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Work and the Human Condition

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Annotated Bibliography

The following bibliography provides useful sources for a writing project that could be titled: "The Relationship Between Rail Line Expansion and Immigrant Labor in the Pacific Northwest: A Socio-Economic Study."

Bailey, Thomas Raymond. Immigrant and Native Workers: Contrasts and Competition. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

Bailey examines the impact of both legal and illegal immigrants on the labor market experiences of vulnerable native groups who compete for the same jobs. The book is set mainly in the contemporary experience but does examine the historical context of immigration. I found this of particular interest because it demonstrates that the immigration issues of the mid to late nineteenth century continue to be discussed in modern arenas.

"Came West Early." Editorial. Tacoma News Tribune 12 Nov. 1871.

Horace Bolander is profiled as an immigrant who came from the east in 1869 to work the railroads. Deplorable conditions – bad food, long days, poor housing and unsafe work conditions, are discussed. Earning \$160 per

month, workers pushed the railways north from Portland Oregon to the Canadian border.

Cole, Arthur. "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol.3, No.1 (1916): 50-76

Cole examines the migration and expansion west through the lens of various journals and articles of the mid to late 19th century. The first land surveys in Indiana, settlement of northwest territories, and railroad construction and the laborers who made it possible are discussed.

Cummings, George. "Area of Operations for the Tacoma eastern Railway."

Map. Moni Design. 2005. 01 Mar. 2009

<http://www.monidesign.com/portfolio_gallery/maps.html>.

Portland Oregon was the end point for the railroad's migration north from California for many years. The Tacoma Eastern Railway was one of the first railways to begin moving north again, circa 1910. This map displays the lines that helped develop present day Lewis, Thurston, Pierce and King Counties. Migration and community development again relied on the immigrant laborers of the time.

Diversity Engine. Exhibit. The West the Railroad Built. By Charles Crocker.

Tacoma: Washington State History Museum, 2009.

The placard over the exhibit poses the question “Who said laborers need to be white to build railroads?” The need for labor to build railroads was greater than the racial divide between the native settlers and the immigrants who came. At the same time, many immigrants and particularly Asians were persecuted and treated as second class citizens – they were forced to take low wages and live in deplorable conditions. The railroads proved to be a diversity engine, populating the Pacific Northwest with peoples of varying culture and ethnicity.

Hedges, James Blaine. Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest. New York: Russell and Russell, 1930.

When men first dreamed of a railroad to the Pacific coast of the United States, it was to the Oregon country that they hoped to build. The chartering of the Union and Central Pacific companies to connect California with the Mississippi Valley, foreshadowed long years of isolation for the Northwest. The task was daunting due to geography but as much due to the lack of settlement and labor. Portland was a river port and not so anxious to facilitate the railroad because they had ship access. Activists, such as Henry Villard, pushed the political agenda for railroad companies, which included propaganda pointed to immigrant workers.

Hedges, James B. "Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol.15, No.2 (1928): 183-203

Focusing primarily on Oregon's effort to encourage settlement in Willamette country, Hedges discusses the 1874 State Board of Immigration. The railroads of the northwest coast and in particular, the Oregon Central Road and the Oregon and California Company, made possible easier access from the east and south. The problem for Oregon was that most who came either passed through Portland as a gate way to the north or collected in newly opened mining camps. One result of this migration pattern was insufficient labor pools for the agriculture districts. A recruiting effort ensued in partnership between the State of Oregon and the railroads. The goal was immigration and settlement in Willamette country to work agriculture thus, supporting population growth in the state as well as in railroad communities.

Irwin, Leonard Bertram. Pacific Railways and Nationalism in the Canadian-American Northwest. New York: Greenwood Press, 1939.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century were marked by many important developments and transformations, both political and economic. Prior to the economic panic and depression of 1873, promotion of rail systems was at an all time high. Money was being made and expansion west demanded labor – immigrant laborers were sought and recruited. When the

depression hit, the mood toward immigrants soured. Immigrant workers were now viewed as peculiar foreigners that sought to take work from Americans. Nationalized rail companies often turned their back on the workers they had previously sought out.

Johnson, Edwin Perry. Railroad to the Pacific. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1981.

Johnson was the first author to seriously consider and promote rail line construction to the Pacific coast. Setting the stage for development of this research paper, Johnson began surveying as early as 1831. As early as 1850, Johnson mapped out the possibility of a rail line from Illinois to Puget Sound or a point of navigation on the Columbia River. This early work opened the prospect for Isaac Stevens to conduct his rail road surveying in the newly formed Washington Territory in 1853.

Lewty, Peter J. Across the Columbia Plain: Railroad expansion in the Interior Northwest, 1885-1893. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1934.

Lewty's commentary on the build up that led to expansion lines from California and the head of Lake Superior to Puget Sound and Portland works well to provide context for many of the other sources I cite. The Columbia River steamboats provided this region with adequate frontier transportation long after rail expansions made it to California in 1869. The sense of urgency

for a rail line to Willamette country did not come until 1878 when the riverboats could no longer keep up with grain exports. The rail system and extension lines that came opened the territory for economic and immigration growth following the depression of the 1870s.

Millis, H.A. "East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and Pacific coast States." The American Economic Review Vol.1, No.1 (1911): 72-76

Millis writes, "The immigration of east Indian laborers to British Columbia and to our three Pacific Coast states has presented the most recent problem of Asiatic immigration." East Indian as well as Chinese and Japanese immigrants flooded the labor market and found low paying work as unskilled laborers on the railroads, in lumber and shingle mills, and in the fishing industry. The Canadian Deputy Minister of Labour investigated and concluded that distribution of literature throughout rural districts of India encouraged mass immigration but exaggerated the opportunities of fortune making in these Northwest Territories. Much opposition was shown to those immigrants, and they were seen as culturally peculiar and as taking jobs from the settlers in these areas. The Canadian government solved this problem by a series of measures resulting in the effective exclusion of East Indian laborers from the Dominion territory. Similar exclusions were recommended by the Immigration Commission of the United States.

Pacific Rim (The). Map. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. By George T. Renner. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1930. 356

This map demonstrates the migratory path of Chinese immigrants to the pacific coast of the United States and in particular, the relation between the campaigns of railroad companies to promote immigration and the actual destination of the majority of the Chinese immigrants – the Pacific coast.

Peck, Gunther. Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in North American West. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

An unintended consequence of immigration to build the west is the exploitation of workers with a system of labor contracts. In particular, Italian and Greek immigrants fell prey to “padrones.” Padrones brought immigrants from the old country with promise of jobs. The immigrants were forced to pay up front sums and then fees out of their pay. The padrones brought the immigrants to “company” towns in which homes, groceries and every human need was controlled and sold by the padrones. The result was an immigrant pool of virtually free labor with no hope or means to escape the deplorable conditions. In the winter of 1911, fifty Greek copper miners petitioned the governor of Utah to break the padrone’s hold on them. This was the beginning of another front on the radical labor movement.

Renner, George T. "Chinese Influence in the Development of Western United States." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 152 (1930): 356-369

Renner makes comparison between Chinese immigrant social structure in China and the United States. Chinese immigration to the United States largely resulted from recruitment by government and railroad officials for work in industry and primarily, railroad expansion to the west. This article focuses on the social and cultural development arising out of Chinese immigrant influence, which changed the face of many communities. A primary focus of the argument resides in the comparison of population to output between China and the United States. The assertion here amounts to a climate of moderation versus excess consumption – as a result of the immigrant experience; the American value system was arguably shifted to a more moderate state.

Rosenblum, Gerald. Immigrant Workers; Their Impact on American Labor Radicalism. New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1973.

Rosenblum focuses on the sociology in the United States of mass immigration in the late nineteenth century. Immigrant labor was needed to develop the west in the early to mid nineteenth century, but the country falling into depression in the 1870s changed the outlook toward immigrants.

The ensuing racial and ethnic tension spurred radicalism in the labor movement, and is an important discussion arising out of rail line expansion.

Ross, Edward Alsworth. "Significance of Emigration – Discussion." The American Economic Review. Vol.2, No.1 (1912): 86-88

Ross observes that immigrant migration to the west coast declined with the conclusion of free land offers by the government and the railroads. However, the flood of immigration to the United States, via the eastern seaboard, had not declined which resulted in ethnic tension in the east over the abundant labor pool driving down wages. Ross proposes limiting immigration and recruitment of immigrants to migrate west.

Route of the Canadian Pacific Railway:1885 (The). Map. The Impossible Railway; The Building of the Canadian Pacific. By Pierre Berton. New York: Knopf, 1920. 6.

Parallel to America's push to connect the east and west coasts with rail line, Canada connects her coasts in 1871. The Canadian Pacific Railway lays the ground work for an American south to north rail connection. The map provides an excellent visual to help illustrate the path of not only rail lines but also the path of immigration to the Northwest Territories.

Schwantes, Carlos A. "Protest in a Promised Land: Disinheritance, and the Origin of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest, 1885-1886." Western Historical Quarterly Vol.13, No.4 (1982): 373-390

Schwantes examines the plight of the Chinese immigrant during the economic downturn of the mid-1880's in the Pacific Northwest. Chinese immigration had been promoted to facilitate the westward expansion and development of the railroads. In reality, when the immigrants arrived, there were few opportunities to become wealthy - immigrants were to become the new slave class. Schwantes discusses the concept of "disinheritance." Imagine, taking the collective wealth from your family to journey to a distant land, on the promise of prosperity. In fact, you experience racism, abuse and exploitation. Labor used for a purpose then discarded when that use is perceived complete becomes the thesis of this article.

Sorenson, John. "Shops of Northern Pacific Here Kept Busy." Tacoma News Tribune 10 January, 1922.

Further pursuit by the railroads to promote their own good image and to recruit a work force to the Pacific Northwest, this article champions Northern Pacific. The newly established locomotive repair shop is touted as employing 1,500 people earning annual wages of \$2.5 million. Pierce County is described as receiving \$500,000 annually from Northern Pacific in business and occupation tax.

Trains, Trestles, and Time. Exhibit. Permanent Model Railroad. By Puget Sound Model Railroad Engineers. Tacoma: Washington State History Museum, 1996.

An HO-scale (1:87) model representing local railroading in the 1950's, the 25' by 95' exhibit area provides a compressed view of local historical landmarks from Tacoma's Asarco Tunnel to Stampede Pass, with trackage and equipment from the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Milwaukee Road railroads. This exhibit represents modern accomplishment resulting from immigrant labor.

Tyler, Robert L. Rebels of the Woods; the IWW in the Pacific Northwest.

Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1967.

Tyler discusses the history of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the Pacific Northwest during the early twentieth century. Following half century of exploitation, labor was beginning to fight back and organize in what is often described as a radical movement. Mass immigration to the west left thousands desperate when the boon settled.

Where Money Grows on Trees. Exhibit. The West the Railroad Built.

By Charles Crocker. Tacoma: Washington State History Museum, 2009.

Thirteen articles, pamphlets and booklets produced by railroad companies are on display that promotes homesteading in the Pacific Northwest by immigrant workers. Featured is free land, farmers plowing gold coins out of the earth, "fair maidens" and bountiful lands. Railroad companies authoring these promotions include: Northern Pacific, Milwaukee

Road and Southern Pacific. This exhibit is living proof of the railroad companies' efforts to get immigrant workers to the Pacific Northwest under false pretense.