1921, 1926-1927 and 1928-1929.

⁷⁴ "A Delicious Treat," *Daily Capital Journal*, 21 November 1899, page 3, column 2.

Silverton Cheese Factory ⁷⁵	Silverton	1917-		
Donald Cooperative Cheese Factory ⁷⁶	Donald	June 1, 1916-1918-	W.A. Gray	Co-Operative
Marion Creamery & Produce Company ⁷⁷	Salem 260 S Commercial St.	Circa 1920-1930-	Frank G. Deckebach	
Monitor Cheese Factory ⁷⁸	Monitor	Circa 1920		
Stayton Cheese Factory ⁷⁹	Stayton	-1917-1932-		
⁸⁰	Independence	Circa 1920	H.E. Rideout	
Mt. Angel Cooperative Creamery ⁸¹	Mount Angel	1942-1967- (est. 1912)*	John (Hans) Frank	Co-operative
Garden	Salem	1916-1917-	John Zoller,	Co-operative

⁷⁵ *Lincoln County Leader* (Toledo), 23 March 1917, page 4, column 5.

⁷⁶ *Ashland Tidings*, 13 July 1916, page 1, column 2; *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co, 1917, page 281; "Donald Co-Operative Cheese Factory is Now in Operation," *The Donald Record*, 16 June 1916, page 1; "Our Factory Flourishes," *The Donald Record*, 8 June 1917; "Cheese Factory to Re-Open," *The Donald Record*, 1 February 1918.

⁷⁷ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1930, 1931; "Come to Oregon," pamphlet produced by the Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, Willamette Heritage Center Collections, X2013.001.0004.003. Pamphlet quotes 1920 census data so must be published after 1920 and before the closure of Salem Cheese factory in 1927.

⁷⁸ "Come to Oregon," pamphlet produced by the Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, Willamette Heritage Center Collections, X2013.001.0004.003. Pamphlet quotes 1920 census data so must be published after 1920 and before the closure of Salem Cheese factory in 1927.

⁷⁹ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1915, 1924, 1932; "Come to Oregon," pamphlet produced by the Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, Willamette Heritage Center Collections, X2013.001.0004.003. Pamphlet quotes 1920 census data so must be published after 1920 and before the closure of Salem Cheese factory in 1927.

⁸⁰ "Come to Oregon," pamphlet produced by the Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, Willamette Heritage Center Collections, X2013.001.0004.003. Pamphlet quotes 1920 census data so must be published after 1920 and before the closure of Salem Cheese factory in 1927.

⁸¹ "Smile When You Say Cheese Here," *Capital Journal*, 19 September 1967, special section, page 4; Mervin Jenkins, "Mount Angel Famous for Tasty Cheese," *Oregon Statesman*, 26 February 1960, section 3, page 16.

Road Cheese Factory			Carl Willman	
	Hubbard ⁸²	-1915 - 1917-	D.D. Kauffman	
Imper Brothers ⁸³	Stayton	-1917-		
	Monitor ⁸⁴	1926-	Hugh Biberstine	
Santiam Cheese Company ⁸⁵	Stayton	1928-	Raleigh Harold	
Producers Milk Company Inc. ⁸⁶	Salem 153 S. Liberty Street	1935-		Co-operative
Portland Downey Cheese co. ⁸⁷	Salem 1230 State Street	1930-	Bryon D. Gardner	
	Scotts Mills ⁸⁸	c. 1889-91	Scott Thomas	

⁸² *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1917, page 281; *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1915.

⁸³ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1917, page 281.

⁸⁴ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1926-1927, 1928-1929.

⁸⁵ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1928-1929.

⁸⁶ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1935.

⁸⁷ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1930-1931.

⁸⁸ *Salem City Directory*, R.L. Polk & Co., 1889-1891.

1350 Ferry Street SE
From Soap Works to Parking Lot:
The Evolution of a Historic Salem Site
Gloria Lachelle

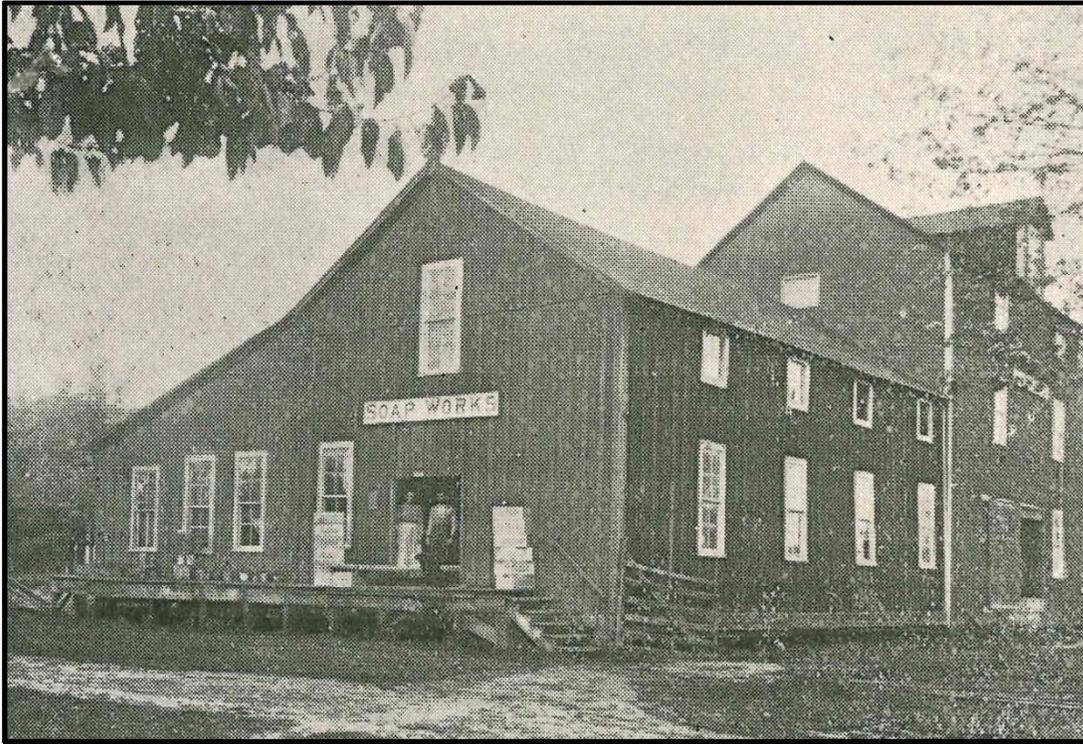


Figure 1. Capital City Soap Works Advertisement from the Ladd & Bush Quarterly Publication, circa 1906. Willamette Heritage Center, 2011.027.0025.

Abstract: The University Addition to the City of Salem consists of some fifty blocks divided into eight lots each. This article tells the story of one of those lots, tracing its evolution over the last 120 years. The first industry established on the property, founded circa 1894, was called the Salem Soap and Chemical Works. Over the years, as the property changed hands, the business evolved from soap works, to a tannery, to a fur shop, and finally to a parking lot. The work of each generation earning a living on this site reflected the way of life, fashions, and trends of their respective times.

Drivers stepping out of their cars onto the parking lot at 1350 Ferry Street SE probably see the site as just another stretch of asphalt. Three blocks east of the Oregon State Capitol, and within walking distance of other State buildings, the location provides convenient parking for people with work or business in this area of Salem. Like other parking lots in central Salem, the site on Ferry Street was not always what it is today.

All of Salem was originally called Chemeketa, the winter “Resting Place” of the Kalapuya. The first non-native people to arrive in the area, in the early 1800s, were mostly fur trappers, many of them from Canada. The trappers were followed by Methodist missionaries, primarily from the eastern United States, who founded the Indian Manual Training School which later became Willamette University. In 1853, in accordance with the 1850 Oregon Land Donation Act, Willamette University gained title to fifty blocks of land south of State Street. These fifty blocks, roughly twelve of which form the University campus, are known as the University Addition to the City of Salem.

The eight-lot blocks outside the University campus became part of Willamette’s Endowment. As the University struggled to establish itself—and Willamette’s early decades presented its founders with bitter struggles—the Endowment properties were gradually sold off. Sales of individual lots helped cover University expenses, fund Willamette’s growth, and pay interest on its debts.¹ In the fall of 1873 the site now designated as 1350 Ferry Street SE was sold for \$200.² Over the course of the next 140 years the evolution of this site has accompanied, reflected, and participated in the story of Salem.

The Salem Soap & Chemical Works

The first private owners of the lot on Ferry Street may have used it for storage. Later reference to an “old warehouse”³ suggests that this may have been the first structure to appear on the site. Proximity to the Southern Pacific Railroad, which arrived in Salem in 1872, may also have affected the property’s use. Serious economic use of the property does not come into focus until the early 1890s when industrial expansion into the area awakened the interest of business-minded investors and entrepreneurs.

In the summer of 1892 a soap manufacturer from Oregon City arrived in Salem with the idea of building a soap factory. Joseph Kuerton, in the soap business for over 25 years, recognized the city of Salem as a vibrant potential market. In addition to its growing

¹ Robert Moulton Gatke, *Chronicles of Willamette: The Pioneer University of the West* (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1943), 315-17.

² Marion County Records and Deeds of Property Sales. 1873, volume 16, page 332. Lots 3 and 4 of Block 35 were initially sold together for \$400. The focus of this article is on Lot 3.

³ *Evening Capital Journal*, July 19, 1892, page 3, column 2.

population of over 10,000, the state capital was home to at least two important state-run institutions that did a lot of laundry and would have an interest in buying soap.⁴ The Oregon State Penitentiary and the Oregon State Insane Asylum, now the Oregon State Hospital, could well become reliable customers for his various soap products.

Salem offered additional advantages for soap manufacturing in the form of transportation and access to other markets. The Southern Pacific Railroad running through the city would facilitate the transport of goods and supplies. River traffic along the Willamette would reach wholesale markets in Portland. Salem's Board of Trade Committee was also interested in having the soap works come to town. When Mr. Kuerton requested funding to help him and his partners purchase the building site, the Board of Trade Committee agreed to raise \$750.⁵ The influential Asahel Bush II, founder of Salem's Ladd & Bush Bank, would also provide one of Mr. Kuerton's partners with a \$1500 loan to cover the remaining cost of the property. (In the space of twenty years the value of the lot on Ferry Street had risen from \$200 to \$2000.)

Mr. Kuerton was especially pleased with the property he had selected.⁶ The Ferry Street site, between 13th and 14th Streets, was ideally suited for a soap works. The railroad tracks ran just one block to the west. A millrace flowed along the eastern side of the property. Proximity to rail transportation and an abundance of flowing water made the site perfect. The Thomas Kay Woolen Mill, another of Salem's newest industries, was located on the south side of the property, just across the alley. All the elements for a successful enterprise were falling into place: a vibrant and growing market, transportation to other markets, support from the city's Board of Trade, a loan from the bank, and a perfect location. By midsummer of 1892 construction of the soap works was already underway.⁷

A three-story wooden structure was built to house the factory itself. A smaller two-story building facing Ferry Street would serve as the office. There was also a room for cutting the soaps into bars and space for storage. While the builders were at work Mr. Kuerton set about ordering the necessary equipment: mixers, molds, presses, a boiler, a 50,000 pound capacity kettle, and giant tanks for storing the sodium hydroxide (lye).⁸ Tools, machinery and implements were all top quality. The new company was named the Salem Soap & Chemical Works.

Soap manufactured in the nineteenth century often contained animal by-products, especially tallow, a substance made from animal fat. With his eye on the upcoming State

⁴ *Evening Capital Journal*, July 2, 1892, page 3, column 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Evening Capital Journal*, June 27, 1892, page 3, column 6.

⁷ *Evening Capital Journal*, July 19, 1892, page 3, column 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Fair, Mr. Kuerton set out to purchase all of the tallow he could lay his hands on.⁹ His efforts were successful and by September the Soap Works was able to put on a grand display of bath soaps, scented soaps, medicinal soaps, and laundry soaps at the Oregon State Fair.¹⁰ It wasn't long before Mr. Kuerton had earned a name for himself as the "Salem Soap Man."¹¹

Despite the initial success of his business, however, Mr. Kuerton chose not to remain in Salem. In 1894, just two years after founding the Soap & Chemical Works, he returned to his job supervising a soap company in Oregon City.¹² Ownership and management of the Salem Soap Works passed to his partners, Lewis and Frank Verhaag.

Two years after taking charge of the company, while on a trip to Portland, Frank Verhaag, the new manager of the Soap Works, was arrested.¹³ The charges against him included two counts of forgery and one count of obtaining money under false pretenses. Mr. Verhaag had been using at least two different aliases and was arrested with another forged check on his person.¹⁴ Found guilty in the Multnomah County Circuit Court on both counts of forgery, Frank Verhaag was sentenced to five years at Salem's State Penitentiary,¹⁵ one of the State Institutions which Mr. Kuerton had hoped would purchase his laundry soap.

Not surprisingly, the company books also showed signs of improper management.¹⁶ Failure to repay the \$1500 loan to Asahel Bush had caused the foreclosure of the property.¹⁷ Although the charge of obtaining money under false pretenses had been dismissed by the Multnomah County Police, the Salem banker was not inclined to look the other way. It took several months, but Mr. Bush succeeded in recovering the monies owed to him; after paying a token sum of two dollars for the Ferry Street property, Bush sold it five days later for \$2050¹⁸ thereby recovering his loss, with interest.

The first business established at the Ferry Street location had gotten off to a bumpy start. With its former manager now serving time at the State Penitentiary, the Salem Soap & Chemical Works were extinguished. But the office, factory, machinery, tools, and

⁹ *Evening Capital Journal*, July 19, 1892, page 3, column 2.

¹⁰ *Evening Capital Journal*, September 9, 1892, page 3, column 2.

¹¹ *Evening Capital Journal*, January 31, 1893, page 3, column 4.

¹² *Oregon Courier*, August 3, 1894, page 3, column 2.

¹³ *Oregon City Courier*, July 10, 1896, page 5, column 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Daily Capital Journal*, September 19, 1896, page 4, column 3.

¹⁶ *Daily Capital Journal*, September 17, 1896, page 4, column 3.

¹⁷ Marion county Records of Deeds and Property Sales. 1893, volume 57, page 514.

¹⁸ Marion County Records of Deeds and Property Sales. 1897, volume 59, page 315 and volume 65 page 96.

equipment of the Soap Works remained on the property and the company was soon registered under a new name.

Capital Soap Works

By 1897, the year Capital Soap Works was duly incorporated, the operation on Ferry Street was not only manufacturing soap; the site also included a tannery. Whether the tannery was part of the original plan, or whether it was added later is not clear, but the Soap Works and tannery were soon functioning side by side as elements of the same enterprise. The soap factory produced cleaning products, while the tannery was turning out rugs.

Before wall-to-wall carpeting and other synthetic floor coverings became readily available, people decorated the floors of their homes with area rugs. Often these rugs were made from animal hides; bearskin, sheepskin, and angora goatskins were all popular. These were the kinds of rugs being produced at the tannery on Ferry Street.

Over the next six years the Capital Soap Works and tannery were owned by three different individuals whose interest in the business seemed primarily speculative. The first, a real estate broker, bought and sold properties all over Salem.¹⁹ The second held the Soap Works for a year then sold it for a profit.²⁰ The third buyer was not looking for a quick return; Chris Lachele wanted a place where he could work and earn a living. Activity on the Ferry Street site shifted into high gear when it was purchased by this immigrant from the Wurttemberg region of Germany.

When Germans discuss the regional characteristics and attributes of their fellow countrymen, the people of Wurttemberg are often credited, and sometimes teased, as being particularly industrious and attached to the work ethic: *Schaffe, schaffe, Häusle baue!* “Work, work, and build a little house.” This is a phrase that will frequently occur in any conversation with Germans on the subject of Wurttemberg. Hard work and the determination to build one’s own house is the characteristic most often associated with the people from this region of southwestern Germany.

Chris Lächele, originally from a village in Wurttemberg, figured among the millions of Germans who immigrated to the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century. From Ellis Island he worked his way west, and eventually arrived in Salem by way of California. In the winter of 1903 he purchased half of the Capital Soap Works.²¹ Three

¹⁹ The real estate broker was Mr. Fred Hurst.

²⁰ Marion County Records and Deeds of Sales. 1897, volume 59, page 315 and volume 65, page 96.

²¹ Marion County Records of Deeds and Property Sales. 1903, volume 82, page 5.

months later his younger brother Karl purchased the other half.²² By 1906 the Soap Works were reportedly “running full blast.”²³

“The Jumbo,” “Our Daisy,” “Best Savon” and “Pride of Oregon” figured among their various brands. Mild soaps, called “toilet soaps,” were intended for personal use. Heavier soaps were used for other cleaning needs. “Capital Cleanser,” a cleaning paste made from mineral salt and vegetable curd, was guaranteed to clean glass, brass, silverware, and all kinds of machinery without scratching. Households, machine shops, and stores would all find uses for the cleanser made in Salem and distributed by a company in Seattle. In a comment that sounds almost contemporary, Chris points out that his Capital Cleanser would contain “no animal fat of any kind.”²⁴

Meanwhile, the tannery side of the operation worked exclusively with products made from animals. Sheepskins, goatskins, bearskins, rabbit pelts, squirrel pelts—animal hides and pelts of all kinds were tanned and sold on site. Rugs made from the hides of longhaired angora goats were in such demand that Chris gave his business an additional name: the Angora Rug Company. In addition to the rugs, the tannery produced high-quality leather and carried out a variety of other jobs. Hunters wishing to display their deer antlers could have the heads mounted. At a time when Salem was still “wild and wooly” the tannery also produced chaps, the fleecy leg coverings traditionally worn by cowboys. A publicity photo from the early 1900s shows the Capital Soap Works marketing its products by horse-drawn wagon.

The two boys mounted on ponies are sporting cowboy hats and chaps. Two more little boys sitting on top of the wagon are wearing Indian feathers, evidence of the days when children played “Cowboys and Indians.” The sign, partially covered by the angora rugs, identifies the business as “Capital Soap Works: Tanning of Furs and Leather.” The letters “FE,” faintly visible behind the bearskins, probably indicate the location of the business on Ferry Street.

Chris eventually purchased his brother’s share of the business, partnered for a while with another tanner, then later ran the Capital Soap Works and Angora Rug Company on his own. By 1916 his businesses were doing so well Chris was able to purchase a Ford.²⁵ Although the Model T had already been manufactured for eight years, ownership of the “automobile for the average man” was still enough of a novelty in Salem to be reported in

²² Marion County Records of Deeds and Property Sales. 1903, volume 82, page 315.

²³ *Daily Capital Journal*, September 22, 1906, page 10, column 3.

²⁴ *Daily Capital Journal*, September 21, 1915, page 5, column 4.

²⁵ *Daily Capital Journal*, November 6, 1916, page 8, column 3.

the local newspaper. That same year Chris purchased the property next to the Soap Works²⁶ and built his “little house.”

The house Chris built looked different from the others in the neighborhood. Instead of wood, he preferred to use a more solid-looking cement-like material covered with tiny stones. Married, with a growing family, the house was also not so “little.” It provided ample living space, a basement with a storage room for preserves, and a separate upstairs apartment that could be rented out.



Figure 2. Wagon decorated with the Capital Soap Works logo. From the author's personal collection.

The Angora Rug & Fur Company

The story of Salem sometimes reads like a series of devastating fires. The most memorable of Salem's fires, the burning of the State Capitol, occurred in 1935. But well before the capitol building burned down, numerous other structures of importance had also gone up in flames. Oregon's first Statehouse burned down in 1855. The Indian Manual Training School, built by city founder Jason Lee and in its time the most impressive building in the whole territory, burned down in 1872. Willamette University's renowned Waller Hall was severely damaged by fire twice. Salem's first woolen mill burned down, and the same happened to Salem's second woolen mill. So many of Salem's downtown hotels were destroyed by fire it became almost routine. At a time

²⁶ Marion County Records of Deeds and Property Sales. 1916, volume 140, page 432.

when most structures were made of wood, every building was vulnerable. It is no surprise that the Capital Soap Works eventually suffered the same fate.

The fire on Ferry Street brought the Capital Soap Works to an end. The equipment, probably damaged beyond repair, would not be replaced. Instead of rebuilding the soap factory, Chris focused his efforts on the tannery. The angora rugs were still popular and customers were increasingly interested in furs. He rebuilt the tannery and gave his business a new name: the Angora Rug & Fur Company. He also built a completely new workplace.

The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of rapid technological advances. Daily life was increasingly being affected by the growing use of machinery. Airplanes, automobiles, electricity, and typewriters were all changing the way people lived and worked. The architectural response to the growing importance of machinery was a style later known as Art Deco. Elements of this style, which emphasized simplicity of line, order, harmony and symmetry, were incorporated into Chris's new shop. Gone was the rough and tumble wooden structure that had housed the old Soap Works. In its place rose a stucco building of clean lines and ordered symmetry. The use of stucco as opposed to wood or brick may have been influenced by Chris's years in California.



Figure 3. The Angora Rug & Fur Company with Thomas Kay Woolen Mill smokestacks in the background circa 1920. From the author's personal collection.

A photograph shows the Angora Rug & Fur Company as it appeared in the early 1920s. Chris's Model T is parked next to the shop. The windows of the tannery appear on the

right behind the carport. The smokestacks in the background are those of the Thomas Kay Woolen Mill, now the Willamette Heritage Center *at the Mill*.

The name Lächele originated in Germany's Wurttemberg where the "le" suffix is characteristic of words and names from that region. In the dialect of Wurttemberg an "le" at the end of word, combined with an umlaut, acts as a diminutive. The word *Häusle*, for example, means "little house;" and the name *Lächele* translates as "little smile." When he arrived in the United States, Chris dropped the umlaut, but otherwise left the spelling of his name unchanged. His wife Mary had other ideas.

Mary preferred to spell her married name with a double "l" at the end. Adding the extra "l" made the name easier to pronounce; but more importantly, the modified spelling transformed the character of the name from traditional Wurttemberg-German into elegant French. While her husband worked in the tannery, Mary dealt with the customers many of whom were ladies interested in buying furs. Mary believed that a French-sounding name was especially well suited to a business increasingly concerned with fashion. Chris apparently had no objection. The sign on his new shop called it the Angora Rug & Fur Company; but the cursive writing on the front entrance read: Lachelle's Fur Shoppe.

However others might choose to write his name, Chris Lächele remained true to the traditions of his native Wurttemberg. He worked hard, built his "little house," and never retired. He died in 1938 at the age of 72 from an accident at the tannery.

Lachelle's Furs

Mary Elbert Lachelle was Canadian, originally from a small town in Ontario. She was 58 when her husband died, leaving her with the house and the fur shop. Now that Chris was gone, the tannery closed and the rug-making activity ceased. The Angora Rug & Fur Company sign remained on the shop for a while, but was eventually removed. In its place a new sign appeared: Lachelle's Fur Shop.

Widowed, with three sons all living far away, Mary proceeded to run the Fur Shop on her own. Over the years, working with her husband, Mary had learned a lot about furs. Mink, ermine, muskrat, Persian lamb, and mouton lamb figured among the furs most favored by her customers. The sleek quality of mink; the pure white of ermine; the thick, dense muskrat; the black coils of Persian lamb; and the warm, brown lushness of the moutons. Each fur had its unique qualities and its price. The mink, of course, was the most expensive; the moutons (made from sheep) were somewhat more economical. But all of the furs, regardless of price, were soft, warm and desirable. Furs were a sign of elegance and status.

Many women dreamed of owning a fur coat, but furs were expensive and not everyone was able to afford them. A fur coat in the mid-1940s could cost anywhere from \$99 to

\$400, a considerable amount of money at the time. Purchasing a fur coat was not like buying another piece of clothing, a fur coat was an investment.

Lachelle's Furs worked with every kind of fur garment: full-length coats, jackets, stoles, scarves, muffs, foxtail collars, and anything else the customer might have in mind. Since furs were an investment and fashions were constantly changing, customers often wished to have their coats altered or remodeled. The remodeling and alteration of fur coats figured among the shop's specialties, along with repairs, cleaning, and glazing. Glazing, a process which involves spraying a solution on the fur and wiping it with a clean cloth, was important to keep the coats looking shiny and luxurious.



Figure 4. Mary Lachelle standing in the snow in front of the Lachelle's Fur Shop sign circa 1947. The photo was taken on Ferry Street SE looking towards 12th Street. The small sign visible in the background is for an Assembly of God. From the author's personal collection.

Fur coats also looked better and lasted longer when they were properly protected over the summer. As an additional service to her customers, Mary had a large refrigerated vault added to the shop. The Cold Fur Storage quickly became another important part of her business. As many as 3000 furs were stored in the vault along with other items that needed special care. A feathered Indian headdress worn on special occasions by Oregon's governor was also kept in the refrigerated vault alongside the furs.

August was Mary's busiest month, and traditionally the busiest time of year for all furriers. August was the month of fur sales when furriers would clear out their stock and get their new coats ready for winter. Mary purchased her stock from furriers based outside of Salem, some as far away as New York. Her main competitors in Salem were the department stores which also carried fur coats. But the larger stores were unable to offer their customers the

same amount of personal attention and services available at the shop on Ferry Street.

The amount of work at the shop required the hiring of seamstresses and another furrier. Ben Wittner, a professional furrier, would later become Mary's business partner. While Ben cut pelts in the workspace downstairs, the seamstresses stitched linings, attached hooks and eyes, and worked with the sewing machines upstairs.

Another important aspect of the business was advertising. A billboard outside Salem called the attention of drivers to the cold fur storage. Fur ads also appeared in the Salem *Statesman* newspaper. Sometimes the fur coat ads spoke of economy, as during the August fur sales, but usually the emphasis was on elegance and fashion. Mary became a member of the Zonta Club, an association of businesswomen, of whom many were undoubtedly her customers. She always made a point of dressing well herself in order to live up to her shop's slogans: "Furs of Distinction" and "Serving Salem's Finest."

Personal attention, combined with remodeling, altering, repairing, cleaning and storage of furs made Lachelle's Fur Shop a successful business. Among her satisfied customers was the wife of Oregon governor Douglas McKay and the mother of future governor Mark Hatfield. When Mark Hatfield was elected Oregon governor in 1958, Mary remembered him as a small boy coming into the shop with his mother.

The Yard

The front entrance of the Fur Shop faced Ferry Street, and most customers entering the shop would see only the front and the inside. The reception area was carpeted, furnished with a sofa and chairs, and resembled a kind of living room. The part of the shop that customers usually did not see was the back.

An open veranda ran along the back of the shop facing a large backyard. The open veranda, like the use of stucco, may also have reflected Chris's years spent in Santa Cruz. Mary and her seamstresses enjoyed sitting outside on the veranda or in the backyard, listening to the sound of the millrace. The yard was normally a place for gardening and relaxation, but in the 1940s it was mobilized for the war effort.

When the United States entered the Second World War, Americans on the home front were encouraged to contribute to the war effort by producing food. Across the United States people began planting "Victory Gardens." Vacant lots, backyards, and any sizeable lawn were recruited into the national effort to increase food production. One of Mary's nephews who grew beans south of Salem may have suggested or perhaps helped her plant a patch of pole beans. The green beans became Mary's contribution to the war effort along with the service of two of her sons. Her eldest was past the age of service, but her

middle son served as a navy musician. Musicians were needed to boost and maintain morale, while her youngest served as a radio operator on a Liberty Ship.

When the war years were over and her garden had made its small contribution to the victory, Mary replaced the green beans with rosebushes, a tulip tree, and other flowering plants. Petunias grew alongside the millrace. Dahlias bloomed along the driveway. Zinnias brightened the side of the house. Variegated ivy grew around the shop's back veranda. The branches of a weeping willow caressed the water of the millrace and offered shade.

For 34 years Mary Lachelle worked alongside her husband and helped him run his businesses. For 23 years she ran the Fur Shop on her own. At the age of 81 she decided it was time to retire. She continued to live at the house next door where she could keep an eye on the shop and work in her yard. Management of Lachelle's Furs was turned over to her business partner and furrier, Ben Wittner. Under his management Lachelle's Furs would remain in business for another ten years, but the market was already changing. By the mid-1960s demand for fur coats had begun to decline. Customers were increasingly turning their attention to what was widely referred to as "fake fur."

When the first synthetic furs appeared on the market they did not win immediate acceptance. "Fake fur" was initially regarded as an inferior substitute for people who couldn't afford the real thing. Genuine fur exuded elegance; fake fur looked "cheap." Nevertheless, as synthetic furs began to improve, consumers couldn't help noting the undeniable advantages: synthetic furs were just as warm as real furs, but considerably less expensive. The synthetics did not require cold storage or any other kind of special care. Synthetic furs could be sewn and repaired without the use of special machines. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, synthetic furs did not involve the use of animal skins and pelts.

Fur trappers were among the first non-native peoples to arrive in the Pacific Northwest. Trappers working for the Hudson's Bay Company came to Oregon in search of coveted and highly-valued beaver pelts. The fur trade was so important to Oregon's early history that the beaver became our State Animal whose image on Oregon's flag symbolizes the importance of furs to our state's heritage. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and other peoples of the Pacific Northwest also relied heavily on animal pelts and buckskin to protect them through the winters.

By the latter part of the twentieth century, however, as new ways of keeping warm became widely available, the slaughter of fur-bearing animals for the fur industry became controversial. Disturbing images of animals caught in traps raised questions about the



Figure 5. Mary Lachelle seated in the yard behind her shop circa 1960. From the author's personal collection.

ethics of trapping. Animals confined in cages on cramped, overcrowded “fur farms” did not fare much better. Growing awareness of how fur-bearing animals were treated, and the often brutal ways in which they were killed, began to alter the public’s perception of fur. Luxurious fur coats of many pelts, once regarded as the epitome of style, became seen as evidence of cruelty towards animals. Activists favoring Animal Rights grew increasingly vocal, and in some cases militant.

But the changing attitudes towards the rights and welfare of animals did not affect Lachelle’s Fur Shop. Its customers did not need to struggle with their consciences or question the ethics of wearing a fur coat. By 1971, long before Animal Rights became a national issue, Lachelle’s Furs had closed. And the shop on Ferry Street, instead of being preserved as an example of an important architectural style, was reduced to rubble.



Figure 6. View of parking lot at 1350 Ferry St SE with the Salem-Keizer School District building across the street in 1980. From the author's personal collection.

The Parking Lot

The decade between 1960 and 1970 saw a dramatic rise in the population of Salem. In only ten years the number of residents grew from under 50,000 to more than 68,000. The rapid growth of the city brought new needs and major changes to the capital, among them the Central Salem Development Plan. Launched in 1971, the Development Plan

transformed the appearance of Salem's downtown. Buildings dating from the turn of the century vanished while whole city blocks were leveled and completely rebuilt.

The Development Plan did not affect 1350 Ferry Street SE directly, but the site was affected indirectly. A diversion of water from the millrace to the fountains of Pringle Park caused the old waterway to become narrower. The millrace which had previously flowed swiftly through the Ferry Street property began to move slowly. The sound of rushing water at that location went silent.

It was in the context of these developments and in response to the growing demand for parking that the Fur Shop was demolished. Chris Lachele's solid-looking "little house" was also torn down. The weeping willow beside the millrace became firewood. The yard with its tulip tree, rosebushes, dahlias, and other flowering plants was paved over. In 1980 the property became a parking lot.

From the time it was first acquired by Willamette University, and then sold by the University to help pay its debts, the lot at 1350 Ferry Street SE has participated in the evolving story of Salem. Since 1892 when Joseph Kuerton established his Soap Works, the site has provided the people of its community with a variety of goods and services: toilet soaps and laundry products, cleansers for kitchens and machinery, angora rugs to decorate their homes, chaps for cowboys, green beans for the war effort, and fur coats for fashionable ladies. These products all reflected the trends, needs, and desires of the times in which they were produced. Each change said something about the way of life in Oregon's capital. And for now, until future changes result in another use, the site at 1350 Ferry Street SE provides drivers with a place to park their cars.

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The Resurgence of Hops

Megan Lallier-Barron, Albany Regional Museum



Figure 1. Hop pickers' camp at James Seavey's hopyard and ranch on the McKenzie River north of Springfield, Oregon c. 1914. Scene shows men, women and children gathered in front of rows of canvas tents, hop dryer and Coburg Hills are in background. Lane County Historical Museum Collection SM284.

Abstract: The hop industry has been a major part of Oregon's agricultural history. The Willamette Valley in particular has had an extensive network of farms where thousands of pounds of hops were harvested every season. Not only has this industry historically made a substantial impact on the Valley's economy, it has also embedded itself in the cultural fabric of many communities. Using three case studies to highlight the various economic and cultural impacts hop growing has had on the region, this article explores the lasting historical impact hop growing has had in the region, as well as examines the various innovations that have occurred to the crop in this area. In Lane County, documents and an oral histories collection from the Seavey Hop Yard, north of Springfield, Oregon provide a snapshot of the pre-prohibition hop industry. Established in 1930, Oregon State University's hop breeding program, in partnership with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, showcases the botanical innovations of the industry. Finally, looking at the resurgence of hop growing in the Valley after the boom of the craft brewing industry in the 1980s shows the new age of hops in the Willamette Valley.

For many in the Willamette Valley, *Humulus lupulus*, more commonly known as hops, has deep connections. Not only have the many varieties of hops affected tastes in beer, the plant itself has impacted the lives of many individuals in the area. Referred to by some as *Hoptopia*, the Willamette Valley has been responsible for the production of

millions of pounds of hops from the 1850s to the present. From the individuals whose families picked hops every summer, to the craft brewers who grew, and continue to grow, their own hops to add to their beer, the hop industry has been more than an economic driving force in the area. The cultivation of hops in the Valley has shaped cultural history and individuals' connection to the land, and has sparked industrial and scientific innovations. It has become much more than work for the people involved in this industry, it has become a passion.

The earliest occurrence of hop growing in Oregon was mainly for medicinal purposes or for use in food products like bread. The eight pounds grown in 1849 were mainly used in bread starters by pioneers. The hops were also sewn into pillows to promote restful sleep.¹ While there is a long history of hops being added to beer in Europe and in the United States, larger scale growing of hops in the Northwest for brewing would not occur until a decade later, with most of the processed hops going to two main breweries in the Portland, Oregon and Vancouver, Washington areas. The first large scale production of hops in Oregon was in Polk and Lane Counties, by Adam Wiesner in Buena Vista, and George Leasure outside Eugene, respectively. Both of these hop yards used rootstock from Wisconsin. These two operations were just the beginning of what would later become a large and prosperous industry in the Valley.

The 1870s through the turn of the twentieth century saw an explosion of farmers growing hops in addition to their other crops. Not only was more acreage being devoted to hop cultivation, the processing of the plant was also evident in the form of hop kilns constructed around the Valley. This trend towards crop diversification from farmers was characteristic of this period in Oregon agricultural history. Even though the price of hops fluctuated greatly during this time, many farmers decided to add the crop to their farms in hopes of also adding additional income, despite the fact that many saw hops as a specialty crop.² In particular, the period between the 1880s and the 1890s saw considerable growth in the hop growing industry, with Lane County initially taking the lead in hop production for the state with Linn, Marion and Polk counties following close behind.³ By 1895, Marion County took the lead in hop production in the state, with more than eight million bushels grown.⁴

Seavey Hop Farms

One of the most prominent hop producers in the Valley was the Seavey family. Alexander Seavey immigrated to Oregon in 1850 and eventually settled in the Springfield area of Lane County on a 160-acre farm. He expanded his farm in 1883 in order to grow hops;

¹ Herbert B. Nelson, "The Vanishing Hop-Driers of the Willamette Valley," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 64 No.3 (Fall 1968), 267.

² Jack H. Blok, *The Evolution of Agricultural Resource Use Strategies in the Willamette Valley*, PhD dissertation, Oregon State University, 1973, 76-79.

³ Michael A. Tomlan, *Tinged with Gold: Hop Culture in the United States*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 32.

⁴ Rick Minor and Kathryn Anne Toepel, "Cultural Resource Overview of the BLM Lakeview District." in *South-Central Oregon: Archaeology, Ethnography, History*, (University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 16, 1979), 126-127.

twenty-five acres at first. In the following years he would increase the size to 150 acres.⁵ Seavey continued to grow hops on his farm while raising his family of eight, several of whom followed their father into the hop business. When Seavey died in 1908, three of his sons, James, John and Jesse, divided their familial lands in Lane County and also expanded their hop growing enterprises into Benton and Clackamas Counties.

The Seavey family excelled in various areas of the hop production and distribution processes. James Seavey operated hop yards along the McKenzie River, as well as along the Willamette River in Corvallis. Partnering with J.J. Metzler in 1905, Seavey began brokering hop purchases in domestic and international markets. James' son, Alex, took a different approach to the hop business. Focusing on the technical side of hop growing, Alex developed mechanical devices to be used during picking, as well as some to be used in hop kilns, that streamlined processing.⁶ James' brother, Jesse, was also responsible for innovations in the hop industry, including constructing balers to be used after the hops were dried.

Even though the Seavey family introduced and implemented various improvements to the hop industry, there was still a need for a large workforce to help plant, pick, cure and sell the thousands of pounds of hops produced annually. The Seavey hop yards were one of the many examples of hop operations during this time period. A closer examination of their annual picking season offers the opportunity to investigate the approach that farmers used in employing individuals during the picking season and the cultural impact that the season had on the community.

A Working Vacation

The field, filled with pickers, was an interesting sight. In one row a man and his wife picked together while small children crawled around in the dirt at their feet; over a little was a woman with six offspring picking in her basket; just beyond was a giddy girl with a forward boy she had met on the train- both picking away and passing cheap compliments; away to the right was a red-cheeked German girl crying already because her clumsy fingers made work slow; near her were two bright high-school girls eager to earn money for clothes; not far away was a widow of nearly fifty with her aged mother, making small headway with the hops; I taught them what I had learned and then things went better.⁷

To pick the amount of hops produced every year in the Willamette Valley, laborers from urban areas descended on hop yards throughout the area from the 1870s onward. The start of the hop picking season in early August was marked by hundreds of individuals and families who would travel from major metropolitan areas such as Eugene, Salem and

⁵ Sekora, Lynda, *Historic American Engineering Record, James W. Seavey Hop Driers*.1991, 9.

⁶ *Ibid*, 10.

⁷ Annie Marion MacLean, "With Oregon Hop Pickers," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 15 No. 1 (July 1909), 91.



Figure 2. Hop pickers, known as the "Dustin Bunch", at James Seavey's hopyard, c. 1914. Like many women during this time period, they wore long sleeved dresses, gloves, and wide brim hats in order to protect themselves from the hop vines as well as the summer sun. Lane County Historical Museum Collection SM199.

Portland to nearby hop fields in Lane, Marion and Polk Counties, sometimes on special trains. As described by Annie Marion MacLean, the "Hop Special" brought individuals from Portland to hop fields in Independence, Oregon. "There were men and women and children, scores and scores of them belonging in family groups, and, in addition, several hundred young men and women off for a lark with a chance to make some money."⁸ Upon arrival, these groups would pitch tents or stay in cabins on site. At the Edmunson hop yards in Goshen in Lane County, annual crews of 100 to 150 individuals stayed on the property during the hop picking season.⁹ Day laborers were also transported from nearby areas to pick hops, returning home in the evening. At the Seavey hop yards in Springfield, hop pickers had the option of arriving by a ferry operated by the Seavey family. This ferry was comprised of a simple platform with rails on two sides which

⁸ Ibid 84-85.

⁹ Jim Edmunson, "The Edmunson Hop Yards of Early Goshen," *Lane County Historian* Vol. 29 No. 2 (Summer 1984), 45.

crossed the McKenzie River. Others arrived day-to-day by bus that would transport pickers up in the early morning and drop them off in the evening.¹⁰

These groups of people were a mixture of genders, social classes, and ethnicities. Although some hop farmers might have preferred to only employ white families, many regularly employed Native Americans, African Americans, and recent Asian immigrants. “Hop yards became a common meeting place of social and cultural diversity, mixed with a potpourri of foods, games, and songs of various races and ethnicities in the noise of the harvest nights.”¹¹ While many have recounted an almost romantic “paid vacation” that cast-off the social and cultural restraints of everyday life, the rigorous work schedule and workforce segregation should not be ignored. As recalled by Hazel Kienzle, members of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs would arrive at the hop yard every year to pick hops for the season. “It was very poor country then and all of the Indians badly needed money to survive. They were given a ten dollar bill by Grandfather [Alexander Seavey] and were told they could keep it until they failed to come and pick hops in the Seavey hop yards.”¹² While Native Americans were welcomed in by hop farmers during the picking season, they were often segregated from the rest of the pickers, staying in their own separate campgrounds on the farm. Depending on the hop farm, these individuals may also have been paid less per pound than their white counterparts.

There were a number of positions individuals filled during the hop picking season. One of the most romanticized was the hop picker. “During the hop picking it was the most romantic time of the year. Everybody gets all excited about going hop picking and all of the young people, that was their vacation. And the big romantic splurge was sort of an isolated area...”¹³ The main workforce of the harvest season, hop pickers would work up and down the tall rows of hops, picking the cones off of the vines and placing them into their baskets. The wiremen would lower the wires from the trellis down so that pickers could reach the entire vine. Once a basket was full, pickers would shout “box full,” after which a section boss would empty the hops into a burlap sack that would be weighed. Then the boss would present the picker with a ticket that would later be exchanged for their wages.¹⁴ Hop farmers wanted clean baskets of hops, devoid of any leaves or stems. Any basket found with extra material in it would be dumped out before weighing and the picker would have to clean out the stems, leaves, dirt and any other matter found in the basket. Since the wage of the picker was determined by the weight of the hops they picked, there were several individuals who attempted to increase their earnings through increasing the weight of their baskets. While many had leaves and stems in their baskets due to carelessness, others were much more nefarious in their attempts to increase their daily wage. Worker Jim Edmundson noted:

¹⁰ Holly Parker, interview by April Severson, June 23, 1976, Lane County Historical Society, Eugene, Oregon.

¹¹ P.A. Kopp, "'Hop fever' in the Willamette Valley: The Local and Global Roots of a Regional Specialty Crop," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 112 No. 4 (Winter 2011), 426.

¹² Hazel Kienzle, “Hop-picking Indians.” *Lane County Historian*; Vol 33 No. 3 (1988), 61.

¹³ Holly Parker, interview by April Severson, June 23, 1976, Lane County Historical Society, Eugene, Oregon.

¹⁴ Freda Jenkins, “You Picked What?” Independence Heritage Museum Archives, (September 1993), 35-36.

One woman had an unpleasant habit of relieving herself while sitting astride a hop basket. The sodden hops weighed considerably more, and the crews were wise and kept a sharp lookout for the woman. ‘We even caught her once doing it,’ Edmunson recalled with a chuckle. ‘That was it for her.’¹⁵

Successful hop pickers quickly and cleanly worked their way through the rows of hops either on their own or in familial groups. In addition to hop pickers, wiremen and section bosses, a workforce dedicated to the processing of hops was necessary for brewing. Once the hops were picked and weighed, the burlap sacks were brought to hop houses or kilns where they would be dried and baled. Using specially designed multi-level kilns, workers would lay the hops out on the drying floor consisting of wooden slats and burlap. Beneath this floor was a furnace that was kept at a constant temperature for even-drying. The hops would be turned at least once during the slow process of drying and could be dangerous work if it was a wooden hop house. Given the temperature needed for drying, fires in hop houses were not uncommon. Once the drying process was complete, the hops would be transferred to cooling bins and later baled for sale.¹⁶

The Science of Hop Growing: The OSU Hop Breeding Program

While the First World War and Prohibition in the United States led to record lows in hop prices and sales during the first part of the twentieth century, one of the biggest problems that the hop industry faced in the Willamette Valley (and across the country) was disease. Downy mildew and other pests, including hop aphids and spider mites, threatened Oregon’s most predominant specialty crop. The varieties used in hop fields in the Valley originally came from much older breeds of hops derived from European strains. Popular among hop farmers in the Valley were English and Early Clusters, and Fuggles, prized for their desirable flavoring and ease of picking. Despite several organic and chemical treatments that farmers had successfully used in the past, disease still remained prevalent in the Willamette Valley.¹⁷ In an attempt to further understand and combat these threats to the industry, the Hop Breeding Project at Oregon State University was formed in 1930; a partnership between the University and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) that led to tests being conducted at the Oregon Experiment Station on campus. E.N. Bressman identified the main goals of the project in the initial annual report:

The general plan of this hop breeding project is to grow seedlings from superior plants noted in various yards, seedlings from hybrids between various varieties which show indications to either mildew resistance or

¹⁵ Jim Edmunson. “The Edmunson Hop Yards of Early Goshen”, *Lane County Historian* Vol. 29 No. 2 (Summer 1984), 47.

¹⁶ Freda Jenkins, “You Picked What?”, Independence Heritage Museum Archives, (September 1993), 38-40.

¹⁷ Peter Adam Kopp, *A History of Hoptopia: The Local and Global Roots of a Willamette Valley Specialty Crop*, (PhD diss University of Nevada, 2012), 177-178.

yield and quality, make selections of superior plants, and obtain introductions from foreign sources.¹⁸

Bressman went on to explain what was necessary in order to accomplish these goals:

In the first place, there are many things beside resistance to downy mildew that must be considered. A desirable hop must have ability to yield and be of the quality desired by the buyers. All of this information must be garnered before a breeding program can begin. The writer attempted to get this information by contact with a large number of growers in all of the important hop growing sections of the Pacific Northwest. This necessitated visits to many yards both in the fall of 1930 and the season of 1931.¹⁹

The stress on the connection between growers and buyers shows the importance the Hop Breeding Program placed on the practical realities facing the entire industry. This was important for an industry still reeling from the effects of Prohibition. Despite the illegality of producing alcoholic beverages, Hop growers in the Willamette Valley continued to produce hops for use in European brewing operations. There was a significant decrease in output compared with earlier times when Oregon and the wider Pacific Northwest were permitted to produce their own beer.

Even though the twenty-first amendment repealed Prohibition in 1933, the law left an indelible mark on the relationships between growers and buyers. A significant number of breweries failed when they were unable to adapt to the changing, alcohol-free America. When breweries started producing again in 1933, the beer was weaker in terms of alcohol content as well as in flavor.²⁰ Previously the ales and lagers produced by American brewers had distinct flavors for the varied tastes of American consumers.²¹ These beers were similar to their European counterparts as new immigrants to the United States brought their brewing skills and tastes with them. However, after Prohibition brewers became wary of products that might deviate from the growing trend of mainstream domestic brews. This in turn led to larger national breweries which thrived on producing less-flavorful beers using less hops, forcing a drastic change in the hop industry and creating a stronger reliance on contracts with international buyers.

As the name suggests, the Oregon Hop Breeding Program focused on the study of hop breeds in the industry. Its goals were to better understand the factors causing downy mildew and then to develop new breeds of hops that would be resistant to mildew and other pests. Initial work of the Breeding Program included site visits to many hop farms in the Willamette Valley including hop fields in some of the major growing centers of

¹⁸ E.N Bressman, "Report of Hop Breeding Project, Sept. 3, to Dec. 31, 1931," Folder 8, Box 21, Agricultural Experiment Station, Record Group 25, Oregon State University, University Archive, Corvallis, Oregon, 6.

¹⁹ Ibid, 6.

²⁰ Peter Adam Kopp, *A History of Hoptopia: The Local and Global Roots of a Willamette Valley Specialty Crop*, 179.

²¹ Ibid, 177.



Figure 3. E. N. Bressman with Hungarian mildew resistant hops in Frank Miller's hop yard in Forest Grove, Oregon, 1930. Courtesy Agricultural Experiment Station Annual Reports, Special Collections & Archives Research Center, Oregon State University Libraries, Record Group 25 Box 21.

Independence, Corvallis and Eugene. Keeping detailed notes on the project, Bressman and his colleagues outlined the key problems facing local hop growers in terms of disease:

July 2 was spent in the vicinity of Springfield, Eugene and Cottage Grove, Oregon, where some badly damaged fields were observed. Mr. I. Anderson of Springfield has a large amount of leaf infection and “spikes” of downy mildew which he had not observed in his Early Cluster variety. He was advised to do some picking of spikes and to spray. The John Seavey yard of Cottage Grove consisting in part of 60 acres of Late Clusters was practically ruined with the mildew disease. Practically every plant showed heavy infection both on the leaves and spikes. This grower was not at home, but from other sources it was understood that the infection appeared very quickly and that on the previous Sunday the yard appeared to be in good condition. This yard had already reached the wire and gave every prospect of a good crop. The infection was too great to do anything at this time, and as I understand it, no hops were picked.²²

²² E.N Bressman, “Report of Hop Breeding Project, Sept. 3, to Dec. 31, 1931,” (8, Box 21), 11. Agricultural Experiment Station, Record Group 25, University Archive, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Scientists working with the Hop Breeding Program were concerned with all aspects of the hop growing process - from planting to harvesting. They conducted trials at the Experiment Station with samples from local farmers but also took their experiments to local hop yards. Maintaining a strong connection with individual growers and hop growing organizations, as well as brewery associations, was a common thread throughout the history of the program. Industry outreach also included making connections with other hop breeders around the world, such as E.S. Salmon, a British breeder at Wye College. Correspondence between Bressman and Salmon showed the challenges breeders faced.²³ The combination of working on the local and international level led the first two decades of the Hop Breeding Program to be successful, with data collected and shared with these groups under the direction of Bressman and his successor, R. A. Fore.

Prohibition was not the only cause of significant change in the hop industry in the Willamette Valley. The Second World War further changed the hop industry by increasing the marginalization of hops in American brewing and enabling increased mechanization. Instead of hundreds of pickers flocking to the fields during the hop harvesting season, machines took care of the process. This meant that the “paid vacation” romantic atmosphere that was remembered by so many former hop pickers happened significantly less often as more growers relied on machines to harvest their hops.

The war also left large stocks of chemicals no longer needed for the war effort. These chemicals were repurposed for other industries such as agriculture. Hop growers attempted to use chemical sprays on their crops to prevent downy mildew and other pests from affecting their fields but without great success. Oregon farmers were also under threat by Washington hop growers who grew in more arid climates, which provided a natural defense against mildew. This resulted in higher yields in the Puyallup and Yakima Valleys.²⁴

The 1960s, however, brought a lull in the Hop Breeding Program, with little new information and varieties coming out of the program. It was not until Alfred Haunold took over as head of the program in 1965 that they entered a new era of hop breeding via crossbreeds. Haunold applied his years of experience with wheat propagation to the hop industry. During this time, the Hop Breeding Program was experimenting with hundreds of hybrids, putting the crosses through rigorous field and brewing tests. During this process, scientists, including Haunold, noticed the potential of USDA #56013, better known as Cascade, as both resistant to downy mildew and receiving positive responses from brewers. By 1972, the varietal was released to the public and was quickly picked up by the Coors Brewing Company, who encouraged Oregon and Washington growers to plant the Cascade hop, signing contracts with growers on an industrial scale. The 1970s and 1980s would also see the release of other varieties from the Breeding Program including Comet, Willamette, Columbia and Nugget. With Haunold acting as an

²³ Ibid, 65.

²⁴ Peter Adam Kopp, *A History of Hoptopia: The Local and Global Roots of a Willamette Valley Specialty Crop*, 175.



Figure 2. Scientist with OSU Hop Breeding Program grafting hop varieties in Experimental Yard, Corvallis, Oregon. Courtesy Agricultural Experiment Station Annual Reports, Special Collections & Archives Research Center, Oregon State University Libraries, Record Group 25 Box 21.

international ambassador for the program, hop growing in the Willamette Valley appeared to be on an upswing.²⁵ As stated by Peter Kopp:

The work of Alfred Haunold provided and provides a vital link between small farms, big beer, and crop scientists from around the world. With his accomplishments in American hybrids, which colonized local acreages and global beers, Haunold emerged as the vital link that revitalized a Willamette Valley *Hoptopia* in the second half of the twentieth century.²⁶

Haunold's work, along with developments in the craft brewing industry, helped the Willamette Valley retain its dominance in the hop world.

Craft Brewing Industry and the Resurgence of Hops

As previously mentioned, many of the macro-brews produced in post-Prohibition America were lacking the strong flavor of their predecessors. In fact, the arrangements between the Coors Brewing Company and growers to cultivate the Cascade hop produced by the Oregon Hop Breeding Program faded because they felt there was too much flavor in the final product. While the OSU Hop Breeding Program continued to produce new

²⁵ Ibid, 208-210.

²⁶ Ibid, 220-221.

crossbreeds, a revolution was starting in the beer industry. Around the United States, home brewers and small breweries started to spring up, creating beers that were different than the mainstream macro-brews. Changes to federal and state laws during the 1970s and 1980s gave these new brewers a way to market their product to a wider audience. It is no surprise that the Pacific Northwest and Oregon in particular, as a well-known hop producer, has developed a large amount of craft breweries and brewpubs. As the craft brew industry has continued to grow, many brewers have taken steps to ensure quality ingredients for their products.

The Rogue Brewery in particular has taken to growing its own hops. Located in the Wigrich Appellation in Independence, Oregon, the brewery owns a micro hopyard. The site of the farm is on the Wigan Richardson and Co. hopyard site that was operational for nearly thirty years. Currently, Rogue produces seven different varieties of hops that are picked, dried and baled on site and then shipped to Newport where they are brewed into beer.²⁷ Rogue describes this as the “Grow Your Own” revolution and is one of many ingredients in their beer including malt, barley and pumpkins that they are cultivating. “We wanted to make sure that we never had to tell our brewmaster that we didn’t have hops for him to use,” stated Brett Joyce, president of Rogue.²⁸

While some brewers have chosen to grow their own, many have relied on more traditional methods of acquiring hops. Working with hop farms, Indie Hops, a Portland based hop merchant, has supported scientific breeding research, brokered contracts between breweries and hop farms, and pelletized their own hops and those of partnered farmers. They entered the market at an interesting time period in Oregon hop growing history. Jim Solberg of Indie Hops noted:

For years, the craft brewers could count on great trickle-down from the activities of the macrobrewers, but that is no longer the case. At the same time, the craft market is growing so much, and is continuing to grow. And craft brewers prize hops with outstanding aroma and flavor, pure aroma hops or dual-purpose hops.²⁹

Indie Hops was able to contract with long-standing local hop farms such as the Goshie Hop Farms outside of Silverton and have consulted with industry scientists like Dr. A. Haunold to create a business model that has referenced the long tradition of hop growing in the Valley whilst looking towards the future of the industry through scientific innovation.

Conclusion

The hop growing industry has historically involved dedicated individuals who were able to use the ideal environmental conditions of the Willamette Valley to produce a product with unique flavor and aroma. Farmers and scientists alike worked together to produce a crop that met the demands of the brewing industry in terms of flavor and crop

²⁷ “Rogue Farms Hop Harvest Starts Today!” *Rogue Farms Blog*, 2013, Internet Accessed.

²⁸ Stambor, Zak. “Rogue’s grow-your-own revolution branches out,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 5, 2010.

²⁹ Interview with Jim Solberg of Indie Hops, *Indie Hops*, Internet Accessed.

sustainability. It is also evident that the hop has had a lasting impact on the cultural history of region, as well as the economy. The early hop industry gave many families and individuals the opportunity for a “working vacation” spent in the hop fields. Many who have recounted their involvement in hop picking often share positive memories of the experience.

The advent of the craft brewing movement motivated hop growers to grow hops formerly shunned by American macro-brewers, creating an avenue for newly developed crossbreeds. In a market which shrank and moved away from their products, hop producers and researchers adapted and thrived, developing new varieties which appealed to a different type of customer. This more heterogeneous approach may require more effort than selling to a single large buyer, but the depth and specialization in the Willamette Valley may prove a strength that will stand the industry in good stead for the future.

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Silverton Red Sox and the Struggle of Local Baseball

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Figure 1. 1939 Silverton Red Sox. Source: Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society.

Abstract: In 1939, the Silverton Red Sox propelled a small town to the national stage by winning the Oregon Semi-Professional Baseball tournament thus qualifying them to compete at the National Baseball Congress Semiprofessional Baseball Championship tournament in Wichita, Kansas. While local baseball existed in the mid-Willamette Valley decades before, the appearance of the Silverton Red Sox marked an historical triumph of local baseball in the region as local baseball players such as Johnny Pesky and Roy Helser would be boosted to the professional ranks after taking third in the nation at Wichita. Sixteen years after this historic event, the Silverton Red Sox folded due to lack of funds and interest with the entire Oregon Semiprofessional Baseball apparatus crumbling shortly thereafter. Jack Hande, former player for the Silverton Red Sox and spectator of the Red Sox's Wichita appearance in 1939, attributes this eventual collapse of local baseball to the invention of television which took local residents out of the stands and kept them in their homes. While this point is very well taken, it should also be noted that the collapse of the semiprofessional baseball apparatus in Oregon also coincides with the "Great Move" of the Major League teams westward such as the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles and the New York Giants to San Francisco. In this maneuver, Major League baseball succeeded in crushing the Pacific Coast League, an "outlaw" league which was formed in the region and rose above AAA baseball status right before this time.

On August 14, 1939, upwards of 3100 people from the town of Silverton, Oregon went to their local baseball field, McGinnis Field, to take to the stands for a big game.³⁰ They arrived at the ballpark only to find the fields, the bullpen, and the dugouts completely empty. This was no surprise for the people who filed into the stands, because they knew that their team, the Silverton Red Sox, was playing its big game in Wichita, Kansas. The Silverton Red Sox were making their second appearance in the National Semi-professional Baseball Congress (NBC) tournament and were ascending the brackets to the semifinals. During that second week in August, large crowds of Silverton residents gathered at the McGinnis Field to listen to the game via the team's Public Address (P.A.) system, as the announcer relayed to the assembled crowd details of the play-by-play action reported to him over the telephone from Wichita. At this event, Silverton resident and future Red Sox player Jack Hande was there to witness this momentous occasion in Silverton history.

“Practically the whole town was there,” Hande recalled. “[T]he regular announcer for our ballgames was down at the grandstand and the people filled the grandstand here in Silverton. He took messages about what was going on back in Wichita and announced play by play to this audience that was sitting there with nobody in the field; no game going on there. They were just sitting there in the grandstand listening to his relay of the game action, over the PA system, to them in the stands.”³¹

As the tournament unfolded, the 1939 Silverton Red Sox, known that year as the “Whiz Kids,”³² seized third place in the NBC ranks. Immediately after that victory, ten players on that team ascended the ranks to play professional baseball including Johnny Pesky, who later joined the Boston Red Sox and became one of its greatest legends.

This game represented the convergence of workingmen and athletes, industry and entertainment, and local and national sports. The Silverton Red Sox and the community that supported them were instrumental in linking the local Oregon semi-professional baseball apparatus to the national stage. Less than two decades after this success, however, the Silverton Red Sox team collapsed as did the entire semi-professional baseball apparatus in Oregon shortly thereafter. Many cite the invention of the television as the culprit of semi-professional baseball's collapse, suggesting that access to national television programming and national sports events destroyed local activities.

³⁰ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

³¹ Jack Hande, Interviewed by Gregory J.K. Garcia, Jr. August 6, 2013.

³² “Silverton, We're After that 1951 Title! The State's Semi-Pro Classic.” In *Oregon Sports*, July 1951, Premier Issue, 52.

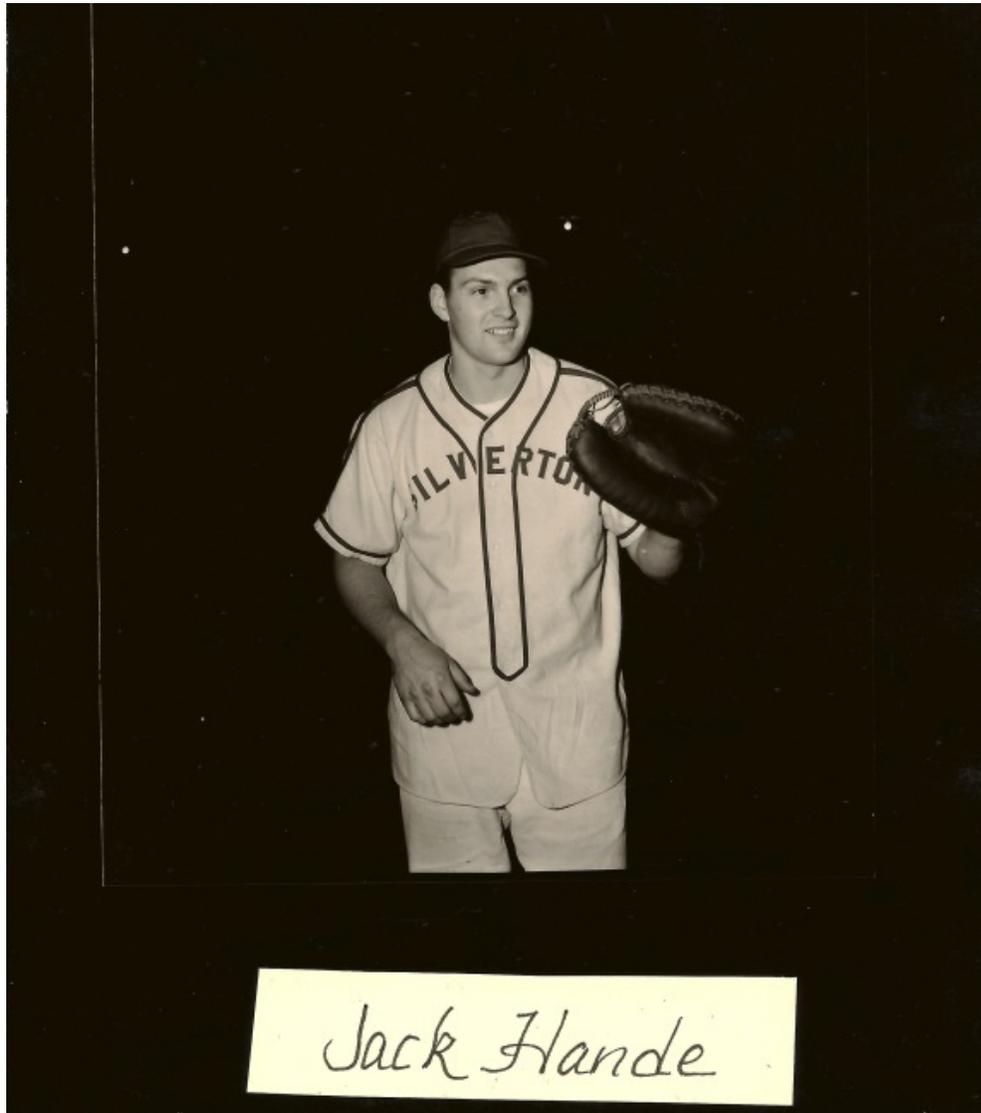


Figure 2. Jack Hande. Source: Silverton Red Sox 1950-1959 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society.

Perhaps more important than television, however, were other factors that transformed the sport of baseball in the 1950s. This article examines the rise and fall of the Silverton Red Sox to demonstrate how the westward expansion of Major League baseball teams and the modernization of American urban infrastructure dealt a debilitating blow to the institution of local baseball from which it has only recently recovered.

The Oregon State Baseball League: Third Time is the Charm!

The first attempt to establish organized baseball in Oregon on a large scale was when the State League was founded in 1893. In this incarnation, baseball teams from Albany,

Portland, Salem and Oregon City battled for supremacy.³³ The primary flaw of the State League was its inability to cap spending. This was fatal to the League as its inaugural season took place during the national economic downturn known as the “Panic of 1893.” Due to the fact that the owners, or magnates, of these teams were heavily involved in the stock market and various national industries such as steel and lumber production, the teams disbanded with the economic downturn due to lack of finances. While teams such as the State League’s Salem-Independence franchise, among others, managed to successfully move to other places, such as San Francisco,³⁴ many of the State League teams faded into history. Ten years passed before local communities made another attempt at large scale baseball.

In 1904, delegates from the towns of Albany, Roseburg, Salem and Eugene met in Albany to write a constitution for the second incarnation of the Oregon State Baseball League. In an attempt to learn from the past and keep the issue of spending under control, the constitution of this State League capped all team salaries at \$600 per month during the regular season which lasted from May 1 to September 15. In an effort to keep the organization functioning, each team was then required to post a \$250 bond in order to finish the season. To emphasize their desire to expand, this Oregon State Baseball League drafted a charter with an opportunity for two additional teams to join. Promptly after this, teams from Oregon City, Vancouver and Portland were solicited to join.³⁵

Almost immediately after being solicited, representatives from Oregon City declined publicly stating that “it has been years since baseball in Oregon City has been a success from a financial point of view and the fact that nobody is desirous of assuming the responsibility may be the cause of failure to organize a local state league team this year.”³⁶ This statement set an important precedent that people in stands are vital to the success of a ball club.

By the end of the negotiations in April, the teams in the State League were solidified with Roseburg, Eugene, Salem and Vancouver as part of the official Oregon State League.³⁷ During the process of negotiations, the league’s executive board applied for membership in the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues. Once the Oregon State League obtained this membership, they were protected under regulations stating that no

³³ “Baseball” *Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, July 17, 1893, 4.

³⁴ “The Salem Baseball Team Departed for ‘Frisco today. Here Endeth the State League.” *Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, July 20, 1893, 4.

³⁵ “Six-Club Valley League,” *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, January 25, 1904, 5.

³⁶ “No State League Team in Oregon City,” *The Sunday Oregonian*, Portland, OR, February 28, 1904, 14.

³⁷ “State Meeting Today,” *The Sunday Oregonian*, Portland, OR, April 10, 1904, 4.

player could be taken away from his team during the season or at its end without the consent of the league and a payment of \$200 dollars to the league per player lost.³⁸

The season of the second coming of the Oregon State Baseball League began in early May with talks of changing its structure happening almost immediately after the first pitch. On May 12, 1904, Albany newspapers reported that E. P. Preble, the manager of the Vancouver team, visited Albany to speak with the local residents on the prospect of moving his team to their city. Albany residents, irritated with the fact that the League was constructed without an Albany team, began a pledge drive to raise the money necessary for securing the franchise. They raised half of the necessary money by the time Preble arrived in Albany. Preble's explanation for the move was the fact that at its current location in Vancouver, his team was losing money due to travel expenses. At this point in the season, hope and enthusiasm were high that Albany would obtain "one of the fastest" franchises in the "perfected" State League.³⁹

Two days after Preble's visit, however, enthusiasm ebbed as local businesses in Albany refused to sponsor the Vancouver State League team in Albany on the grounds that "considerable money" was necessary for securing the team and thus it was "considered inadvisable to enter the league."⁴⁰ Almost a month later, the will of the Albany people prevailed over the opinions of local business and Preble's State League franchise was moved to Albany after "gain[ing] the confidence and good will of Albanians."⁴¹ Albany's wishes for such a franchise were granted but the victory was hollow. The Oregon State Baseball League collapsed again before it could finish its inaugural season, as the four team league dropped to only a two team league consisting of Salem and Albany. After much consideration, it was ruled that continuing the league was not feasible and the organization disbanded.⁴²

Much like its predecessor, the collapse of the second incarnation of the State League was due to a lack of finances. As previously indicated, baseball magnate Preble moved his team to Albany partly because of the fact that travel expenses were too high from its previous location in Vancouver. The Roseburg and Eugene franchises would fold, in part, for that very reason.⁴³ In spite of the fact that this league attempted to learn from the mistakes of its predecessor by placing limits on salary and spending, the logistical problem of paying for travel while covering for the players' salaries ultimately led to its demise.

³⁸ "State League Organized," *Oregon City Enterprise*, Oregon City, OR, March 4, 1904, 5.

³⁹ "Albany May Join League," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, May 12, 1904, 11.

⁴⁰ "Albany Refuses Offer," *Daily Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, May 14, 1904, 1.

⁴¹ "Albany Fans Blood Up," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, June 2, 1904, 9.

⁴² "State League Is Dead," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, July 9, 1904, 7.

⁴³ "Two Still in the Game," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, July 7, 1904, 13.

Another problem that led to the demise of the second State League was the lack of proper facilities to house the games. The term “home team” had a loose definition as both home and visiting teams were sometimes forced to cross great distances to arrive at facilities to play their games. For example, on June 4, 1904 the Albany and Roseburg teams had to travel to the Vaughn Street baseball field in Portland in order to play their doubleheader.⁴⁴ In this incarnation of the State League, teams were required to pay for their own expenses.

An additional factor that led to the collapse of the first two State Leagues was the fundamental issue of professionalism and its role in locality. In these first two baseball leagues, the relationship between the state league teams and the communities they represented was very fragmented. This means that many of the players because of their professional status were disconnected from the communities that they “represented” because they were often not from that region. This was evidenced by the fact that in the first State League in 1893, the Salem-Independence franchise did not fold but rather moved to San Francisco.⁴⁵ Another example of this was the fact that Manager Preble sought the services of Jimmy Sullivan of the California League San Francisco team and Tealy Raymond of the Pacific Coast League to play for his franchise.⁴⁶ This demonstrated that while these teams bore the names of the towns that housed them, they did not truly represent those communities and they did not share any particular bond with them either. When funds collapsed in one area, the team would simply relocate to another.

While the addition of these professional players could serve as a draw to local audiences, there still existed an apparent disconnect from the professional baseball franchises and the communities that facilitated them. The disconnection from local residents is illustrated by a letter to the editor from a Eugene resident to the Salem *Daily Capital Journal* that stated, “after two experimental seasons of valley baseball it begins to look as though patrons will not be able to launch the pastime on a permanent basis until a team of *resident* players is secured [emphasis added]. By resident we mean baseball talent which does not depend on baseball for a livelihood.”⁴⁷

As publications around the state attempted to rationalize the second collapse of large scale professional baseball, two major factors loomed over any future attempt at recreating a state baseball league. Without the proper facilities baseball games could not be played locally and thus teams would be forced to travel great distances to play games

⁴⁴ “Baseball, Today” *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, June 4, 1904, 9.

⁴⁵ “The Salem Baseball Team Departed for ‘Frisco Today. Here Endeth the State League.” *Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, July 20, 1893, 4.

⁴⁶ “Albany Team Strengthened,” *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, May 20, 1904, 9.

⁴⁷ “Tells League Story,” *Daily Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, July 7, 1904, 2.

with little compensation for their efforts. Without the connection to the community, teams would not get the kind of monetary support from local businesses necessary to function.

The near collapse of the Albany State League team in June 1904 is a prime example of the need for coordination between the team, its management and the local businesses which support it. Before departing for Salem at the beginning of June, players of the Albany franchise complained to the local newspapers that they had not been paid and were threatening to quit the season. In response to this, a committee was sent by the team's financial backers with the team to Salem to investigate. They discovered that not only had Preble neglected to pay his players for the season, he was also pocketing the City of Albany's share of the admission profits.

Additionally, Preble had neglected to pay the operating costs necessary for keeping the facility in Albany open. After denying these accusations, Preble promised to pay his players after the series in Salem. However, Preble pocketed the money and left the Albany organization never to return.⁴⁸ The suspicions felt by local Albany businesses and their reluctance to invest in Preble's franchise were both well-founded. In a gesture of loyalty from the community, both local fans and businesses raised the money necessary to keep the franchise functioning and paid players directly until the collapse of the league in the following month.

The same community loyalty was not felt for the Roseburg Shamrocks who, after starting the season with no wins and three losses,⁴⁹ dramatically lost the interest of the community and dropped to last place in the league with a winning percentage of .375.⁵⁰ On July 5, 1904, during their last game, the Roseburg Shamrock players reportedly had an argument with their manager "Pap" Morrow, who quit his position and immediately departed for Roseburg.⁵¹ Unlike the situation with Albany, no one from the Roseburg community offered to sustain the Shamrocks through the rest of the season and thus they were the first to collapse. A contributor for the local Roseburg *The Plaindealer*, conveyed the situation in a letter to the editor saying, "nothing kills [a] sport quicker than empty benches."⁵²

Baseball organizations continued to function in the mid-Willamette valley on a very local scale as collegiate, high school, and amateur teams such as the Salem Senators began to evolve and play each other in unorganized ball games. Eventually, these teams would form organizations such as the Tri-City League and the Willamette Valley League. The

⁴⁸ "Albany Fans Blood Up," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, June 2, 1904, 9.

⁴⁹ "Oregon State League," *The Plaindealer*, Roseburg, OR, May 2, 1904, 2.

⁵⁰ "End of Oregon State League," *Morning Oregonian*, Portland, OR, July 6, 1904, 5.

⁵¹ "Greens Lose Papa," *Daily Capital Journal*, July 5, 1904, 1.

⁵² "Baseball Obituary," *The Plaindealer*, Roseburg, OR, July 11, 1904, 1.

breakout of World War I in 1917 crushed many of these leagues, however, forcing many of the teams out of commission until the 1920s. On April 27, 1918, an announcement came from Albany, Oregon stating that the Oregon State League was reorganized for a third time.⁵³

Perhaps as yet another attempt to learn from the past, this third incarnation of the State League was semi-professional as opposed to fully professional. Under the rules of semi-professional baseball: professional baseball players could play alongside local amateurs who retained their eligibility to play in the collegiate ranks.⁵⁴ The invention of semi-professional baseball gave local residents and workers the ability to play alongside professionals for recreation. Any company that had the financial means could form a semi-professional baseball team. Prime examples of semi-professional baseball teams in Oregon include the Reliable Shoe Repair, Edward's Furniture Store, Archer Blower and Pipe and the Portland Boilermakers (Local 172) from the Portland area.⁵⁵ On the national scale there was the Halliburton Cementers of Duncan Oklahoma and their arch rivals the Enid Eason Oilers.⁵⁶ Military bases would also form semi-professional teams as well such as the U.S. Naval Air Station of Astoria which competed in the Oregon Semi-professional State League Tournament in 1950.⁵⁷

While Oregon began its semi-professional State League in 1918, Colorado had begun to organize its own semi-professional baseball leagues three years earlier in 1915. Some states, like Oklahoma, trailed Oregon by nine years by starting their semi-professional league in 1927.⁵⁸ Oregon's State Semi-professional Baseball League made another attempt to learn from the past by trying to limit the rising costs of finances in the league, specifically pertaining to travel. This can be seen by the repeatedly mentioned clauses in press releases indicating that "a percentage of gross receipts [was] set aside for traveling expenses of all 16 teams entered" in their State Championship Tournament. For an added incentive, the first place team would receive an additional fifteen percent of the gross receipts and the second place teams would receive a ten percent cut of the proceeds made from ticket and concession sales. In order to keep attendance numbers at an optimal level,

⁵³ "Oregon State League is Organized," *Morning Oregonian*, April 27, 1918, 12.

⁵⁴ Jack Hande, Interviewed by Gregory J.K. Garcia, Jr. August 6, 2013.

⁵⁵ "Silverton, We're After that 1951 Title!" *The State's Semi-Pro Classic.* In *Oregon Sports*, July 1951, Premier Issue, 33.

⁵⁶ Royce Parr, "Semi-Pro Baseball's Golden Age 1935-1941," *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History*, 15:1, (Fall 2006), 60.

⁵⁷ "Silverton, We're After that 1951 Title!" *The State's Semi-Pro Classic.* In *Oregon Sports*, July 1951, Premier Issue, 33.

⁵⁸ Parr, 54.

the State Championship Tournament was specifically designed to have rival teams play each other in the first round.⁵⁹

As states all across the country began to experiment with semi-professional baseball, a national organization began to take form uniting the states under one ruling body. In 1935, Ray “Hap” Dumont of Wichita, Kansas formed the National Semipro Baseball Congress, known later as the NBC.⁶⁰ This event would serve as the start of what some historians refer to as the “Golden Age” of Semi-professional Baseball. In the Pacific Northwest, State Championship Tournaments were linked to Regional Championships where the winner of the Oregon State Semi-professional League tournament would face the winner of the Washington State Semi-professional League tournament for a best of five game series.⁶¹ Four years after the beginning of this “Golden Age” of semi-professional baseball, the Silverton Red Sox would make an indelible mark on the sport of semi-professional baseball by making an appearance in Wichita, Kansas at the NBC National Tournament.

Silverton, Oregon: The “Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon.”

In 1935, at the beginning of this “Golden Age” of semi-professional baseball, Silverton, Oregon was, in the words of the Silver Falls Timber Company, a land of “rich farming and stock” with “immense timber resources which add materially to the wealth of the city, maintaining large sawmills that are operated in or near the city.”⁶² Four years later, this small logging town became the capital of semi-professional baseball in the state of Oregon with a nationally formidable local baseball team known as the Silverton Red Sox. This rapid success can be attributed to the mass cooperation of local businesses, organized labor, and the Silverton community at large.

The Silver Falls Timber Company was the foundation on which the semi-professional baseball team would be constructed. The team was managed by the owner of the SFT Mill in Silverton, Bill “Mac” McGinnis who in addition to being the superintendent of the Mill in Silverton was also a veteran baseball player who played professionally in the California and old Northwest baseball leagues.⁶³ Under McGinnis’ leadership, the Silver Falls Timber Company organized a team of SFT employees in the 1920s which originally

⁵⁹ From the 1937 Oregon NBC Tournament Publicity Director, 1937, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁶⁰ Parr, 59.

⁶¹ From the 1937 Oregon NBC Tournament Publicity Director, 1937, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁶² Silver Falls Timber Company, Circa 1935, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁶³ SFT Finishes Outstanding Ball Season, 1936, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

played softball.⁶⁴ Thanks to McGinnis' ties with professional baseball organizations the Silver Falls Timber Company Mill Team⁶⁵ would be placed into the orbit of the Boston Red Sox in 1937.⁶⁶ McGinnis' ties with the Boston Red Sox were so strong in fact, that according to the Society for American Baseball Research, Johnny Pesky was already technically a member of the Boston Red Sox ---as a member of its "farm team" the Silverton Red Sox--- before Boston scout Ernie Johnson "officially" signed him to his organization. This was because Tom Yawkey, the owner of the Boston Red Sox, invested in the Silver Falls Timber Company.⁶⁷

As superintendent of the local mill and manager of the SFT baseball team, McGinnis traveled all across Oregon in search for talent to be used for his team. "[McGinnis] hired these ballplayers, the cream of the crop . . . and gave them jobs in the Depression," recalls Jack Hande, Silverton resident and former player of the Silverton Red Sox. "They got a nice job and then when they went to the job, well, they would just be sent on down to the ballpark to practice. They didn't have to haul lumber around or anything, they just practiced and got real good."⁶⁸

In addition to scouring the state for talented baseball players, the SFT nine also recruited from local towns and colleges. Due to the fact that semi-professional baseball did not harm a player's professional status, collegiate ballplayers from Oregon State College, University of Oregon and Willamette University turned out to play semi-professional baseball in their collegiate offseason. In the early years of semi-professional ball, collegiate players were given two potential teams to join, the SFT nine or the Woodburn "Townies." A natural rivalry between the Silver Falls Timber Company Mill nine and the Woodburn Townies became the result of splitting collegiate teammates during the summer.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ "Play Baseball! Silverton Red Sox Team of 1930s-50s Plans Reunion," *Northwest Senior News*, Salem, OR, August 2005.

⁶⁵ Not to be confused with the Silver Falls Company Loggers, a semiprofessional team with whom the Silverton Red Sox played in their early years.

⁶⁶ Jack Hande, Interviewed by Gregory J.K. Garcia, Jr. August 6, 2013.

⁶⁷ Johnny Pesky | SABR, Society for American Baseball Research, date accessed: August 20, 2013, <http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/23baaef3>.

⁶⁸ Jack Hande, Interviewed by Gregory J.K. Garcia, Jr. August 6, 2013.

⁶⁹ SFT Club and Woodburn Will Clash Sunday, 1936, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).



Figure 3. Silver Falls Timber Company Mill Team, 1936. Source: Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society.

With the combination of local amateur and professional talent, the Silver Falls Timber Company Mill team had a successful inaugural season. The only loss they sustained was their first game against the Oregon State Penitentiary Convicts traveling team, in which they lost by a score of 4 to 3. Newspapers such as the *Silverton Appeal-Tribune* have debated the validity of this loss by explaining that the Silverton nine had not fully formed as a team by this first game.⁷⁰ The validity of this game aside, the SFT nine finished the 1936 season having never lost again, resulting in an impressive eleven game winning streak against both legendary local baseball teams such as the Salem Senators and Oregon State Penitentiary, as well as other semi-professional business teams such as the Silver Falls Timber Company Loggers and the W.V.L. Company.⁷¹ After this inaugural season, the Silver Falls Timber Company applied for entry into the third incarnation of the Oregon State Baseball League and began a campaign that would make them one of the most influential clubs in the state.

⁷⁰ SFT Finishes Outstanding Ball Season 1936, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁷¹ Silver Falls Has a Good Year, 1936, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

While the team that would evolve into the Silverton Red Sox was formidable as an away team, the condition of hometown facilities left the Silverton Red Sox wanting at home. The field on which the original Silver Falls Timber Company softball team played, located on Eureka Avenue, had been constructed during the 1890s when the sport had originally caught on in the Silverton community.⁷² All of that changed after that inaugural season. With the success of the SFT nine, with a virtually undefeated record and news that this was accomplished with “no imported players,”⁷³ the entire community of Silverton became mobilized in the endeavor to build a state-of-the-art facility worthy of the team that had players from around the area to truly represent them. The first mention of the proposed baseball field can be seen in a September 18, 1936 edition of the *Silverton Appeal-Tribune* in an editorial which states:

A movement is underway in Silverton that [Sic] be worthy of the support of every inhabitant of the community. It is the creation of a modern athletic field... How it succeeds or fails will depend largely upon the cooperation of all who are asked to lend a hand in the beginning. During the past summer Silverton has witnessed the development of a phenomenal baseball team here under the commendable direction and supervision of the Silver Falls Timber Company. Their success shows in some measure what can be done with the talents of our young people if only there were a common field to give zest to their efforts.

This stadium would be equipped with ten 90-foot fir poles to house 1700 candlepower lights for every square foot and five gateways capable of housing over 3000 automobiles.⁷⁴ With hopes of “develop[ing] a boy’s keenness for fair and decent sportsmanship at every opportunity [to] prepar[e] him for honest citizenship,”⁷⁵ the Silverton community mobilized itself to raise the \$10,000 dollars necessary for the construction of the state-of-the-art stadium. On October 30, 1936, these aspirations were confirmed by Dr. P.A. Loar, the chairman of the athletic field drive who indicated to the Silverton community that although some pledges were still necessary to solidify the endeavor, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) could be approached for assistance in building the field.

⁷² J.D. Drake, “Silverton Has Always Been A Baseball Town,” *Silverton Appeal-Tribune*, Silverton, OR, June 16, 1950.

⁷³ Silver Falls Has a Good Year, 1936, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁷⁴ 1st SFT Home Game Sunday: Rush Work on New \$10,000 Sports Field, 1937, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁷⁵ “An Editorial: A New Athletic Field,” *Silverton Appeal-Tribune*, Silverton, OR., September 18, 1936.

In addition to utilizing this New Deal recovery apparatus, local unions and civic organizations also gave their support. In the initial phases the Silverton Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (4-L) and the Chamber of Commerce searched the vicinity for the proper area to construct the athletic field. They selected a 22.7 acre tract of land which was owned by Nina L.S. Boyles, a former Silverton resident who relocated to Portland. The land was purchased by this joint committee for the “dirt cheap” price of \$1,000 plus \$772 in taxes.⁷⁶

During the 1936-1937 off-season, McGinnis successfully lobbied to have the Oregon State Semi-professional Baseball tournament in Silverton. This would showcase Silverton’s new athletic field to the entire state in a major spectacle where sixteen teams would compete for the state championship. McGinnis made one error in lobbying for this position in that he made the arrangements before the field was completed. At the opening of the 1937 Oregon State League season, the field had yet to be completed. To finish the project in time for the tournament, local businesses in Silverton rushed to McGinnis’ aid. The Silver Falls Timber Company mobilized 70 of its employees not affiliated with the baseball team to install 1600 feet of eight-foot board fence around the diamond.

The project was completed by the end of June, allowing the Silverton Red Sox to play the last game of the first half of their season there. At the opening of the 1937 Oregon State Semi-professional League Tournament, the first of such tournaments to take place outside the Portland-Metro Area,⁷⁷ the stadium was dedicated to Bill “Mac” McGinnis as the man who successfully brought the State League to Silverton.⁷⁸

Throughout the entire existence of the team, the 4-L served as chief supporters of the Silverton semi-professional baseball team. This can be seen by the 4-L sponsoring of outings designed for the benefit of the team. A prime example of this was the 4-L creation of a “movie night” for the Silverton community which was arranged by Ernest L. Boesch, the chairman of the Silverton 4-L. Boesch managed to secure “an educational travel talkie of more than an hour tentative plans for an industrial film, [an] educational along lines of interest to those interested in the lumber trade, and several reels of comics” from the Ervin Joneses of the Romance-Travel Films of Portland Company.⁷⁹ Boesch also served the SFT baseball team as an assistant manager to McGinnis, demonstrating the strong

⁷⁶ “New Athletic Field Almost Certain Now” *Silverton Appeal*, Silverton, OR. October 30, 1936.

⁷⁷ From the 1937 Oregon NBC Tournament Publicity Director, 1937, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁷⁸ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁷⁹ Benefits Arranged for Mill Players, Circa 1936 Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

relationship between the Silver Falls Timber Company and organized labor through the sport of baseball.

Silverton Red Sox: Game Changers



Figure 4. 1939 Silverton Red Sox at McGinnis Field. Source: Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society.

With a brand new field and the full support of the community, the Silverton Red Sox made a strong showing in their first appearance in the Oregon State League. Playing against teams such as the Bend Elks, the Toledo Lions, the Woodburn Townies, and Red Rupert's Reedsport Team,⁸⁰ the Silverton Red Sox were selected for the Oregon State Semi-professional Tournament.⁸¹ In their first appearance at the Tournament, held on their own field, the Silverton Red Sox placed second,⁸² losing the championship game to the Reliable Shoe nine from Portland.⁸³

In 1938, building off their success of the previous year, the Silverton Red Sox advanced to the NBC National Tournament in Wichita, Kansas, where they made a modest showing

⁸⁰ And later Klamath Falls and Medford when the State League fully matured in the 1940s.

⁸¹ According to press releases, any team can apply for the tournament, the Oregon State Semiprofessional Commission selects sixteen of the applying teams to play in the tournament.

⁸² Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁸³ "Silverton, We're After that 1951 Title!" The State's Semi-Pro Classic." In *Oregon Sports*, July 1951, Premier Issue, 33.

by placing 11th.⁸⁴ The next year, in 1939, the Silverton Red Sox returned to Wichita and made their historic third place showing in the tournament.⁸⁵

One of the keys to the early success of the Silverton Red Sox was the fact that it was blessed with players who would eventually go on to become some of the biggest names in Major League and Collegiate Baseball. Roy Helser, who received the distinction in the NBC National Tournament for being the “Most Outstanding Player,”⁸⁶ forged a deal with the Portland Beavers of the Pacific Coast League as a pitcher before eventually moving on to Linfield College to become the highest winning coach in the history of their program.⁸⁷ Dick Whitman, the centerfielder from the University of Oregon, was drafted initially by the Brooklyn Dodgers organization and made an appearance in the World Series in 1948 before becoming part of the Philadelphia Phillies in 1949.⁸⁸ Quite possibly the biggest player who ever advanced from the Silverton Red Sox to the Major League was Johnny Pesky who became part of the Boston Red Sox and joined the United States Navy alongside baseball legend Ted Williams.⁸⁹

With this talent on the field, the Silverton Red Sox competed against the greatest semi-professional teams in the country such as the Halliburton Cementers of Duncan Oklahoma,⁹⁰ whom they played in the third round in their 1939 NBC.⁹¹ The defining difference between the Silverton Red Sox of this era and teams such as the Halliburton Cementers of Duncan, Oklahoma was the fact that the Silverton Red Sox were relatively fused to their locality. Due to its strong sense of community, for first half of its existence, the Silverton Red Sox did not join organizations of semi-professional baseball outside the NBC and its local subordinate the Oregon State League.

⁸⁴ NBC Tournaments, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁸⁵ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁸⁶ “Silverton, We’re After that 1951 Title!” The State’s Semi-Pro Classic.” In *Oregon Sports*, July 1951, Premier Issue, 6.

⁸⁷ Linfield Wildcats Baseball Coaching Chronology , Linfield College, Source: <http://www.linfield.edu/sports/records/bb/coachingchronology.html> date accessed, August 26, 2013
Technically, by winning percentage alone, Helser is the fourth winningest coach with Herbert Toney, who managed the team from 1905 to 1912 being the highest winning coach with 7 wins and 1 loss for a percentage of .875, current coach Scott Brosius being the second winningest coach with a record of 200 wins and 72 losses for a winning percentage of .735 and Lawrence Wolfe being the third highest winningest coach with a record of 13 wins and 7 losses for a percentage of .650.

⁸⁸ Jeff Brekas, “Former Red Sox Recalls Top Teams,” *Silverton Appeal-Tribune*, Silverton, OR, February 23, 1978, 3.

⁸⁹ Johnny Pesky | SABR, Society for American Baseball Research, date accessed: August 20, 2013, <http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/23baaef3>.

⁹⁰ “Oregons Tackle Duncan,” *The Wichita Eagle*, Wichita, KS, August 14, 1939, 1.

⁹¹ “Texans Oust Silverton 9,” 1939, Silverton Red Sox, 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

While the Red Sox only played teams associated with the Oregon State League and exhibition teams from the Oregon area, the Halliburton Cementers played baseball beyond the limits of its local community. This is evidenced by the fact that Halliburton was renowned for being the only out of state team to play in the Houston Post Semi-professional Tournament in Texas. In addition to this, Halliburton played baseball on an international scale by participating in the “first Semipro World Series” in Guayama, Puerto Rico where they played a four game series against the semi-professional team from that area.⁹² This transcendence of local barriers can be attributed to Halliburton’s talent, as they were invited to participate in these tournaments after winning a high profile game such as the 1939 NBC National Tournament in the case of the Guayama, Puerto Rico series, and the fact that Halliburton had the financial powers to secure these players and cover the finances necessary for travel.

The Halliburton Cementers, unlike the Silverton Red Sox, were a purely corporate semi-professional baseball team. This is to say that the Cementers fully relied on the support of the Halliburton Corporation for all of their needs and consequently did not need to rely on the community. While the Halliburton Cementers enjoyed the generous donations from its corporate sponsor, if something happened to the business that sponsored them, they would have no choice but to disband. In 1940, this very phenomenon occurred when at the behest of President Roosevelt, CEO Earl P. Halliburton cut down on his “gallivanting around playing baseball” and geared his company towards the production of materials for the war effort. By 1941, the Halliburton Cementers ceased to exist, thus marking the end to what Royce Parr refers to as the “Golden Age” of Semi-professional baseball.⁹³

While the looming threat of World War II disrupted many avenues of American baseball, the Silverton Red Sox made a strong attempt to soldier on through the opening years of the war. When players such as Bill Carney were drafted by the military, replacements were found to fill the gaps in the field, batting order, and pitching staff. As a result of pushing through these obstacles, the Silverton Red Sox won their second State League title in 1941.⁹⁴ Through the diverse network of support between local businesses, labor, and the community at large, the Silverton Red Sox played through the 1942 season, showing their devotion to the cause by participating in an exhibition game with the Salem Senators, whom had now become a fully professional Class-B Minor League team due to its acquisition by tobacco tycoon George E. Waters. In this exhibition game, known as the “Navy Relief” game, with the proceeds going towards the United States Navy, the

⁹² Royce Parr, “Semi-Pro Baseball’s Golden Age 1935-1941,” *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History*, 15:1, (Fall 2006), 63.

⁹³ Royce Parr, “Semi-Pro Baseball’s Golden Age 1935-1941,” *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History*, 15:1, (Fall 2006), 65.

⁹⁴ NBC Tournaments, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

Silverton Red Sox faced defeat at the hands of the Senators by a score of 4 to 2.⁹⁵ Eventually however, by 1943 the Silverton Red Sox were forced to take a hiatus on account of the war.

To fill the vacuum, the local Lions Club stepped in and created the Lions Red Sox in 1944. This team consisted of players too young to be drafted into service in the Armed Forces. Guy “Pop” Delay served as the coach and manager of this team and did so during the absence of the Silverton Red Sox. By 1945, baseball in Silverton actually expanded while baseball in other places such as Salem lay dormant, as Peewee and Cub baseball specifically designed for boys under 15 years of age were implemented into the community.⁹⁶ In 1946, the semi-professional Silverton Red Sox returned with a vengeance overcoming many of the obstacles that had debilitated other teams.

The Return of the Red Sox

The absence of the Silverton Red Sox from the Oregon State League caused a noticeable shift in the structure of semi-professional baseball. With the “official” team representing the Silverton community out of commission, the Oregon State League soldiered on through the war in a limited state. During the 1940s, the location of the Oregon State Semi-professional League Tournament alternated between the Albany and Portland-Metro areas. In 1948, the Silver Falls Timber Company closed down, severing the Red Sox from their original and “official” financial patron.⁹⁷ With these obstacles in place, doubts ran rampant as to whether the Silverton Red Sox would return from its wartime hiatus. However, in this second incarnation of the Silverton Red Sox, semi-professional baseball returned in full force to the Silverton community.

When the Silverton Red Sox lost their patron, the Silverton Fire Department stepped in to financially support the team.⁹⁸ Eventually, in 1950, the Silverton Red Sox would fall into the care of the Silverton Chamber of Commerce giving a subtle message to anyone who had ever doubted that the Silverton Red Sox belonged to the people of Silverton.⁹⁹ While this gesture kept the Silverton Red Sox operational for a second run at the Oregon State League, the limitations of funding through the Silverton Chamber of Commerce inhibited the Red Sox from traveling too far from home.

⁹⁵ Senators Whip Silverton in Navy Benefit, 1942, Silverton Red Sox, 1940-1949 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁹⁶ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁹⁷ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁹⁸ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

⁹⁹ 1950 State League Semipro Baseball Tournament, Circa 1950, Silverton Red Sox 1950-1955, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

In 1949, the Silverton Red Sox won the Oregon State Semi-professional Title, but could not advance to the NBC Regionals against the Washington champion team due to cost restraints. In 1951 the Silverton Red Sox again had the opportunity to advance to the NBC Regionals but the costs prohibited their advancement. It was only in 1952 when the Red Sox had enough funding to advance to the NBC Regionals and win the title. This accomplishment proved to be the end of the road for the Red Sox that year as funds were finally exhausted. Instead of advancing to Wichita for another chance at the NBC National title, the Silverton Red Sox stayed in Oregon.¹⁰⁰

While the Silverton Red Sox at this era did not have the money to travel across the country, this did not prohibit them from playing nationally and internationally renowned teams. In 1948, the Silverton Red Sox competed in exhibition games against the Honolulu Hawaiians, the Salem Capitals, and the Harlem Globetrotters. In that season, the Silverton Red Sox only lost two games, one being to the Harlem Globetrotters by a score of 5 to 4 and the second being to Mt. Angel.¹⁰¹ The Silverton Red Sox also frequently hosted games against more nationally renowned teams such as the Colored Kansas City Monarchs,¹⁰² the Havana Cubans, and the Original House of David baseball team.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ NBC Tournaments, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹⁰¹ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹⁰² Silverton Slates Monarchs Tuesday, Circa 1948, Silverton Red Sox 1940-1949 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹⁰³ "House of David and Cubans to Play Sox Here," *Silverton Appeal-Tribune*, Silverton, OR., July 11, 1952.

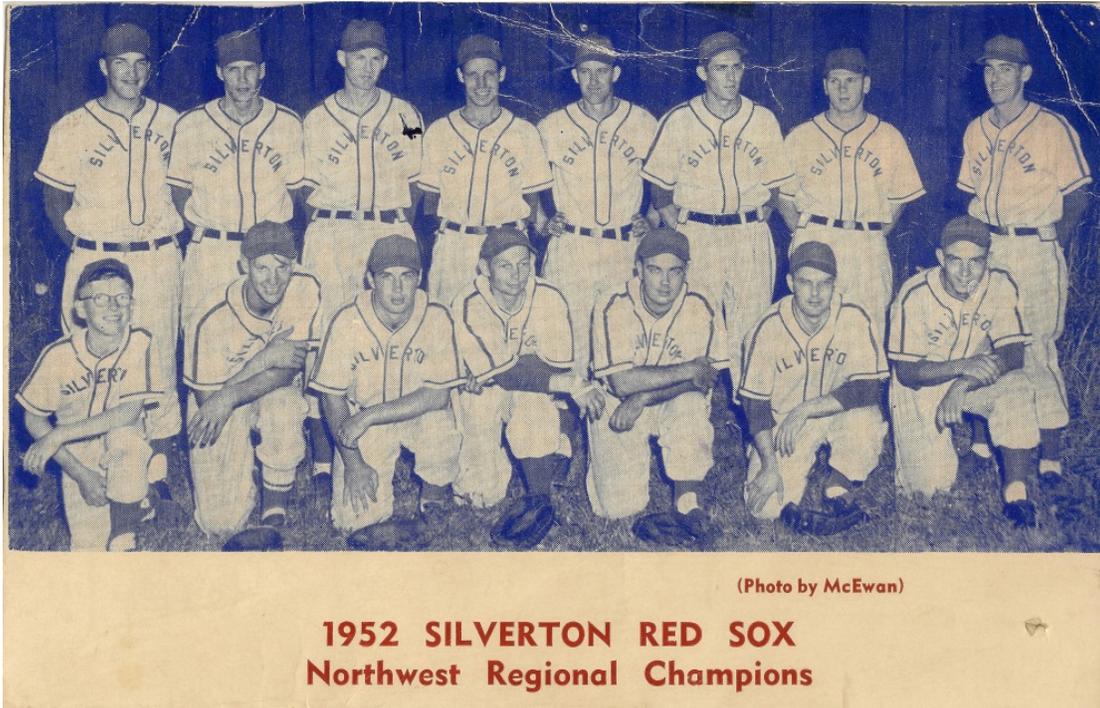


Figure 5. Source: Silvertown Red Sox 1950-1959 Folder, Silvertown Country Historical Society.

In 1950, the Silvertown Red Sox launched an all-out campaign to take back the leadership of the Oregon State League. This started with the repossession of the Oregon State Semi-professional Tournament. As he had thirteen years earlier, Bill “Mac” McGinnis, now a member of the Silvertown Athletics Commission instead of manager, successfully lobbied to have his field serve as the location of the tournament. For his efforts, the tournament was dedicated in his honor by the Silvertown Chamber of Commerce for being “the guiding hand that returned our community into the focal light of semipro baseball in Oregon.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ 1950 State League Semipro Baseball Tournament, Circa 1950, Silvertown Red Sox 1950-1955, Silvertown Country Historical Society, Silvertown Country Museum, (Silvertown, Oregon).



Figure 6. W.L. "Mac" McGinnis, Circa 1951, Source: Silverton Red Sox 1950-1959 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society.

Keeping the momentum of this conquest by the Silverton community in the Oregon State League, Carl Hande, the former business manager for the Silverton Red Sox ascended the ranks to become the commissioner of semi-professional baseball in the state of Oregon in 1952.¹⁰⁵ Under Hande's leadership, the structure of the Oregon State League was now modified to deal with its maturation. With semi-professional teams now beyond the confines of the Willamette Valley such as in Klamath Falls, Medford, and Drain; the Oregon State League had finally lived up to its name and the wishes of its original commissioner Ray Brooks, of reorganizing semi-professional baseball "which reached beyond the fringes of the Portland city limits for entries."¹⁰⁶ For efficiency's sake, if the Oregon State League was to continue growing, the process must also evolve, too. As commissioner, Hande's plan for the Oregon State League was to divide the state into districts, with each district winner being awarded an automatic berth into the tournament. This proposal was accepted and the Silverton Red Sox were placed in a district encompassing the cities of Mt. Angel, Albany, Eugene, and Salem.

In November 1952, Carl Hande tendered his resignation as commissioner of the State League, chose his predecessor D. H. Miller from Empire, and announced that Silverton would no longer be the host of the Oregon State League tournament. Silverton was to host more regular season games, instead.¹⁰⁷ This turn of events was most likely due to the shift in the financial structure in the Silverton Red Sox organization, as their primary financial backer was switched from the Chamber of Commerce to the Silverton Volunteer Fire Department. Perhaps due to this dramatic shift in policy and payment, the Silverton Red Sox suffered 13 losses in their 26-game season in 1953.

In 1954, the final season for the Silverton Red Sox, the matter of keeping players became of paramount concern. Of the 39 games they played in their final season, only one player, Dick Gentzkow, played to the end. In the first half of their farewell season, the Silverton Red Sox led their division with seven wins and one loss. As fortune would have it, the Silverton Red Sox threw their last pitches during the centennial of their hometown marking the end of a nearly twenty year relationship between sports and community.

¹⁰⁵ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹⁰⁶ From the 1937 Oregon NBC Tournament Publicity Director, 1937, Silverton Red Sox 1930-1939 Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹⁰⁷ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).



Figure 7. 1954 Silvertown Red Sox. Source: Silvertown Red Sox 1950-1959 File, Silvertown Country Historical Society.

Who Killed The Silvertown Red Sox and Semi-professional Baseball?

With the collapse of the Silvertown Red Sox and the subsequent crippling of semi-professional baseball, scholars such as Robert V. Bellamy and James Robert Walker question the role of television in the process. This claim is well founded as the rate of television owning American skyrocketed from 0.4 percent of the population in 1948 to 87.1 percent in 1960.¹⁰⁸ With the availability of this new invention, Americans could not only seek an escape through the antics of fictional characters but could also, theoretically, tune in to see a free Major League baseball game in a better way than they could if they bought a ticket to sit in the stands.

It is with this notion that *Baseball Weekly*, a prominent publication, ranked the invention of television second in the “Top 100 Things That Impacted Baseball in the 20th Century,” after Jackie Robinson breaking the color barrier in Major League Baseball.¹⁰⁹ Further

¹⁰⁸ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, “Did Televised Baseball Kill the ‘Golden Age’ of the Minor Leagues?” *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History and Culture*, 13: 1, (Fall 2004), 59.

¹⁰⁹ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, “Baseball and Television Origins,” *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History and Culture*, 10:1, (Fall 2001), 31.

justification on this theory stems from the fact that by 1958, fifteen of the sixteen Major League baseball teams televised their home games with only the Pittsburgh Pirates resisting the momentum of history.¹¹⁰ As television spread the game beyond local communities, so the fan base for a particular team would also spread, causing Major League teams to gain greater popularity in remote local communities than their own baseball teams. This is the rationale of the “television hypothesis,” as posed by Walker and Bellamy, which states that the invention of television destroyed minor league and semi-professional baseball.

While this hypothesis theoretically explains how local baseball could collapse, its applications in the real world falls short. While the invention of television had the potential to reach most of the communities in the United States, the structure of broadcasting baseball was still very much based on locality. As national media broadcasting networks began to make the transition into television networks such as CBS and NBC, Major League Baseball teams sold their rights to independent stations, not affiliated with these networks, in an attempt to limit the broadcasting scope of their games. Often times, this maneuver limited the range of the game to the city itself. It would only be roughly ten years later in 1965 when Major League Baseball franchises evolved to the point where broadcasting rights would constitute half of its income.¹¹¹ Therefore, with nationally broadcasted sports out of the picture, it is possible that *I Love Lucy*, *Dragnet*, and *The Jackie Gleason Show* succeeded in luring people from the stands. However, in comparison to the larger turbulence the sport of baseball experienced in the 1950s, it must be stressed that these public distractions still played a very miniscule role.

In their article entitled, “Did Televised Baseball Kill the ‘Golden Age’ of the Minor Leagues?” Robert V. Bellamy and James Robert Walker make the statement that minor league and semi-professional baseball were damaged more by the changing urban and economic structures of American life than the invention of television. With the invention of the Interstate Highway System which linked many large cities together, Bellamy and Walker argue, the rural American family had an unprecedented accessibility to larger urban centers. As a result of this, many travelers bypassed local communities that did not have access to these modern roadways. Eventually Major League Baseball franchises such as Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and St. Louis would fully embrace this network of modern roadways in the 1970s by relocating to newly constructed stadiums with freeway access.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, “Baseball on Television: The Formative Years, 1939-1951,” *Nine: The Journal of Baseball History and Culture*, 11:2, (Spring 2003), 9.

¹¹¹ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, “Baseball and Television Origins,” 32.

¹¹² Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, “Did Televised Baseball Kill the ‘Golden Age’ of the Minor Leagues?”, 67.

In posing their argument, Bellamy and Walker cite the Toledo Mud Hens, a minor league feeder team as an example. In the early years of the 1950's the Mud Hen leadership lamented the invention of the television and sought to move away from Toledo to "a city without expressway links to a Major League city, and one that is beyond the range of major-league telecasts."¹¹³ However, by the mid-1950s, with the implementation of the Interstate Highway System, the Mud Hen leadership reversed its decision, remained in Toledo, and continues to exist today as a farm club for the Detroit Tigers.¹¹⁴ While Toledo was fortunate to stay connected to the Interstate Highway System, many teams like the Silverton Red Sox who were not directly connected to this new system died out.

Bellamy and Walker also add one interesting methodology into examining the economics of playing baseball. Through examining the pool of baseball talent as an economic structure, Bellamy and Walker explain that minor league and semi-professional baseball was collapsing due to an oversupply of product. Bellamy and Walker attribute the overproduction of baseball teams in the 1930s and 1940s to the natural American reaction to coping with the combined trauma of war and economic depression. Bellamy and Walker then fault George Trautman, head of Major League Baseball's National Association, for supporting the inclusion of so many minor league and semi-professional teams into the professional fold. Consequently, Bellamy and Walker argue that the baseball "market" became too saturated with players and franchises for it to support and thus their collapse was only part of a natural "boom and bust" economic cycle.¹¹⁵

While Bellamy and Walker's points are very well-taken in their article, there is one detail to which they allude to but do not examine in their analysis: the inclusion of the West Coast into the Major League Baseball National Association. While the "bust of the baseball players market" notion is valid, the expansion of the Major Leagues to the West Coast must also be considered. This is because the relocation of Major League teams such as the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles and the New York Giants to San Francisco had a traumatic impact on the pre-existing baseball structure on the West Coast.

By the 1950s, the Pacific Coast League (PCL), originally an "outlaw" league which defeated the officially sanctioned Pacific National League in a baseball "war" in 1903, had risen through the ranks to attain a classification higher than AAA, the highest designation for a minor league team. This meant that with the necessary backing and facilities in place, the PCL could become a third league in Major League baseball,

¹¹³ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, "Did Televised Baseball Kill the 'Golden Age' of the Minor Leagues?", 62.

¹¹⁴ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, "Did Televised Baseball Kill the 'Golden Age' of the Minor Leagues?", 66.

¹¹⁵ Robert V. Bellamy, James Robert Walker, "Did Televised Baseball Kill the 'Golden Age' of the Minor Leagues?", 64.

rivaling the American and National Leagues who at this time remained east of St. Louis.¹¹⁶

In spite of the Portland Beavers' poor finishes in the PCL during this time, there was still hope that the Beavers could join the Major League ranks. With this in mind Portland clamped down on its control over lesser-rated teams such as the Salem Senators which were affiliated with the Class B Western International League and later the Class A Northwest League. The Portland Beavers used the Salem Senators as a farm team with hopes that they could draw from their ranks if and when they reached the ranks of the Major Leagues.

However, all hopes for any such a venture, shattered in 1958 when Walter O'Malley and the Brooklyn Dodgers moved his National League franchise from the east coast to Los Angeles, California. This relocation destroyed the PCL Hollywood Stars and Los Angeles Angels franchises and crushed any such hopes for the PCL and its teams being ranked as a third Major League.¹¹⁷ In the process, the Salem Senators briefly succeeded in buying back their autonomy¹¹⁸ before they became the Salem Dodgers in 1961, a farm team for the new Major League Los Angeles team.¹¹⁹ This shift in the power structure of organized baseball placed a great emphasis on professionalism. During the turbulence of organized baseball in the 1950s, only teams that had the urban means and finances to make the transition to become fully professional teams were able to survive.

The Final Collapse of the Oregon State League and the Survival of Local Baseball

As the Oregon State Baseball League crumbled for the final time, one team from Oregon rose through the national ranks to win the National NBC Championship in Wichita, Kansas in 1958. This team was the Drain Black Sox who, much like their Silverton predecessors, were funded by a logging company owned by Harold Wooley who searched throughout the state for players for his company team.¹²⁰

While semi-professional baseball ultimately collapsed in Oregon by the end of the 1950s, the national governing apparatus for semi-professional baseball, the NBC, continues to operate. Fifty years passed however, before a team from Oregon made another

¹¹⁶ Steve Cohen, "Portland Baseball's Golden Age," *Great & Minor Moments in Oregon History*, Edited by Dick Pintarich, (Portland, Oregon, New Oregon Publishers, 2008) 306-307.

¹¹⁷ Cohen, 308.

¹¹⁸ "Salem's WIL Entry Now Home-Owned Ball Team" by Al Lightner, *The Oregon Statesman*, "Cavalcade of a Century Edition" March 28, 1951.

¹¹⁹ "Minor Leagues were Watershed" by Capri Lynn *Statesman Journal* Page 1D.

¹²⁰ Reid English, "State's Best Baseball in the '50s Played by the Black Sox" *Statesman Journal* January 2, 2000.

appearance in Wichita. This team was the organization that would evolve into the Corvallis Knights, which in 2004 won the national title.¹²¹

One of the keys to success in the struggle of local baseball stems from the necessity to remain flexible in the evolving structures of the game and maintain the confidence of the community. In the West Coast League, the Corvallis Knights have developed a rivalry with the Bend Elks, who have evolved with the times moving by beyond the era of semi-professional baseball to the present incarnation of local baseball, which embraces collegiate play outside the NCAA structure.

The Bend Elks have survived, if only in name, due to this flexibility and the support and resources of the community it represents. On the other hand, the Silverton Red Sox became victim to the rapidly disappearing financial resources necessary to sustain them, as evidenced by the fact that in spite of winning six State League titles and three NBC Regional titles, the Silverton Red Sox could only afford to make two appearances in the NBC National Tournament which took place during their early years when they were financed by the Silver Falls Timber Company.¹²² The “bust process” of the national baseball players economy also contributed to the demise of the Silverton Red Sox as evidenced by their inability to retain players in their final 1954 season.¹²³

Contrary to popular conjecture, television did not kill the Silverton Red Sox or local baseball for that matter. The structure of baseball, at this time, was universal: any team, whether Major League or semi-professional, is only as strong as the community it represents. The Halliburton Cementers were too tied to the company it represented, instead of the community of Duncan, Oklahoma, so that when the corporation had to divert its resources to promoting the war effort in the 1940s, the team simply disintegrated. In the infancy of television, the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Yankees refused to sell the broadcasting rights to national networks out of fear that doing so would keep spectators out of their stands. Therefore they brokered deals with local unaffiliated broadcasters to keep baseball local.

The Silverton Red Sox survived a World War along with the collapse of its major financier and still continued to play for years afterwards. Its demise was mostly attributable to the fact that the community it represented could no longer sustain it with resources and it lacked the ability to combat the effects of trends that were occurring in

¹²¹ Corvallis Knights—Team History, Corvallis Knights, date accessed, September 30, 2013, <http://corvallisknights.com/knights.php?p=history>.

¹²² NBC Tournaments, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

¹²³ Silverton, the Best Little Baseball Town in Oregon, Circa 1955, Silverton Red Sox, Miscellaneous Folder, Silverton Country Historical Society, Silverton Country Museum, (Silverton, Oregon).

baseball during that time. While the actual team has vanished into the pages of history, its memory continues in the Silverton Country Historical Museum where visitors can be treated to the story of one day in August where virtually an entire town closed shop and sat in an empty stadium to hear their team compete on the national stage.

Unfit to Work Disability Rights and the Mid-Willamette Valley, 1960-2013

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Abstract

Despite the social stigma often attached to disability, peoples with disabilities make up 6% of the employed workforce in Oregon, as of 2009, and the percentage of employed persons with disabilities in Oregon has remained above the national average for over 5 years.¹ As small a victory as this may seem within the larger battle against applied assumptions against persons with disabilities in the workforce, these statistics represent the larger historical significance of those working in Oregon who also identify with any one of a multitude of disabilities, as well as the significance of Oregon's own Disability Rights organizations in and around 1975 which continue to operate today. This paper will trace the triumphs, failures, influence, and (at times) friction of two mid-Willamette-based organizations that have supported people with disabilities who seek employment: Oregon's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Services (OVRs) and the federally-mandated private nonprofit State Independent Living Council (SILC), both of which operate within Salem. Retelling the stories of these two organizations, this article will explore how Oregon's Disability Rights Movement led to and eventually mandated that the modern workforce of persons with disabilities be treated as capable, independent individuals who could and should be equal participants in their laboring communities.

"I could make choices, and that is freedom."
-Ed Roberts, *World Institute on Disability*²

In 1990, President George H. W. Bush signed into law, the Americans with Disabilities Act. This moment symbolized (and continues to symbolize) the historic efforts and struggle of people with disabilities to be seen as equal members of society. It also signals a clear distinction in the treatment and response to human disability. Previous responses to disability sought the diagnosis and treatment of bodily difference. A person could be legally deaf, blind, insane, or handicapped. These labels—these stigmas—relegated bodies to the outskirts of society and would often be irrefutable evidence of the lost contribution one would play in society. A disabled body would thus be disabled both in the label affixed by a medical authority and by the society in which he or she lived.

This struggle for validation of their own bodies and their own abilities made the ADA becoming law a moment of triumph for Disabilities Rights activists. While having significant impact and meaning for people with disabilities and their allies in the United

¹ "Disability Employment Statistics," United States Department of Labor, accessed September 27, 2103, <http://www.dol.gov/odep/topics/DisabilityEmploymentStatistics.htm>.

² Ed Roberts, "Highlights from Speeches by Ed Roberts," *World Institute on Disability*, ed. Jon Oda, <http://wid.org/about-wid/highlights-from-speeches-by-ed-roberts> (accessed September 27, 2013).

States as a whole, the Disabilities Rights Movement can also be seen to have similar importance to both history and work in the mid-Willamette Valley. Within only the span of decades, Oregon has revamped its social model in response to disability, breaking down the diagnosis and treatment of human bodies and moving instead, toward understanding the individual as a complex product of both biology and society.

As of 2009, people with disabilities make up 6% of the employed workforce in Oregon, and the percentage of employed persons with disabilities in Oregon has remained above the national average for over five years.³ As small a victory as this may seem within the overall battle against discrimination of persons with disabilities in the workforce, these statistics represent the larger historical significance of those working in Oregon who identify with any one of a multitude of disabilities, as well as the significance of Oregon's own Disability Rights organizations in and around 1975, which continue to operate today.

This paper will trace some of the triumphs, failures, influence, and (at times) friction, of mid-Willamette-based organizations that have supported people with disabilities who seek employment, such as the Oregon State Hospital, Oregon's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Services (OVR) and the federally-mandated, private nonprofit, State Independent Living Council (SILC), all of which operate within Salem. By retelling the stories of these organizations, we will explore how Oregon's Disability Rights Movement has supported (and continues to support) independent, working individuals who identify with one of many disabilities—individuals who could and should be equal participants in their laboring communities.

A Disability Rights Movement: From Institutionalizing to Independent Living

Disability is a complex topic. It is a flexible term that means different things to different people, at different times in history and society. It can be endlessly diagnosed or dissected into different labels, types, ailments, or manifestations. At the heart of disability, however, is a call to understand the limits of ability. These limits can be physical, intellectual, or psychiatric, but they still correspond to differing identifications of the human body and its various limitations. In other words, disability is something that works itself into culture as a thing that is easily marked as different: a different way of being, thinking, moving, speaking, learning, etc. In a sense, this might be summed up by saying that disability is a term that encourages an understanding of the different ways the body works and does not work within a society. If a society that stands upright and walks on two legs assumes that all members of that society stand upright and walk on two legs, then there are unspoken agreements that steps up a staircase are the easiest way of moving between multiple floors of a building. What this agreement fails to account for, however, is that not all members of a community stand upright and walk on two legs. This does not negate their admittance into this community; they are certainly still contributing members to society who may need to function within a building's multiple floors to conduct business. What it means is that the community has not built itself around an understanding that different bodies will perform in different ways in different contexts.

³“Disability Employment Statistics,” *United States Department of Labor*, <http://www.dol.gov/odep/topics/DisabilityEmploymentStatistics.htm> (accessed September 27, 2013).

What it means is that disability is a function of society, rather than an individual's bodily difference.

Looking at historical reactions to disability, however, reveals that we have not always seen it as a function of society. In Oregon, much like the rest of the country, responses to the disabled body prior to the implementation of the ADA in 1990 have favored diagnosis and consequent treatment of bodily difference. Dammasch State Hospital in Wilsonville, for example, opened and admitted its first patients in March 1961, operating as a "mental institution, asylum, and educational center" until its closure in 1995.⁴ Dammasch was built as a state-of-the-art facility and in 1968, its superintendent, Russell L. Guiss, related that, "the hospital is an exceptionally well-designed structure of 460 beds located at Wilsonville, Oregon, 20 miles south of the city center of Portland. About 50 of the 490 acres are devoted to a beautiful campus, and the remaining acreage is leased for farm use."⁵

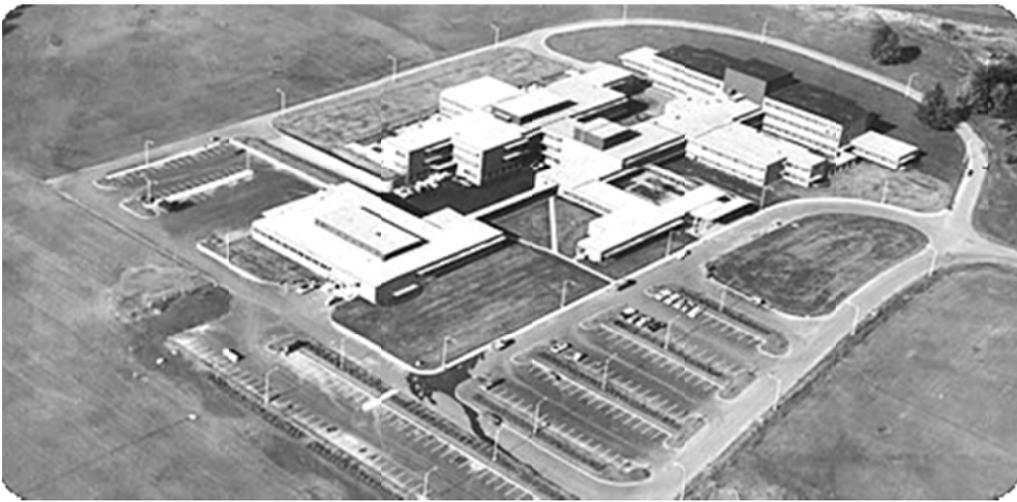


Figure 1. Aerial view of Dammasch State Hospital, available at Dammasch.com.

The hospital served nearly 3,000 patients a year, emphasizing "prompt application of a multiplicity of treatment techniques [...] once maximum benefit has been achieved, the Hospital is anxious to return the person to the community."⁶ One in five patients admitted to Dammasch were diagnosed and treated for alcoholism, and nearly three out of every four patients were self-admitted for hospital care.⁷

Though Dammasch emphasized rehabilitation of patients admitted to the hospital, its treatments and effectiveness were not without controversy, especially toward the end of its existence. Disability Rights Oregon, a private nonprofit organization authorized by

⁴ "About Dammasch," *Dammasch State Hospital*, <http://www.dammasch.com/story.html> (accessed November 22, 2013).

⁵Russell L. Guiss, "Dammasch State Hospital," *State Archives*, arcweb.sos.state.or.us/doc/records/state/control/appendix/dammasch.pdf (accessed November 22, 2013), 125.

⁶Guiss, 125.

⁷Guiss, 125-129.

State and Federal law to investigate complaints of abuse and neglect of patients in treatment facilities, reviewed the deaths of five patients at the hospital in 1993 and found that: “factors such as staff instability, budget reductions, inadequate physical plant, and poor training and oversight contribute to conditions that endanger patients who present special needs. The problems are not new to Dammasch, but the hospital’s ongoing process of transitioning to a smaller institution has made them more acute and, in our opinion, contributed to the deaths of five patients.”⁸

After the closure of Dammasch in 1995, primary care for psychiatric illness in Oregon moved south to the Oregon State Hospital in Salem, where it remains today. The facility has 620 beds and treats both civil and forensic patients in a number of programs that emphasize “therapeutic, evidence-based, patient-centered treatment focusing on recovery and community reintegration all in a safe environment.”⁹ Unlike Dammasch, most of Oregon State Hospital’s programs are catered to individuals who have been charged with or convicted of criminal behavior related to mental illness. To help support this growing demand, a new satellite campus of the hospital is scheduled to open in spring of 2015 in Junction City and will house a 174-bed psychiatric facility.¹⁰

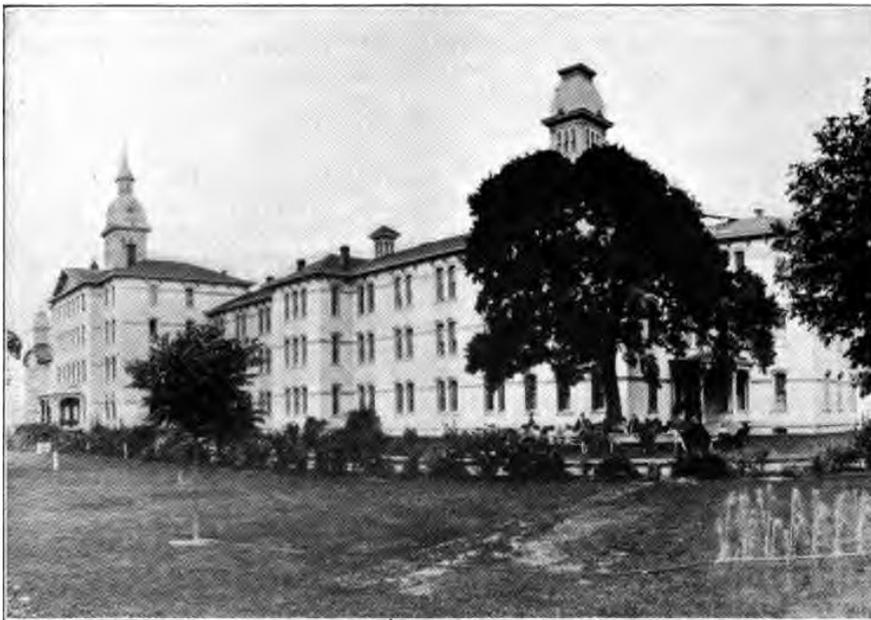


Figure 2. Oregon State Hospital c. 1920. Photo from Charles Henry Carey’s *History of Oregon* (1922).

With the closure of Dammasch State Hospital and Oregon State Hospital’s abundance of programs geared only toward criminal patients, institutionalization as the response to

⁸ Oregon Advocacy Center, “Five Deaths at Dammasch Hospital: A Question of Responsibility,” <http://www.droregon.org/Five%20Deaths%20at%20Dammasch%20Hospital-A%20Question%20of%20Responsibility-1993.pdf> (accessed November 22, 2013).

⁹ Oregon State Hospital, “About Us,” http://www.oregon.gov/oha/amh/osh/Pages/about_us.aspx (accessed November 22, 2013).

¹⁰ Oregon State Hospital, “Junction City Job Recruitment Info,” <http://www.oregon.gov/oha/amh/osh/Pages/Junction-City-job-recruitment-info.aspx> (accessed November 22, 2013).

disability has been dramatically lowered over the decades since the 1960s. This deinstitutionalization process began on a national scale in the late 1950s and allowed people with disabilities to enter the societal mainstream. Naturally, this brought with it a new population who were bound together in a shared difficulty of coping with physical spaces and environments ill-suited to their bodily difference. This population formed a strong bond and found a collective voice for their rights in the then-nascent Disability Rights Movement.¹¹ Through the power of this movement, reaction to institutionalization within psychiatric hospitals became widely apparent.

In 2011, for example, the Oregon State Hospital revealed an online database of over 3,500 unclaimed cremated remains of former patients from the Oregon State Tuberculosis Hospital, Mid-Columbia Hospital, Dammasch State Hospital, Oregon State Penitentiary, and Fairview Training Center and Home, as well as the Oregon State Hospital itself, from between 1914 and the 1970s.¹² Many of these appear to be former patients with psychiatric disabilities. The list itself is an anomaly, as information about patients is protected under Oregon law for at least 75 years. The Oregon State Legislature allowed the release of the information in this case, however, in attempt to help family members claim the remains of loved ones. Such an overwhelming number of unclaimed remains reveals that institutionalization was, contrary to Dammasch's stated mission, not socially seen as temporary rehabilitation, but rather a life-long sentence. Dammasch's mission was revolutionary in attempting to rehabilitate its patients, but the truth is that the prevailing attitude toward disability saw institutionalized care as something a person with a disability would need their entire life.

To combat this, early experimentation with independent living for those who did not require chronic care began in New York's Goldwater Memorial Hospital in 1958, with a patient named Anne Emerman.¹³ Emerman, a 21-year-old quadriplegic wheelchair user, would not only go on to graduate from college and earn a master's degree in social work from Columbia University, but would also become a psychiatric social worker herself.

Marilyn Saviola, another quadriplegic wheelchair user, summarized her experiences in psychiatric institutions in New York after gaining independency by stating, "This is where the people the world wanted to forget about were thrown."¹⁴

The examples of Emerman and Saviola, and other stories, only added to the growing public reaction to the institutionalization of people with disabilities in the 1960s and 70s and influenced a movement for independent living. Ed Roberts spearheaded this effort and is often considered the "father" of the Independent Living Movement. Having contracted polio at the age of 14, he spent the following 20 months in hospitals or encased

¹¹ Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001), 33.

¹² Oregon State Hospital Museum of Mental Health, "Finding Family—Online List of Unclaimed Remains Now Available," *Oregon State Hospital Museum Project*, January 31, 2011, <http://oshmuseum.wordpress.com/2011/01/31/finding-family-online-list-of-unclaimed-remains-now-available/#more-678> (accessed November 22, 2013).

¹³ Fleischer and Zames, 33.

¹⁴ Douglas Martin, "A Victor Fears For the Future," *New York Times*, April 29, 1997.

in an 800-pound iron lung.¹⁵ With the help of his mother, Zora,—a labor union organizer— Roberts worked, despite intense opposition, to complete school via telephone. As technology eventually allowed for portable ventilation, Roberts was able to physically attend his senior year of high school and graduate, despite the gawks and stares of fellow classmates.

Following graduation, Roberts applied for funds to attend college, but was initially denied because the California Department of Rehabilitation deemed he was “too disabled” to ever work.¹⁶ Nonetheless, Roberts matriculated in 1962, to the University of California, Berkeley and while there, became instrumental in changing the university’s response to disability. Initially he was denied campus housing because no dorm could accommodate his need to sleep inside his iron lung, though eventually he was offered space in an empty wing of the Cowell Hospital. His stipulation, however, was that his living quarters were to be documented as dormitory space and not a medical facility. His admission paved the way for other students with disabilities to find their place within the university and evolved into the Cowell Residence Program.

Calling themselves the “Rolling Quads”, together, the group found a new sense of identity, and worked to enact changes that dramatically increased accessibility and public awareness of disability in the university. The need to serve the wider community led to the creation of Berkeley’s Center for Independent Living, the first independent living service in the country, run by and for people with disabilities. The model of Berkeley’s CIL eventually inspired hundreds of such independent living centers around the world and helped solidify disability rights as a movement that would support and promote the rights and freedoms of people with disabilities for the next half-century and beyond.

Independency Under Threat: “Nothing About Without Us”¹⁷

Moving from institutionalization to positions of empowerment and employment, people with disabilities began to see victories for their cause in the form of legislative change as early as 1973, with the signing of the Federal Rehabilitation Act. With it, Oregon established the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Services (OVRs) in Salem, charged with supporting the employment of people with disabilities throughout the state. To do this, OVRs offered a variety of services to assist people with disabilities in preparing for, obtaining, and keeping jobs. Service differed with each individual’s needs, but could include diagnostic assessment of an individual’s strengths and work skills or counseling and guidance services throughout the rehabilitation process. OVRs also might offer access to assistive technologies that accommodate differences in hearing, sight, and other disabilities. Finally, OVRs could provide training and job placement services to people with disabilities.¹⁸

¹⁵ Oregon’s State Independent Living Council, “History and Philosophy of Independent Living,” <http://www.oregon.gov/dhs/silc/docs/history-philosophy.pdf> (accessed December 2, 2013).

¹⁶ Oregon State Independent Living Council, “History and Philosophy of Independent Living.”

¹⁷ James I. Charlton, *Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2000).

¹⁸ Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Services, “Services for Individuals with Disabilities,” <http://www.oregon.gov/dhs/vr/Pages/services.aspx> (accessed September 27, 2013).

While OVRS provided much-needed services that would have otherwise been unavailable to people with disabilities, it was also criticized for its lack of representation by the disability rights community. Marvin Wasserman, for example, related issues that he and his wife had encountered with New York's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation (OVR):

In 1952, Sandra, a wheelchair user who had just graduated from high school, was advised [...] to become a basket-weaver. Considering that she had weak hands because of polio, this job was a poor choice, especially for a person with *her* intelligence. When she asked to go to college instead, she was told that she was uncooperative, and her OVR case was closed. Thirteen years later, when OVR offered to send her to college, she needed two years of tutoring in mathematics, science, and foreign language to make up for the inadequate home instruction she had received. After graduating from college, Sandra earned her master's in rehabilitation counseling.¹⁹

Wasserman's experience shows both how people with disabilities during this period were not receiving the support from OVRS they felt they deserved, and that they were becoming well-educated in the processes and legislation that governed their empowered lives.

Like Roberts and Wasserman, other educated individuals eventually persuaded Congress in 1992 to create amendments to the Federal Rehabilitation Act that mandated a State Rehabilitation Advisory Council within each state OVRS. These councils ensured that people with disabilities receiving vocational rehabilitation services would take an active role in the services they received. Furthermore, the 1992 amendments required the majority of council members to be persons with disabilities, thus ensuring a powerful advocacy voice for the vocational rehabilitation that individuals would receive at the OVRS. Following this legislation, Oregon's first Rehabilitation Advisory Council was appointed by Governor Barbara Roberts on September 1, 1993.

Though the 1992 amendment to the Federal Rehabilitation Act helped reorient the OVRS, it also drew attention to its bureaucratic ineffectiveness. By the early 1990s, the full strength of the Disability Rights Movement was in force, empowered by national-level reform following the ADA and captured within the phrase, "Nothing About Us Without Us" in Charlton's survey of disability activism. Protesters were unsatisfied with legislation that only ensured the lawful elimination of discrimination against disability; they demanded social reform as well. As such, new grassroots movements began to establish themselves as instrumental in bringing about the changes that reformers desired within their communities. Oregon's State Independent Living Council (SILC) was created to give people with disabilities an even stronger place in overseeing disability legislation,

¹⁹ Fleischer and Zames, 35-36.

separate from OVRS. At the same time, Centers for Independent Living (CILs), modeled after the efforts of Ed Roberts at Berkeley, were formed all over Oregon.



Figure 3. A demonstration of the advocacy group American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today (ADAPT) in Las Vegas, 1994. Within the photograph, protestors hold signs that read “No More Pity” and “Freedom Now.”²⁰

The mid-Willamette Valley’s strongest CIL, the Lane Independent Living Alliance (LILA), was established in 2001 when a small group of Lane County residents with disabilities met to discuss the formation of a local Center for Independent Living. With the help of St. Vincent de Paul, Lane County’s largest nonprofit human services organization, LILA received state funding and in 2002, received national certification as a CIL, opening in the Atrium Building in Eugene.²¹ Very quickly, LILA developed a relationship with OVRS and provided peer mentoring to job seekers with disabilities, leadership training and advice on making voting more accessible in the Valley. To help support this effort, LILA has established a satellite office in Salem.

²⁰ Tom Olin, “The Disability Rights Movement,” *The Smithsonian Institution* (1994).

²¹ Lane Independent Living Alliance, “About Us,” <http://www.lilaoregon.org/about.html> (accessed December 7, 2013).



Figure 4. The Atrium Building, the site of the Lane Independent Living Alliance. Photo Source: LILAOregon.org.

LILA has also functioned as a core advocacy group for people with disability in the Willamette Valley. Early in its establishment, LILA became involved in the construction of a new federal courthouse, which was being proposed without an accessible ramp at its front entrance and as such, would not allow people in wheelchairs to enter through the building's front doors. Because of LILA's involvement, plans for the courthouse were changed and the building as-built, reflected the community's desire to make the courthouse accessible to all its citizens.²²

In 2006, LILA partnered with Lane Workforce Partnership to become the "Disability Navigator" at its local employment center. In 2007, LILA became the statewide ADA trainer through a grant from the Northwest ADA Center in Seattle.²³ Through this continued relationship with Northwest ADA, LILA initiated the Blue Path program to promote businesses committed to accessibility. These efforts were honored by then-Oregon Governor Ted Kulongoski, who proclaimed October 1, 2009 to be "Blue Path to Accessible Business Day", along with Secretary of State Kate Brown and Mayor Kitty Piercy, who helped induct the twenty-first charter member of the program.²⁴ The Alliance itself states, "If you think LILA just doesn't know when to quit ... you're right!"²⁵ LILA is a pillar of support for people with disabilities in the mid-Willamette Valley and continues to expand and grow its services. It has solidified itself as a strong ally for independent living and the rights of all people with disabilities.

²² LILA, "About Us."

²³ LILA, "About Us."

²⁴ LILA, "About Us."

²⁵ LILA, "About Us."

Getting Down to Work:

The Future of Employment and Ability in the Mid-Willamette Valley

Reactions to disability in Oregon have changed dramatically over the course of the past half-century. Moving from discourses and spaces institutionalizing the diagnosis and treatment of bodily ailments, to the support and celebration of bodily difference in society and the workplace, disability has helped to give shape to civil rights in the Willamette Valley, as well as the nation at large. Though often overshadowed by other civil rights movements of its era, the Disability Rights Movement played a key role in the breaking down of discrimination against people with disabilities, both on national and local levels. The results saw the establishment of various governmental bodies and federally-mandated councils that ensured the career choices of people with disabilities would not be made without the oversight and representation of others who identified with disability. These programs have ensured that people with disabilities receive support and guidance that take their individual skills and abilities into account when preparing and serving in the workforce.

Looking to the future, innovations in design and technology—often spearheaded by people with disabilities—will continue to make the workplace more accessible to disabled employees. Ronald L. Mace, a polio survivor and wheelchair user, developed the concept of Universal Design around his graduation from North Carolina State in 1966. The design process, as defined by Fleischer and Zames, is the holistic approach to accessible environments that goes beyond minimum codes and standards to create designs that serve the broadest public [including people with disabilities] throughout their life spans.²⁶

Universal Design acknowledges the wide range of bodily difference that may engage in a space and considers how those spaces might best be made to fit that range of difference. Contrary to what this might suggest, the process is often more practical and cost-effective than one might imagine.²⁷ If the range of bodies that might access a space is acknowledged before construction and incorporated into the design from the start, Universal Design serves to actually be much *less* expensive than the cost of retrofitting spaces to meet these needs later.

Technology has also been embraced by the disability community insofar as it empowers people to live independent lives. Disability Rights Oregon (DRO), a nonprofit protection and advocacy foundation based in Portland, advocates on behalf of people with disabilities throughout the state. It has reports of several cases in which people, who otherwise would be bound to long-term care centers, are able to live freely and work independently with assistive technology.²⁸ DRO also offers information, advice, and legal representation to individuals who encounter problems directly related to their disabilities,

²⁶ Fleischer and Zames, 149.

²⁷ Fleischer and Zames, 149.

²⁸ Disability Rights Oregon, “How Assistive Technology Fosters Independence,” *Disability Rights Oregon.org*, <http://www.droregon.org/results/how-assistive-technology-fosters-independence/?searchterm=None> (accessed December 7, 2013).

such as seeking insurance coverage for assistive technology.²⁹ Such technologies, according to the group, could include wheelchairs, scooters, standers, walkers, canes, Braille displays, magnifiers, text-to-voice and voice-to-text software, video remote interpreting, augmentative communication devices, note-taking and recording devices, educational software, modified keyboards, shower chairs, and therapeutic beds.³⁰ Seeing these tools as a means to the freedom to live independently and work in more accessible environments, Disability Rights Oregon has shown how these technologies support the lives and employment of people with disabilities both now and into the future.

For those who may be unable to live independent lives, long-term care has also changed dramatically in Oregon. As established by the state legislature in 1981, preference has been given to home and community-based care over institutionalization for more than 30 years.³¹ As Oregon's population continues to live longer, the demographic projections for elderly people with disabilities in need of long-term care services is projected to increase as much as 24.2% by 2025. This is much higher than national projections of a population increase of 18.5%.³² Even so, Oregon has made a commitment to guide long-term care services "to embody the human values of independence, dignity, privacy, and choice."³³ This commitment has been the result of disability advocacy that will continue to ensure that such values are upheld.

Through historic and continued legislation and activism, people with disabilities have gained considerable freedoms over the past half-century. These efforts have shown that differences in ability are a vital part of the celebration of identity and culture that empower communities to see the best of its people, and the same efforts have strengthened Oregon as well. Joining the earlier disability rights movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, Oregon and the mid-Willamette Valley have taken up this cause since the turn of the century and have supported their people with disabilities in living independent lives and empowering them to choose for themselves, how to live and how to work. But as we look into the future, it is clear there is still much work to do. Stereotypes and discrimination against people with disabilities still persist even decades after the start of the Disability Rights Movement and the establishment of local social advocacy groups like Disability Rights Oregon. Though institutionalization as a practice of caring for people with disabilities has all but disappeared, assumptions that people who identify with a disability cannot care for themselves or contribute productively to the workforce still pervade society. In Salem, these incorrect assumptions of ability are being challenged by the mid-Willamette's only Center for Independent Living, LILA's satellite campus, which is based primarily in Eugene. As Oregon continues to strive to be a leader in support of people with disabilities, the mid-Willamette can look to these organizations for

²⁹ Disability Rights Oregon, "Assistive Technology Project," *Disability Rights Oregon.org*, http://www.droregon.org/resources/3-brochures/DRO-AT_brochure-LargePrint.pdf/view?searchterm=None (accessed December 7, 2013).

³⁰ DRO, "Assistive Technology Project."

³¹ John V. Lambert, *Long Term Care in Oregon: Home and Community-Based Services* (New York: Novinka Books, 2004): 9.

³² Lambert, 9-10.

³³ Roger Auerbach, "The Oregon Long-Term Care Model: Fusing Quality and Client Choice," <http://nescso.org/files/Oregonmodel.doc> (accessed December 10, 2013).

support and advocacy and may even begin to build such organizations of its own. Though disability can render a body unfit to work in any assortment of capacities and intricacies, it does not mean an individual loses the right to work. Freedom to choose is a cornerstone of independent living, and it will continue to be so as long as the mid-Willamette continues to work. Not in spite of disability, but because of it.

In Their Own Words:

Ruth DeSart Lively on Working at a Hop Ranch

This excerpt is taken from an interview conducted by the Willamette Heritage Center with Mrs. Ruth DeSart Lively, Thursday, September 5, 2013. The conversation centered on the four seasons Mrs. Lively spent working at the store at the Wigrich Hop Ranch outside of Independence, Oregon circa 1938-1941. Mrs. Lively's aunt and uncle, Frank "Van" Chandler Vandyke and Zelda



Ruth Desart Lively being interviewed in 2013. WHC 2013.051.

Vandyke, managed the ranch owned by two British citizens, Wiggins and Richardson. Working in the store as a high school student, Lively describes her jobs and the living and working conditions for the thousands of seasonal laborers who came to pick hops in the Independence area. The entire interview is catalogued at the Willamette Heritage Center under the Accession Number 2013.051.

Kylie: So you said that you worked out at the store at the Wigrich Ranch?

Ruth: Uh huh. But it was just a few weeks, see, it was just during harvest time... the campground was interesting because it was, the owner had made some very nice places for people to live and they would come out from their homes in Portland and Salem and around and the whole family would come out, but dad would have some kind of menial job that he could make a you know, buy some groceries, but what they were doing when they came out to the hop yard was the kids were trying to make enough money to buy their school clothes, it was kind of like we do sometimes now...It was hard, hard work. They would take this little tool and unhook a hook that was up there already and drop that wire down, and then they could stand there and just pick the hops... well the tool would be a long, long pole, because it's going to up there quite a few feet. But we had a particular spot where the Indians were, and they all had their teepees. It was interesting to go down through the campground... restrooms were just very primitive and as I remember I don't think they, I don't know, they may have had places for showers, but I

know it was pretty primitive...it seems to me like, I graduated in 1941 from Silverton, and I'm sure, I was just thinking about it, I'm pretty sure, that I at least was working there for 39...38, 39, 40 and probably 41. So I think I probably worked there four years.

Kylie: But you weren't picking in those four years, you were working in the store?

Ruth: I was in the store. I helped to put the store together. See, nobody had, we didn't have the store all year round. It was just a seasonal thing...We had to bring all the groceries in and place them on the shelves. First we had to clean up all the store from all of the winter-- nothing happening there. And my dad¹ and I, we had our little army cots, was really all we could afford in those days, so we had our little bedroom and I remember having a clothes closet so we had a place to put our clothes and you'd use the slop jar and all that kind of stuff. *Laughing.* So it was a primitive thing and uh, there was kind of a kitchen. We had a big cooler, lots of ice. We had ice deliveries every day. The bread man would come each day and bring us lots and lots of loaves of bread. Donuts, oh man the donuts were good! *Laughing.*

My uncle was such a tease...and he'd start laughing when he'd catch me with a banana in my mouth and say "Ruthie's into the bananas again. She's pinching them to make them brown so she can eat 'em." Laughter. So yea, it was a fun time.

I'm going to explain a little bit about what the store looked like. It was an enormous big building. And I don't know if it had always been a store or not, but they had...about three steps, probably three steps and then it was quite a platform, because when they got through picking, it was just like "whoosh," everybody came out of the field at the same time and they were all hungry to go back to their little cabins and eat dinner. They had no cooling in their place; we had it at the store, so they didn't buy their food long time in advance. They would come and get what they needed for the evening meal 'cause they had nothing to protect it. So they would stop at the store and they would give us a ticket of what they had picked. We would cash their ticket, and that would pay for their evening meal. So then they would go down and have their meal. But...it was just day to day. And, you know, no place for the leftovers; they had to eat it all. And it was interesting. And then in the evening, they could go watch a boxing match, they could go to the dance hall, which was all just walking distance, so there was a lot of activity at that store and it was fun because Ruth was, I got to be the queen... I enjoyed that.

Kylie: Did you go dancing at the dance hall?

Ruth: I didn't. I never have danced, so it was just not anything that I was interested in. I enjoyed it mostly just for the social part of it, over the counter. See the counter was, I was telling you about how the people came up, but we were on the inside. We didn't go out. I mean we had no problems at all, 'cause we had all kinds of security around there. And my dad was watching me every minute. So anyway it was a fun time, I really enjoyed it. I missed some school because usually school would start a little before all of

¹ Ruth's father was named Clyde E. DeSart.

the store stuff had been taken care of and I would go ahead and stay with my job, and I remember, uh, my senior year, I was taking chemistry, and I was fretting over chemistry because I wasn't sure what it was gonna entail and I wasn't the best student, but anyway I ended up, I think I was probably at least two weeks behind everybody else. And I thought, oh, I gotta get all those chemicals, what do you call it? Chemicals or elements. Whatever you do in chemistry, and uh, I was just so worried that everybody was going to be so far ahead of me and I was going to flunk and that was not going to be fun, and I was a senior and let's get this done. And I ended up being way ahead of everybody else 'cause I worked so hard. *Laughter.*

Kylie: So tell me a little bit more about the ranch. So you talked about the mail...

Ruth: Yes, so the mail came in just like the regular mail, rural mail truck, and he would bring in whatever was to Wigrich Hop Ranch and then I would go through it and pick out the last name and put it on this, butcher paper and tack it up on the side of the building. And everybody came up and if they got a letter, why they would tell me that they wanted their mail. And, so that was one of my jobs. And another one was to keep the fruit all taken care of and not to pinch too many bananas. *Laughter.* But they waited, in the evening they knew that we were going to close the, oh, by the way the outside was all doors that came down and we put pegs in, so the doors, nobody could come in, only the back door. We had one back door and one door to bring the carts in with, all of the boxes for the soup and all of that cause that's a lot of what they ate...When we got ready to open up we would just take the pegs out and it took two people to put the doors up because they were very heavy, so we'd pull them up and then there was a hook coming out of the ceiling that they would hook to. So anytime that we wanted to be open, that's the way we'd open was that. Our people, our customers did not come into the building, and so anything that they wanted we went and got for them...And a lot of times they would bring their little bags with them, you know. And they didn't buy big amounts. Some of them were big families and they made do...But they were very nice people and all of them were working so hard to make a living.

In talking about the living accommodations she drew a picture of a long rectangular building with multiple rooms:

Ruth: This is one person's apartment, and in here, most of the people would ...a fabric pillowcase, a huge filled pillow case. The wheat had all been harvested and instead of it being a combine like we see today, it was a stationary threshing machine. You would bring your shocks of wheat up to the thresher, throw those things in to take all those stuff out and the chaff would go into a pile. Those piles were all up near the store and all of these other amenities. They could take their huge pillow case, fill it with straw, and put it, this would be layered, if you had a bunch of kids, you put you board up higher...

Kylie: Like a bunk bed?

Ruth: Like a bunk bed. And so mom and dad would be down on the lower part and kids up high. So here is the outside where they have a table and maybe a stove, and then

here's the beds, and whatever else. But they had this kind of a situation. And if their family was big enough they could get two of them.

Kylie: And this is one big building down here.

Ruth: This is a huge building. It's people in here, and in here and in here and in here.

Kylie: Ok, about how many of these were there on the ranch?

Ruth: Oh, there were lots of them... So we had a lot of people and a lot of people had to be fed. Now there was, somebody, I can't remember who did it, but there was somebody that had a place, they were like a restaurant, it was a building by itself. Right now I don't even remember what we called it, but I would say it was like a restaurant and you could go there and get a bowl of soup or you get whatever. If you wanted fried eggs or fried meats or something like that. And I don't remember exactly, 'cause I never went over there to eat, but I remember we did have those kind of people that set up a business on the farm. And we needed all that kind of stuff. Cause people got there with no cars... But the teepees were something that impressed me. And I, um, somebody took me down there, I have no idea who it was, but I remember going down, and this was my senior year, and I have a little purse that was this shape, it had an old-fashioned zipper just put in from here to here, so you could unzip it, and that's, I carried it on my senior year, all year. I enjoyed it. And it was made out of white beads. And then it had a blue with black beads flower on one side and I can't remember what was on the other side, but lots and lots of beads.

Kylie: And that's something you picked up...

Ruth: I bought it from one of the Indian ladies. But the mamas lots of times stayed, you know grandmas, grandpas, they had to go with the family. That would have been their only way of doing it. And there were a lot of people who were not able to pick...

Kylie: Did you have driers on the ranch?

Ruth: On the ranch was huge driers. My uncle, another uncle was there, and uh, he was one of the hop driers, and see those bags were brought in and they were layered 18" high, no higher, and then the fire was, you had to stoke the fires and keep the fires going all night, and I think, I don't know, but the driers were eighteen inches high and puffy...

Kylie: So was it done, you said the season was about 4 weeks?

Ruth: Well, let's see, it always went through August and into September. So we started in July, we started cleaning up our store and getting it all nice and clean, and then we would have the wholesale house, my aunt always had her beginning order ready to go out, and uh, spam was a big item, tuna fish, anything mayo, anything you know those kinds of things, anything to make sandwiches, 'cause usually they'd make up their lunch, cause they didn't have a way to come back in and it was a long way to where they were picking.

And by the time they walked that distance, they were pretty tired, you know? And they used the hops sacks an awful lot to put the kids to naptime. And mamas would lay down, too, and then they would get up and work again. So it was a busy, busy time. But it was also a fun time. I really had a good time because I, well I got away from [home]; my brother² stayed home and milked the cows morning and night....

Kylie: So were their other types of jobs? Were there other people who did the picking, you were working the store, there was the restaurateur people, were their other jobs there at the ranch?

Ruth: Uh, let me see, there really just wasn't that much. We had one young man, one of the years, I don't know if we had him all the time, but Uncle Van had an old truck and they outfitted it with, to have ice, to have cold drinks, and we would put candy bars on the truck. I think we had cold drinks, coffee. I remember that. And they would drive from, and they had a little bell on it I think...

Kylie: Like the ice cream man.

Ruth: I think, it seems to me, like it was 3,000 people that were in our campground. And all of the hop yards all around that were doing the same thing. So there was quite an influx of people in the Independence area and I can see why they would want to get some of this old stuff together. Let's just kind of relive our life.

² Ruth's brother is Gerald L. DeSart.

Author Biographies

Phil Decker is a documentary photographer who studied at the International Center of Photography in New York City. He is a facilitator of the Salem Photo League, a local group of documentary photographers. Phil also serves as an elementary school principal in Salem, currently at Four Corners Elementary. You can see more of his photo essays at www.phildeckerphotos.com.

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Gloria Lachelle studied modern languages and visual communication at Oregon State University earning her first BA in 1975 and her second in 1983. Since then she has lived mainly overseas working as a graphic designer in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and teaching English as a foreign language in Leipzig, Germany. In recent years she has taken an interest in history and devotes her free time to writing and historical research.

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Kylie Pine is the curator at the Willamette Heritage Center. She is a graduate of Willamette University and received her Master's Degree in Museology from the University of Washington. Most recently she worked on helping develop exhibits for the new Oregon State Hospital Museum.

Peyton Tracy is a senior American History student at Willamette University. Though originally from Seattle, WA, she grew up fascinated with Oregon, the Westward Movement and the stories and lives of the emigrants. She spent three semesters interning at the Willamette Heritage Center and Mission Mill Museum and subsequently chose to research the Methodist missionary women for her thesis to complete her degree, a selection of which is published here. Looking ahead to life after graduation, she hopes to pursue a career in museums and archival collections with eventual plans for graduate degree in Museum Studies.