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Work and the Human Condition  
Annotated Bibliography  
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## The Pacific Northwest Homesteader: A Researchers Guide

The following bibliography includes some useful and interesting sources for a study on the lives of Pacific Northwest homesteaders and the settlement of the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Applegate, Shannon. Skookum: An Oregon Pioneer Family's History and Lore. New York: Beech Tree Books, 1988.

In 1843, the Applegate family crossed the plains from Missouri to Oregon. The female members kept extensive records of their experiences, including diaries, letters, published and unpublished memoirs, sketches, and photographs. The documents and Applegate's narrative describe the journey west and the homesteading story. Through the biographies of five women; Irene Applegate, Melinda Miller Applegate, and Lucy, Eva, and Evea Applegate, the author gives an interesting and informative look into the experience of homesteading.

Bogart, Barbara Allen. Homesteading the High Desert. University of Utah publications in the American West, v 20. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987.

The advance of the farmer's frontier into the Northwest involved many delays, numerous strategic retreats, and more than a few outright defeats. Barbara Allen's *Homesteading the High Desert* tells the story of one of these defeats. Allen recounts the struggle of the hundreds of would-be farmers who briefly settled the sagebrush plains of central Oregon, on the northern edge of the Great Basin. She focuses on the Fort Rock/Christmas Lake Valley, a flat, desolate expanse of sagebrush with occasional juniper trees. Allen recounts that by 1910 there were modest homestead shacks on almost every quarter- or half-square-mile of the land in the Fort Rock/Christmas Lake Valley. Being a folklorist, Allen uses oral history interviews to good effect. Personal recollections provide insight into the aspirations and attitudes of individual homesteaders. Memories of the annual jackrabbit drives, of the bitterly cold winters and the hot dust-filled summers, of empty cabins- their occupants gone for a decade or more- with the table still set for a never-prepared supper, gives a certain poignancy to *Homesteading the High Desert*. Yet Allen does not overlook documentary evidence. The book thoroughly uses written sources, from contemporary newspaper accounts of the homesteader influx to state agricultural bulletins to a 1957 study of dry farming on the northern Great Plains. This work is not only descriptive; it analyzes the rise and fall of the high desert homesteaders within the broader context of frontier and agricultural history. Photographs from the period enliven the well-written text and the book is also well indexed.

Burn, June. Living High: An Unconventional Autobiography. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Friday Harbor, WA: Griffin Bay Book Store, 1992.

In this dual autobiography of June Burn and her husband, Farrar, Burn describes their colorful, adventurous lives traveling and settling in the Pacific Northwest in 1919. From homesteading the last island in the San Juan Islands, teaching Eskimo children in the Aleutian Islands, and walking across the country, Burns gives a rich description of the flora, fauna, and hardy lifestyle of the PNW and its early settlers. Burns paints a vibrant and somewhat encouraging portrait of a landscape, a partnership, and a life that anyone is capable of having but few are brave enough to grasp. This edition includes photographs, illustrations and maps.

Cotroneo, Ross R., and Jack Dozier. "A Time of Disintegration: The Coeur d'Alene and the Dawes Act." The Western Historical Quarterly. 5.4 (Oct., 1974): 405-419.

The General Allotment Act, or Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 was another act of legislature that opened up the West to settlers. Yet, like so many aspects of American history, there is another side to this coin of progress. According to Cotroneo and Dozier, "rather than a method for assimilating the Indians, the law came to be used primarily as an instrument for the aggrandizement of their territorial holdings" (405). This article looks at how a particular tribe, the Coeur d'Alene of northern Idaho, was affected by such acts. I thought to include an article such as this one because when studying any part of a people's migration and settlement of land, one should keep in mind those who were forced to move out to make room.

Faragher, Johnny, and Christine Stansell. "Women and Their Families on the Overland Trail to California and Oregon, 1842-1867." Feminist Studies. 2.3 (1975): 150-166.

This article takes a look at the woman's experience of moving westward. According to Faragher and Stansell, "Although single men constituted the majority of the party which pioneered large-scale emigration on the Overland Trail in 1841, significant numbers of women and children were already present in the wagon trains of the next season" (150). Faragher and Stansell also point out that during the journey, "...bare necessity became the determinant of most of each day's activities. The primary task of surviving and getting to the coast gradually suspended accustomed patterns of dividing work between women and men... [I]ndeed, as the summer wore on, the boundaries dividing the work of the sexes were threatened, blurred, and transgressed" (151). It is interesting that right about or just before the movement for woman's suffrage began in Washington that, according to Faragher and Stansell, most women did not see the blurring of these boundaries as a "basis for a vigorous struggle for male-female equality." Instead, they viewed the breakdown of the sexual division of labor as a "dissolution of their own autonomous 'sphere.'" In this study, Faragher and Stansell examine a particular look at women's culture in conflict with the new circumstances of the Overland Trail and the efforts they took to maintain a place, a "sphere" of their own.

Fries, U. E., and Emil B. Fries. From Copenhagen to Okanogan: The Autobiography of a Pioneer. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1949.

Ulrich Fries was born in Denmark in 1866, the fifteenth child of a Lutheran minister. At the age of 18, seeing no opportunity at home, he migrated to America. After earning money as a farm laborer in Illinois, a general laborer in Pendleton, Oregon and working on a railroad construction crew building the Cascade tunnel, Fries homesteaded a cattle ranch in the Okanogan Valley in north-central Washington in 1887, one year after the region officially opened to non-Indian settlement. In order to finance his ranch near Brewster, he held such side jobs as cutting wood to fuel riverboats, construction work at Ellensburg after the fire of 1889, wagon freighting, and carrying mail from Malott to Winthrop by horseback. Fries describes all the transport facilities he ever used, including immigrant trains, boxcars, horses, and wagons of all sorts. Once he even tried a raft down the Columbia. In his memoir, this pioneer shows a tremendous respect for human personality. Other homesteaders, cattlemen and cattle buyers, hoboes, doctors, Chinese, saloonkeepers, and a liberated slave are sketched in appropriate perspective. The text is well written in a straightforward, fast-paced manner. Apparently, Fries son, Emil, was a ghostwriter. There are numerous black and white photographs of many of the people and locations described in the book and the endpapers have an excellent sketch map showing the locations of towns and landmarks. Overall, Fries gives a wonderful look into the history of the American West in general and North Central Washington in particular. The book is thought provoking and the numerous photographs help to relate to the people and events.

Gates, Paul Wallace. "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System." The American Historical Review. 41.4 (Jul. 1936): 652-681.

Gates begins with stating that "[t]he Homestead Act of 1862 is one of the most important laws which have been enacted in the history of this country, but its significance has been distorted and grossly misinterpreted" (652). The Homestead Law had been considered the pinnacle of an increasingly liberal land policy and was attributed with the rapid settlement of the West and the large percentage of farmer owners in the United States. Gates argues that the Homestead Law did not completely change the land system, that its adoption merely superimposed upon the old land system a principle out of harmony with it, and that until 1890 the old and the new constantly clashed. Gates points out that in presenting his view, "it will appear that the Homestead Law did not end the auction system or cash sales, as is generally assumed, that speculation and land monopolization continued after its adoption as widely perhaps as before, and within as well as without the law, that actual homesteading was generally confined to the less desirable lands distant from railroad lines, and that farm tenancy developed in frontier communities in many instances as a result of the monopolization of the land" (655). Gates also briefly outlines the efforts to abolish cash sales of land. In all, it is a detailed, informative look at one of the laws that "opened up" the west to settlers.

Hall, Rinaldo M. Oregon, Washington, and Idaho and Their Resources: Mecca of the Homeseeker and Investor. Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company; Southern Pacific Railroad Great Hall, 1905. Great Hall of Washington History, Frontier Towns and Railroad, exhibit, accession ID nu. 1996.120.190. Washington State History Museum. Jan. 2009.

This is a prospectus written to attract homesteaders and investors to the Pacific Northwest. It includes information on climate, dairying, farming, fish and fishing, fruit culture, grain growing, grasses, homes for the millions, hop raising, irrigation, lumbering, soil, vegetable products, and information about towns.

Jackson, Philip L. and A. John Kimerling, editors. "Immigration Routes and Settlement." Map. Reproduced from Atlas of the Pacific Northwest. Eighth ed. Oregon St. U Press, 1993. Virtual Atlas of the Pacific Northwest. Comcast. TESC, Olympia, Daniel J. Evans Lib. 15 Feb. 2009 <<http://academic.evergreen.edu/projects/virtualatlas/thematic/immigrants/immigrant.htm>>.

This online map, while not interactive, shows the settlements and routes of early settlers to the PNW including the Oregon, or Overland Trail and the Applegate Trail- used by the Applegate family referenced earlier who came to Oregon from Missouri in 1843.

Linehan, Margaret. Personal interview. 16 Jan. 2009.

Linehan is the daughter of George McFadden, referenced in "What Happens to Pioneers" and the granddaughter of Joseph H. Robertson, referenced in "A True Story of the Opening of the West". She is also my Grandmother. Linehan, along with her brother, Richard (whom I unfortunately did not get to interview), are the oldest living members of this family and its historians. Linehan (pronounced lin-eh-han) supplied me with the report and magazine article referred to above and recounted the way of life and the roles my ancestors played in the small pioneer town of Plummer, Idaho. She has quite a few boxes filled with paraphernalia from the early years of the century and her walls, where not covered by pictures of her twenty-four grandchildren, have numerous old photographs of those family members who "braved, and endured the way west".

Masterson, Martha Gay, and Lois Barton, ed. One Woman's West: Recollections of the Oregon Trail and Settling the Northwest Country. Eugene, OR: Spencer Butte Press, 1986.

This is a compilation of Masterson's diary and explanatory comments from Barton that help explain gaps and deliberate oversights in the narrative. The editor also steps in to define terms that have fallen out of our vocabulary. Together, Masterson and Barton provide a biography of a Missouri family who traveled to Oregon in 1851 by overland wagon when Masterson was thirteen years old. In 1871, she married and became a frontier wife, following her husband to gold rush towns, Northern Pacific Railroad construction camps, and homesteads throughout the Pacific Northwest. Masterson gives a day-to-day account of life in a time when weather, death, disease, and turmoil were commonplace amidst a background of a wilderness opening up by the railroads. She illustrates the wildness of the country, the hardships of travel, and the challenge of keeping children alive. The book includes photographs of the author and her relatives.

May, Dean L. Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850-1900. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History Series. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.

Many of the published research I found that deals with the Northwestern Frontier focuses on the importance of ranching, mining, and logging activities in opening this region to settlement. May's book helps fill the void in the literature. May examines the values and dreams of the people who settled in three particular farming communities that were founded in the decades the author refers to as the "Mountain-to-Pacific Corridor" of the Far West. The "Three Frontiers" May examines are Sublimity, Oregon, founded in the late 1840's in the Willamette Valley; Middleton, Idaho, established in the mid-1860's on the plains of the Boise Valley; and Alpine, Utah, dating from the early 1850's in the barren Utah Valley (although, geographically speaking, a bit outside of my area of research, no less pertinent to the topic of the lives of frontiersmen). May explores the most fundamental values of the people who settled each region and suggests how those values influenced the character of the societies they built. He chose to tell the stories of three families who settled those areas, people who represented different cultural backgrounds. The Oregonians were yeomen farmers from the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri river valleys, though their heritage was rooted in the Old South. Migrants to Middleton, though of the same stock as those who settle Sublimity, just a generation removed, moved west to escape the turmoil which surrounded the Civil War. May concludes that the Middleton settlement, which, according to him, represented ambition, wealth, individualism, and mobility, is perhaps a metaphor for America today, considering our current obsession with material well-being and our inability to forgo personal gratification for the good of the broader community. Overall, a very interesting and engaging read.

McFadden, Bob. "A True Story of the Opening of the West." Plummer High School, Plummer, ID. ca. 1930.

In this little high school report, McFadden tells the story of Joseph H. Robertson's (his grandfather and my great-great-grandfather) journey from Indiana to northern Idaho in search of gold in 1884. Though it turns out that this particular ancestor did not homestead there, it is an insightful look into the "anxiety, enthusiasm, and courage" with which people came to explore and settle this region of the country. Being hand written, the report is at times a little difficult to read, but it does offer an informative and sometimes humorous look into the adventures and trials of a Northwest pioneer. McFadden describes how his grandfather traveled, supplied himself, and how, with the other members of his party, made a crude canoe in which to travel the small, rapid rivers of northern Idaho. Perhaps more personally interesting than directly relevant to this research topic, but still an interesting and entertaining read relating to the lives of the people who settled the Northwest.

Messing, John. "Public Lands, Politics, and Progressives: The Oregon Land Fraud Trials, 1903-1910." The Pacific Historical Review. 35.1 (Feb. 1966): 35-66.

Among the hardships Northwest settlers faced were the swindlers and speculators who found that they could obtain government lands by fraudulent means and sell them for a nice, high profit. According to Messing, "from 1860 to 1900, it is estimated that for every entry made by a bona-fide farmer, nine bogus claims were filed" (36). During that timeframe, the General Land Office was in charge of the greater portion of the lands owned by the government. With the passage of the Homestead Act and other related legislation, the office became increasingly busy and the conditions within the office- antiquated machinery, crowded quarters, inadequate personnel, overburdened officials, low pay and rapid turnover of clerks- facilitated the subversion of the land laws. Messing's article deals with the investigation and trials of these land frauds. While it does not necessarily touch on the lives of the settlers particularly, nor did I personally find it exceedingly interesting, it is very a very informative piece on what was happening in the Northwest during its settlement.

Modern Marvels: The Railroads that Tamed the West. Creator Bruce Nash. Wr. Alison Trinkl. Narr. Harlen Saperstein. A & E Home Video. Or. Aired 1996. DVD 2005.

While this documentary mostly covers the history of the railroads and railway workers, the segment "The Emigrant Cars", gives an insightful look into the traveling conditions of the early settlers of the PNW on their way to their homesteads. "In contrast to the elegance of Pullman Cars, [the] compartment was overcrowded, unsanitary, and positively bone rattling. More fit for transporting cattle, than people."

Natural Settings. Great Hall of Washington exhibit. Washington State History Museum. Jan. 2009.

While this exhibit primarily focuses on Washington's geology, one of the section's main themes is the human relationship to the land. The topographic map gives insight into geological origins of the state's physiographic regions and the forces that shaped the land and influenced what crops were grown. The photographic wall panels give a glimpse into the lives of Washingtonians around the turn of the century and how they further shaped the land they settled.

Old Timer and the Homeseeker, The: A smoking car conversation in which the old timer opens the eyes of the homeseeker to opportunities in the Yakima Valley. Sunset Magazine Homeseekers' Bureau; Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co., 1911. Great Hall of Washington History, Frontier Towns and Railroad, exhibit, accession ID nu. 1996.120.180. Washington State History Museum. Jan. 2009.

This pamphlet is a fictional conversation between an old timer and a homeseeker that takes place in the smoking compartment of the Pullman on the westbound express of the Oregon-Washington RR & Navigation Co. It was published to attract homesteaders to the Yakima Valley.

Prosch, Charles. Reminiscences of Washington Territory. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1969.

In this privately issued work by one of the earliest settlers in Washington, Prosch describes his experiences on the trip to Puget Sound. Prosch arrived at Steilacoom in 1858. His reminiscences on the early days in Washington Territory including land speculations, defying the Hudson's Bay Company, the Fraser River gold rush, the rise and fall of Whatcom (later Bellingham), the San Juan war, Indian depredations, lynchings, and other events, transcontinental railroad projects, early steamboating, and early pioneers. Prosch's recounts are interesting and at times even humorous. Prosch writes that the residents were already defending their beloved Pacific Northwest against slurs about the rain and the weather. While not exclusively pertaining to homesteaders, Prosch's stories about the early settlers of Washington gives a particular look into the times by one who was there.

Ruhl, Arthur. "What Happens to Pioneers." Harper's Magazine. July 1922: 137-147.

In 1909, a lottery was held for homestead claims in the Coeur d'Alene Reservation of northern Idaho. Ruhl follows, or attempts to follow the stories of some of those "lucky-number holders". He initially sets out in search of the first lucky ten, but of them, "No. 10... was dead. Nobody happened to know the whereabouts of Nos. 7, 8, and 9." In the budding city of Coeur d'Alene, Ruhl was directed to the small village of Plummer to "hunt up a lawyer there named George McFadden." With McFadden's help, Ruhl locates and interviews some of the remaining original homesteaders in the surrounding area, McFadden included. The article has a slightly romantic overtone, reminiscent of that time, but is otherwise an informative piece on these agrarian pioneers.

Wetter, Karl, editor. Tales of Early Plummer. Plummer High School, Plummer, ID. 1962.

As it says in the introduction, "This little booklet was not designed to be a complete and accurate history of the village of Plummer...; but rather a loose collection of informal articles and stories gathered from whatever local sources were available." The information was gathered from the remaining pioneers who settled there during the first years after the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation opened. There are self-written articles, newspaper and magazine articles, personal interviews, and photographs.