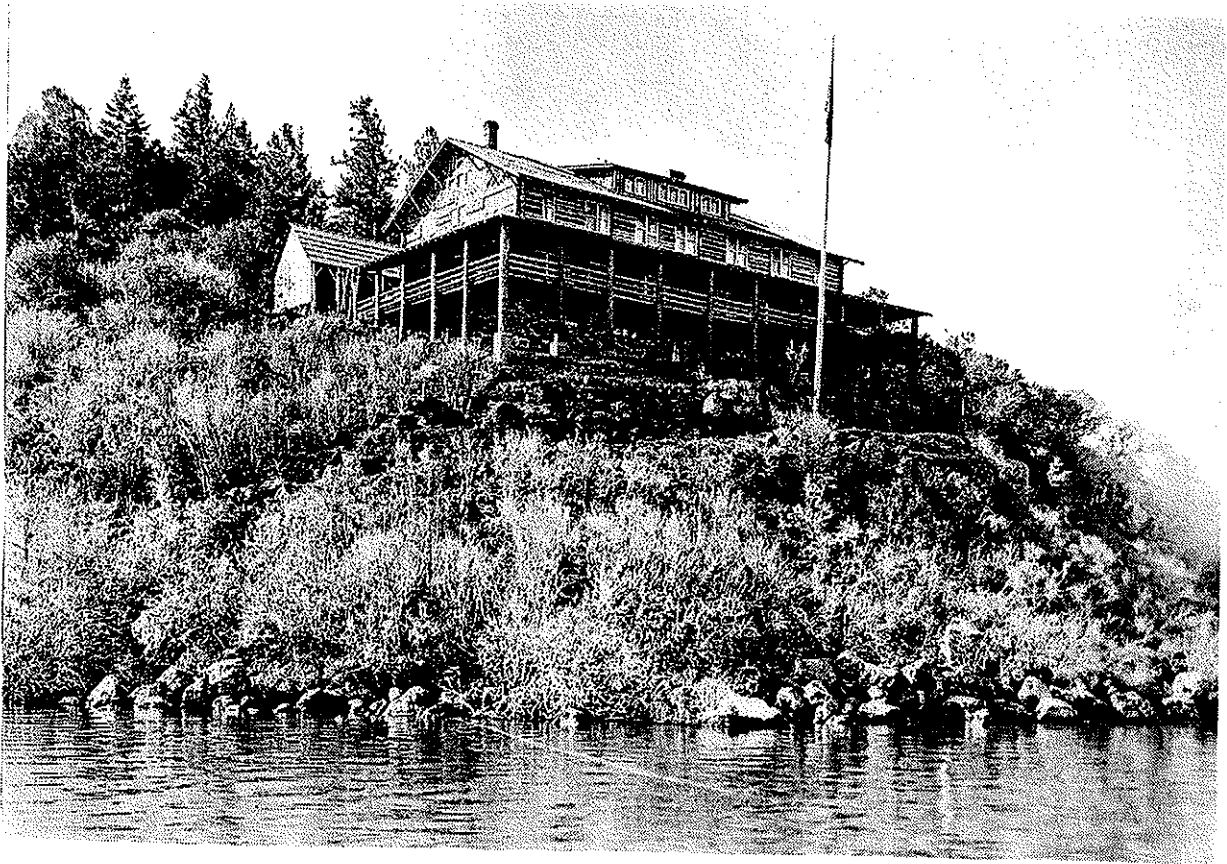


HISTORICAL RESOURCE SURVEY

RURAL
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON



Ward Tonsfeldt August 1990

HISTORIC RESOURCE SURVEY FOR RURAL AREAS IN
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

Ward Tonsfeldt Consulting
Bend, Oregon

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This survey was begun in October of 1989 and completed in July of 1990. The project was sponsored by the Klamath County Planning Office with grant-in-aid assistance from the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office. Data collected in the survey will help the Planning Office make informed decisions about historic resources within the rural areas of the county. An important goal of this and similar projects is the hope that a better understanding of Oregon's cultural heritage will stimulate people to appreciate it and take steps to preserve it.

The survey includes two parts--an inventory of potentially significant resources located throughout the rural areas of the county and an analysis of 60 sites previously identified by the County Planning Department as potentially significant.

General provisions for the project include the following:

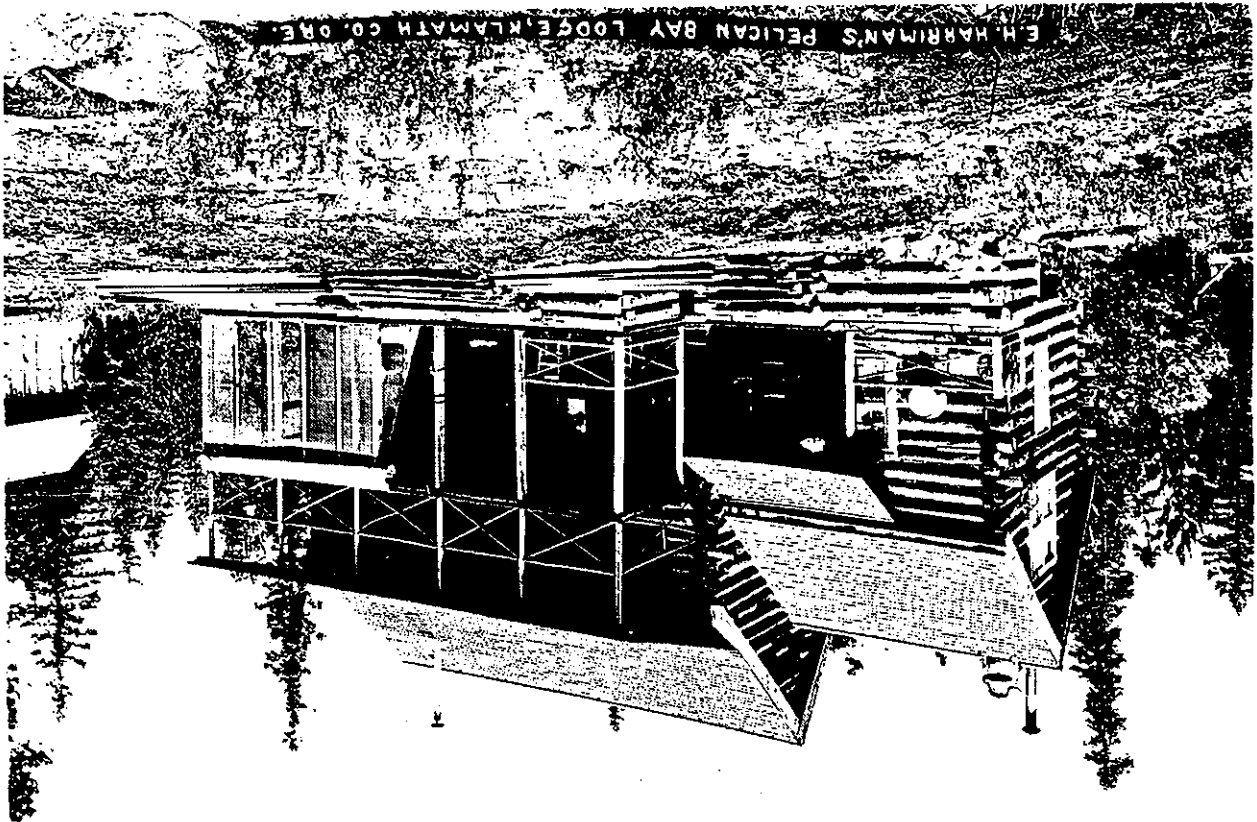
- a) The survey is limited to above-ground resources
- b) The survey is limited to resources located on private land in unincorporated portions of the county
- c) The survey should not duplicate the work of previous surveys

Rural projects like this require the cooperation of many people who are willing to share their knowledge of local history. I would like to extend special thanks to the following people for their cooperation: Pat McMillan and the Klamath County Historical Society, Wendell Thompson and the Klamath County Landmarks Commission, Fred Daniel, Rush Coffin, Gerda Hyde, Verland Huff, Leonard Johnson, Roy Gooding, Louis Hill, Amelia and Adolph Cacka, Lincoln and Frank Gabriel, Dan and Mary Jane Danforth, and Cole Fitzhugh.

I would also like to thank the project team, including Kay Atwood, Jeff McAllister, Ed Gray, Mary Anteaux, and Jean Tonsfeldt and Kathleen Williams.

Ward Tonsfeldt

Fig. 1 E.H. Harriman's Lodge on Pelican Bay (OHS photo #84463)



INTRODUCTION

This survey of historic resources in Klamath County, Oregon, has analyzed the "built environment" that lies within the temporal and spacial boundaries established for the project. "Built environment" here means permanent structures built by people in Klamath County. Ordinarily this includes such structures as houses, stores, mills, churches, lodges, office buildings, barns, schools, and other buildings. It also includes bridges, canals, viaducts, railroads, highways, dams, and electrical transmission systems. In short, any fixed product of human activity that remains above ground comes under scrutiny.

The survey has, however, excluded structures that are no longer extant. Buildings that have been demolished or burned-- however important to the county's history--have not been included in survey unless their site has some special significance of its own.

Resources chosen for inclusion in the inventory must meet at least one of the general criteria of National Register for Historic Places definition of "historic." The NHRP criteria include four basic points. The resource in question must have an association with (a) events or (b) persons significant to the broad pattern of local history, or (c) embody distinctive design or construction techniques, or (d) be likely to yield information important to our understanding of history or prehistory.

Beyond these considerations, the resources should be at least 50 years old and retain their integrity; that is, they should not be modified too far from their original form or materials.

Since a sense of the "broad pattern of local history" is central to this survey, a set of historic contexts provides additional guidance. The historic contexts are not meant to exclude resources that do not "fit" specific patterns, but rather to provide a systematic basis for interpreting the rich and complicated network of historic resources that Klamath County offers.

Temporal Boundaries of the Study Unit - 1826 to 1940

Klamath County is a political unit in south-central Oregon that was established in 1882. The geographical area that comprises the county was previously included in Lake County, before that in Jackson County, and originally in Wasco County.

The "history" of the Klamath Basin--in so far as we take the term in its literal sense of "written record"--begins in 1826 with the first contact between Euro-American and Native American groups. Following this, subsequent contacts occurred during the 1840s and the 1850s which led to the establishment of Fort Klamath and the Klamath Treaty in the 1860s. The next decade saw Euro-American settlement in the Basin and the beginnings of community life.

The second boundary, 1940, is set by the NRHP 50-year minimum for historic resources.

Spatial Boundaries of the Study Unit

The spatial boundaries of the study unit are set to include all private rural lands within the county. Areas of the county within incorporated towns or public lands managed by in Federal or State agencies have been excluded. Incorporated towns include Klamath Falls, Chiloquin, Bonanza, Merrill, and Malin. Public lands managed by Federal agencies include the Winema National Forest, and portions of the Fremont, Rogue River, and Deschutes National Forests.

Lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management include the range lands in the northern and eastern portions of the county and the Oregon and California (O.&C.) railroad grant lands in the south eastern portion of the county. Klamath County lands managed by the National Park Service include portions of 12 townships surrounding Crater Lake and Mt. Mazama. Additional public lands managed by the State or by the Bureau of Reclamation are also excluded from the survey.

The western boundary of Klamath County follows the Cascade summit from the California border north to a point in T. 23 S., R. 6 E. near the Willamette Pass. From that point, the northern boundary extends east to the northeast corner of T. 23 S., R. 11 E. The county's eastern boundary then extends south to T. 32 S., R. 12 E., where it turns to the east to the north east corner of T. 33 S., R. 15 E. It then descends to the California border. The county's southern border runs west along the state line to its juncture with the western boundary in T. 41 S., R. 5 E.

The arrangement of private and public lands within the county is complex. Generally, 70% of Klamath County is in public ownership.

Beginning at the north, the area surrounding the communities of Little River, Gilchrist, Crescent, and Mowich is private, but national forest lands extend from border to border on both sides.

Farther south, the central portion of the county, bisected by Highway 97 and extending from Chemult south to the Williamson River is also private. West of this portion lies Crater Lake National Park and The Rogue River National Forest. East of this portion lies the Fremont National Forest and the Winema National Forest.

North of Upper Klamath Lake, an area of private land extends from Fort Klamath south to the Lake itself. South of the lake, private land prevails. At the southwest corner of the county is the Weyerhaeuser West Block of timberland, and at the southeast corner are public rangelands managed by the Bureau of Land Management.

Historic geographical areas among the private lands in the south and southeastern portion of the county include the following:

- Swan Lake Valley
- Sprague River Valley
- Yonna Valley
- Poe Valley
- Langell Valley
- Lost River Valley
- Lower Klamath Lake

Historical Contexts for the Study Unit

The temporal boundaries of the project include the following standard contexts of Oregon history, with their dates adjusted to the circumstances prevailing in central Oregon:

1826 - 1865: EXPLORATION AND CONTACT

This period begins with the first recorded contacts between Native and Euro-American cultures, generally made by explorers, trappers, and fur traders. As the two cultures come into regular contact, friction arises between them, leading to treaties, the establishment of reservations, and hostilities.

1865 - 1885: SETTLEMENT TO INDUSTRIALIZATION

This period begins with the first Euro-American settlement in central Oregon's Great Basin and lava plains regions, and in eastern Oregon's Great Basin and Blue Mountains regions during the 1860s. The Indian wars conducted during the 1870s impacted settlement. By the mid-1880's, the influence of transcontinental

railroads and their attendant industries was apparent, although the railroads did not enter the region until ca. 1910.

1885 - 1912: RAILROADS AND INDUSTRIAL BEGINNINGS

This period begins with the influence of the transcontinental railroads--the Union Pacific in eastern Oregon and the Columbia Gorge, and the Southern Pacific in northern California and southern Oregon. The livestock industries grow during these years, mining technology changes from placer to quartz processing, and lumber firms from the midwest begin to acquire their vast holdings of timber land. Towns like Lakeview and Linkville are founded as commercial centers. Railroads enter Klamath Falls in 1909, Bend in 1911, and Lakeview in 1912.

1912 - 1930: INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

This period marks the development of the industrial system in central Oregon both as a mode of production and as a force in social organization. Farming declines, ranching stabilizes. Lumber mills are built throughout the region, with mills of 250+ mbf capacity in Bend and Klamath Falls. Towns grow as displaced settlers enter the urban labor pool. Internal combustion and electrical technologies challenge steam technologies. Hallmarks of the "Progressive Era" are apparent in the development of educational institutions, civic institutions, and such social programs as Lakeview's Daly Fund.

1930 - 1942: THE DEPRESSION AND THE MOTOR AGE

With the national depression, the central Oregon lumber industry slows until 1935, when pine production rebounds to 1928 levels. Internal combustion technology replaces steam technology in industrial and domestic applications. Highway development in central Oregon includes State Highway 97, U.S. 395, the Yellowstone Cutoff, and new routes to the Willamette Valley, especially the Willamette, Santiam, and Wapinitia passes

Broad Themes within the Study Unit

The temporal and spatial boundaries of the study unit, together with the specific details of Klamath County's history, suggested at the outset that the study would encounter the following broad themes embodied in Klamath County's historic

resource types:

EXPLORATION - evidence of trails, monuments, and sites associated with 19th century exploration

MILITARY - structures and other resources relating to military presence and activity

NATIVE AMERICAN SETTLEMENT - buildings and other structures associated with settlement on the reserved lands (reservations) or the management of those lands.

EURO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT - evidence of the first permanent habitation pattern developed by Euro-Americans

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION - technologies related to equine, railroad, water, motor, or air transport, and print or electronic communication media.

COMMERCE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT - resources related to towns and trade

INDUSTRY AND MANUFACTURING - technologies of producing durable goods or consumable goods.

GOVERNMENT - tangible evidence of local, state, or national government

CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE - resources such as residences, churches, fraternal organizations, or private schools

Resource Types by Broad Theme

The following list of resource types indicates resources typically associated with the broad themes identified above.

<u>Broad Theme</u>	<u>Resource Type</u>
EXPLORATION	trail survey monument camp site marked tree
MILITARY	camp or garrison military wagon road battle site blockhouse
NATIVE AMERICAN SETTLEMENT	agency school reservation mill reservation farm residences
SETTLEMENT	ranch complex residence fencing barn corral cabin private water development trail Carey Act canal
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION	livery barn farrier shop remuda corral stage station stage road wagon road railroad depot railroad roundhouse railroad shops railroad grades railroad bridges docks navigation canals, locks, cuts garages gasoline stations petroleum distributing highways

highway bridges
highway maintenance facilities
airports
telegraph facilities
telephone facilities
broadcast facilities
newspaper printing plants

COMMERCE AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT

stores
offices
restaurants
rooming houses
hotels
banks
doctors' offices
saloons
dance halls
laundry
lumber yards
slaughter houses
woodyards, coalyards
warehouses
elevators
utility buildings
water, sewer structures
hospitals (private)
fairgrounds

INDUSTRY AND MANUFACTURING

mills
factories
foundries
creameries
breweries
brickyards
sand, gravel, concrete plants
stockyards
hydro-electric dams

GOVERNMENT

federal agencies' buildings
military installations (recent)
Bureau of Reclamation canals
post offices
state offices
asylums, hospitals, prisons
state militia armories
county courthouse
county agencies' buildings
city hall
city agencies' buildings
public schools
fire station

CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

residences
churches
private schools
theatres
fraternal organizations, lodges



*Fig. 2 Walker Ranch, near Bly (OHS
photo #49094.)*

Klamath County Historical Overview

I. 1826-1865:

Exploration and Native American/Euro-American Conflict

Although its climate and geography are harsher than other areas of the Pacific Northwest, the natural resources and productive capacity of the Klamath Basin exercised a powerful attraction to both Native American and Euro-American groups.

Native Americans

The Klamaths and Modocs, who lived in the Basin when the first Euro-Americans came, were distributed along the shores of the lakes and marshes. Separate groups of Klamaths occupied sites on Klamath Marsh, the Williamson River, Pelican Bay, the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake, and Sprague River. The Klamath Marsh group was by far the largest of the tribelets, numbering more than the others combined.

The Modocs were generally distributed south of the Klamaths, with concentrations on Lower Klamath Lake, Lost River, and Tule Lake. Estimates of the total number of people in these groups vary, but a probable range is 1200-2000 for both groups, with the Klamaths the larger by a factor of two.¹

Each group had matched its needs to the Basin's resources. The wokus or pond-lily provided a staple food in the form of seed pods gathered in August and consumed through the winter. Fish in the lakes--including salmon, trout, and chubb--were a reliable source of protein. Concentrations of migrating wildfowl, and productive areas for hunting deer and elk were added inducements to permanent settlement.

For the Klamaths, the year's activity began in the spring with fishing, continued into the wokus-gathering in the summer, and ended with hunting and raiding parties in the fall. As the contact with outsiders became more frequent during the 1800s, the fall journeys became more ambitious, including expeditions down the Deschutes as far as The Dalles, into California's gold fields, and across the mountains to the coastal valleys. Relations between the Klamaths and Modocs were apparently cordial, with intermarriage relatively common and at least one group, the gumbatwa band, was comprised of a mixture of members of Klamath,

¹ Leslie Speir, Klamath Ethnography. (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1930) p.5; Theodore Stern, The Klamath Tribe and Their Reservation. (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1965) p.6.

Modoc, Pit River, and Shasta tribes.

Euro-American Explorers

Early contact between Klamaths and whites came in two forms. European and American explorers entered Klamath territory and Klamaths ventured beyond their basin to seek outside contact. The first explorer to record meeting the Klamaths was Peter Skene Ogden, who was a trapper for the Hudson's Bay Company. On November 30, 1826, he wrote in his journal that the Klamath village on the Williamson River had twenty lodges with stone foundations, that the inhabitants were wretchedly clad, and that they possessed no firearms and only one horse.²

Seventeen years later, in December of 1843, John Charles Fremont led a party through the Basin, stopping at Klamath Marsh, but missing Upper Klamath Lake. Fremont found the Klamaths helpful and reasonably prosperous, with more horses than one.³ During the same year, missionaries in the Willamette Valley reported that the Klamaths did some exploring of their own, crossing the mountains to sell slaves to the Kalapuya near Oregon City.⁴

In 1846 a basis for more regular contact between the Klamaths and Euro-Americans developed as Lindsay and Jesse Applegate established the route for the South Road from Fort Hall across southern Oregon to the Rogue River Valley. The Applegate brothers had immigrated to the Willamette Valley in 1843 and established residences there. Their idea for a southern route across Oregon was perhaps prompted by their hardships on the conventional northern route. Although the Applegate party was well received by the Modocs, immigrants who followed the South road in subsequent years did not fare so well.

After 1846, relations between Indians and whites in Klamath Basin deteriorated. Fremont's second expedition to the Basin in 1846 went badly; Klamaths killed three members of his party, and he responded with a reprisal raid on a Williamson River village. In 1847, several Klamaths and Modocs joined with Crooked Finger and his band of Northern Molalas in the Molala War. In subsequent years, Modocs attacked immigrant wagon trains passing through the

² T.C. Elliott, ed. "The Peter Skene Ogden Journals." OHQ (2: 1910) p.210-222.

³ Donald Jackson and Mary Spence, eds. The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont. (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1970) p.587.

⁴ Stern, p.23.

Basin, accounting for perhaps 300 casualties by 1863.⁵

The California gold rush increased traffic and tensions on the South Road, as it offered a route to the Sacramento Valley. In 1852 citizens of Yreka, California, formed a company under the command of Ben Wright and set out to protect a wagon train reported to be nearing Modoc country. In one of the most bizarre episodes of this series of reciprocal atrocities, Wright apparently attempted to poison the Modocs with strychnine-laced beef and when that failed, attacked them by more conventional means.

A few years later in 1855, a significant but rather uneventful expedition had passed through the Basin from south to north. This was the Pacific Railroad Survey, sponsored by the Federal government and conducted by two Army officers, Lieutenant Henry Abbot and Lieutenant R. S. Williamson. At the lower end of the Basin they found "a party of men that had come from Yreka to meet and escort an expected emigrant train."⁶ At the upper end, they encountered the Klamaths:

August 22. This morning the Indians came into camp. they were all well-dressed in blankets and buckskin, and were armed with bows and arrows and a few fire-arms. Their intercourse with the Oregon settlements had taught many of them to speak the Chinook, or Jargon language, and one had a slight knowledge of English. They owned many horses, some of which were valuable animals. No offer would tempt them to sell any of the latter, although they were eager to dispose of a few miserable hacks...(p. 60).

Abbott's private journal records a slightly different impression of the day's events: "Aug. 22, Wed. Many Indians in camp. Tried their food. Had to march back 17 miles and camp on a level prairie. Many Indians & squaws in camp."⁷

Comparing Williamson and Abbott's description of the Klamaths in 1855 with Peter Skene Ogden's 1826 description reveals that the tribe had changed. Their increased contact with the outside world had brought them more material goods--clothing, firearms, horses--

⁵ Estimates vary here. See C.J. Shaver et al., An Illustrated History of Central Oregon, (Spokane: The History Company, 1905).

⁶ R.S. Williamson and H.L. Abbott, Pacific Railroad Reports. (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1856) p.66.

⁷ Robert W. Sawyer, Henry Larcom Abbott and the Pacific Railroad Survey. (Portland: OHS, 1930) p.21.

as well as an increased sophistication. The net result was a society in flux:

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century the Klamaths were caught up in currents generated from within. The advent of horses and firearms made it possible for the tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish, and the eastern Sahaptin to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo, and to enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes of the Plains. As they came under the Plains influence...the Klamath were attracted to these new goods and the clothing at least came to replace or supplant traditional forms of wealth.⁸

Treaty with the Klamaths and Modocs

By 1862, Lindsay Applegate had been elected to the Oregon Legislature and had secured enough influence to introduce legislation creating a military post in the Klamath Basin. The result was Fort Klamath, garrisoned by the Oregon Volunteers, Troop C, First Oregon Cavalry, under Captain William Kelly. After the Civil War, regular army troops were assigned to Ft. Klamath, which was active through the 1870s, but was abandoned in 1889.

In October of 1864, treaty negotiations between the native groups and the U.S. were concluded at a site not far from Fort Klamath. J.W.P. Huntington, Indian Agent for Oregon, represented the U.S.; Lindsay Applegate and W.C. McKay (of Warm Springs) interpreted for the Indians. The resulting treaty established for the Klamaths, Modocs, and Piutes--perhaps 2000 people--the vast tract of "Reserved land" that became known as the Klamath Reservation. In exchange for the Indians' claims to other lands in the Basin, the government was to pay \$115,000 over 15 years, "these sums to be applied... under the direction of the President ...to promote the well-being of the Indians, advance them in civilization, and to secure their moral improvement."⁹

More than the Modocs or the Piutes, the Klamaths accepted the treaty and the Reservation system. In Theodore Stern's analysis, it was their rate of cultural change and level of relative success that led them to take a more conciliatory attitude than their neighbors.

Thus the frontier condition...gave the Klamaths...exposure to the whites, largely outside the

⁸ Stern, p.33.

⁹ Charles J. Kappler, ed. Laws and Treaties Vol. II. (Washington DC: USGPO, 1904) p. 866.

Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious the Klamath...became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath culture prospered, although in comparison with the level achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. (p.28).

Establishing Fort Klamath and the Reservation, then, set the boundaries within the Klamath Basin. The grasslands south of the Upper Lake were available for Euro-American settlement or passage while the forest and marshlands further north were to remain in the hands of the native peoples. Later, the Modoc war tested this arrangement and confirmed it.

What the Pacific Railroad Survey had quietly demonstrated, however, was that the Reservation lands lay along the path of progress. Although the railroad that Williamson and Abbott envisioned was not completed until seventy years later, the explorers' perception of the Klamath Basin as a crossing point for east-west and north-south routes proved prescient. During the nineteenth century, the Klamath Basin was as obscure as any place on the continent; during the twentieth century, its location became more and more strategic.

The Modoc War

The final episode in the process of exploration and "Americanization" of the Klamath country was the Modoc War, which capped a period of hostilities between the settlers in the Lost River Valley and the band of Modocs led by Captain Jack. At issue in the conflict was the traditional residence of the Modocs on Lost River. This area was not included in the 1864 treaty and was consequently not reserved from the public domain. As it was well-watered and grassy, it attracted settlers, who contested the Modocs' proposal for a separate reservation in the valley.

The Modoc's efforts at settlement on the Klamath Reservation had led to clashes between the Modoc and Klamath groups. As a result, the Modocs left the Reservation and returned to their former home in the Lost River Valley.

According to Shaver's account, the initial conflict was exacerbated by the businessmen of Yreka, California, who had enjoyed a lively trade with the Modocs and wanted them to remain in the Lost River Valley.

The war itself began in the Modocs' Lost River camp on November 29, 1872 with hostilities between the Modocs and a detachment of cavalry under Captain James Jackson, who had come to move the Modocs back to the Reservation. The Modocs subsequently

attacked settlements in the Tule Lake area, killing 14 (or possibly 18) settlers on November 29 and 30. The Modocs then entered the lava beds south of Tule Lake in California. Here they withstood the repeated attacks of the U.S. Army, the Oregon militia, and the Warm Spring Scouts. Several pitched battles ensued, with the Army getting the worst of each conflict. In one remarkable incident a negotiating team consisting of General Canby and Rev. Thomas were killed, while a third member--A.B. Meacham, the Klamath Agent--was scalped, although he survived.

Captain Jack and his associates were captured on June 3, 1873, and executed at Fort Klamath on October 3, thus ending a singularly grim episode in the Klamath country's history.

II. 1867-1885: Settlement

Shortly after their successful survey of the South Road, the Applegate brothers reportedly promoted a scheme to settle the Klamath Basin. Known as the "Klamath Commonwealth" project, the plan involved a party of Willamette Valley residents who crossed the Cascades in 1848 but diverted south to California after much dissention within the group.

Settlement of the Klamath Basin proceeded slowly after the establishment of Fort Klamath. Even then, few whites lingered in the Basin during the 1860s. There had been some tentative residents in the late 1850s, including two stockmen, Wendolin Nus and Judge Adams, and a trapper from Yreka, Martin Frain. These people were essentially sojourners rather than settlers, however.

The distinction of being the first real settler is usually given to Wendolin Nus, who returned to the Basin in 1866, remaining until he became one of the first casualties in the Modoc War. In 1867 several more settlers entered the country, including George Nurse, O. A. Sterns, and Arthur Langell. The following year saw more settlement and the beginnings of agriculture. Although the altitude and soil conditions made much of the Basin unsuitable for farming, stock prospered. Judge Adams had brought the first cattle--a herd of 2000--to the Keno area on the Klamath River, where they fattened on the riparian grasses.

Dicken and Dicken find evidence that the years between 1855 and 1869 were favored with more precipitation than normal.¹⁰ If

¹⁰ Samuel and Emily Dicken, The Legacy of Ancient Lake Modoc. (Eugene: Univ. of Oregon, 1985) p.2-4.

this is correct, the effect of these wet years would have produced more feed on the range and thus encouraged winter grazing.

The 1860s were years of rapid settlement throughout Oregon, and especially in the new country east of the Cascade mountains. The state's census returns show an increase from 52,645 in 1860 to 90,923 in 1870--an increase of 73%.¹¹ The first wave of settlers located in the western valleys, but the second wave lapped back across the mountains to settle the vast empty lands in the central and eastern parts of the state. During the 1860s settlers targeted Baker in the Blue Mountains, Canyonville in the John Day Valley, Prineville in the Ochoco country, and Linkville in the Klamath Basin as jumping-off points for the surrounding country.

Some of this relocation was stimulated by the gold strikes. Baker and Canyonville were gold camps first, and gold prospecting in southwestern Oregon and northern California had an effect on the Klamath Basin. The Robbins Letters in the University of Oregon archives, for example, record the activities of a family who located in central Oregon during the late 1860s. Their business was stock raising, which they pursued in the grasslands of Crook County. Their livelihood depended, however, on trailing their stock to market each fall in the gold camps of Oregon and Idaho. Thus, the effect of the gold "rushes" was widespread throughout the west.

Klamath settlers in 1867 included the following:

O. A. Sterns
Lewellyn Colver
O.T. Brown
Arthur Langell
Dennis Crawley
H.M. Thatcher
C.C. Bailey
A. J. Burnette
William Hicks
George Nurse
Edgar Overton

Settlement through the 1870s in the Basin was slowed by the Modoc War in 1872-3, but tax roles for 1875 reveal settlements at the Klamath Agency, Sprague River, Fort Klamath, Linkville, and Lost River. With the exception of Fort Klamath and the Agency, most settlement was concentrated southeast and southwest of Linkville. This was the area left open to settlement by the

¹¹ For an excellent analysis of the relation between settlement and population trends, see: Jerry O'Callahan, Disposition of the Public Domain in Oregon. (New York: Arno Press, 1979) p.19.

Klamath Treaty, and the area best suited to stock raising. Early reports mention the richness of the grasses in such areas as the Lost River Valley and the Sprague Valley. By the 1880s, the possibility of raising small grains occurred to the settlers. Early yields of barley were as high as 36 bushels/acre.¹²

Land Disputes

Most of the settlers who stayed in the Basin took advantage of pre-emption and homestead claim procedures to make their settlements permanent. Later, title to timbered land was obtained in the form of "commuted" homesteads, Timber and Stone Act claims, swamp lands, or the state lands offered for sale. Title to desert land was available through the various irrigation acts which began late in the 1800s.

To accommodate the land-hungry, a branch of the U.S. Land Office was opened in Linkville in 1872. The same year saw regular mail delivery and the beginnings of a stage line to Ashland and Lake City, California. In 1874, Linkville was the seat of newly-formed Klamath County. Two years later, a general election would move the county seat east to the more populous Goose Lake Valley and the town of Lakeview.

Despite the enormous amount of public domain land available, the settlement period endured several land scandals. The most notable of these was the "swamp land" scheme. Federal legislation had granted lands declared to be "swamp lands" to the states to manage, since they were presumably unfit for settlement. In Oregon, as elsewhere in the arid west, the swamp lands were in fact especially valuable. The state government disposed of these well-watered tracts for \$1.00/acre to unscrupulous parties who obtained title to lands already settled by legitimate entrymen.

In a second scandal, the state obtained title to alternate odd-numbered sections three sections deep along the proposed route of a wagon road from Eugene, over the Willamette Pass, and across the Klamath Reservation. In 1864, the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road (as the route was named) was built, and in 1865 the land was deeded to the builders, the Oregon Central Company. In 1876 they sold the grant to a California firm, the Pacific Land Company.

Approximately 500,000 acres of the land were located east of the Cascades, and of that portion, 110,000 acres were located on the Klamath Reservation. In 1905 the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company interests, who had purchased the grant from the Pacific Land Company, consolidated these scattered sections into a single

¹² Shaver et al. p. 971.

tract. This was segregated from the Reservation as an 87,000-acre block in the northeast corner. The exchange gave the timber company a block of potentially valuable ponderosa forest in trade for scattered lodgepole holdings. Since the Klamaths had not known about the road grant when they signed the treaty, they did not accept the segregation, and the legal controversy lasted until 1936.¹³

During the 1880s, the Klamath Basin began to "settle up" in earnest. Klamath County was divided from Lake County in 1882, and Linkville became the new county seat. Linkville got a flour mill, a lumber mill, and a newspaper during these years, although it was not to get a bank until 1900.¹⁴ Communities in the south-central portion of the County flourished, as ranching and dry-land grain farming proved viable activities.

Irrigation and Reclamation

The final thrust of settlement in the Basin came as a result of the complex of irrigation projects known collectively as the Klamath Project. Attempts to irrigate portions of south-central Klamath County began in 1878 with the construction of the Ankeny Canal in Linkville. Four years later, the Van Brimmer ditch diverted water from Lower Klamath Lake to the Tule Lake, irrigating 4000 acres along the route.

In 1902, the U.S. Reclamation Act opened the possibility of federally-managed reclamation projects. According to a history of the Klamath Project prepared by I.S. Voorhees in 1912, the Reclamation Service was invited into the Klamath Basin by citizens of "Klamath Falls, Merrill, Bonanza, and adjacent valleys."

The Service prepared surveys and plans for a complex system, and began construction of the Main Canal from the head of Link River in 1906. Construction progressed slowly as the engineers cut through the basalt to complete the canal and its distribution system. Before the railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, materials, equipment, and personnel had to be shipped in by rail to Thrall and then by team over the Topsey Grade to Klamath Falls.

By 1912, the system was irrigating 24,000 acres; by 1940, it

¹³ O'Callahan, p.50-52.

¹⁴ Rachael Applegate Good, The History of Klamath County, Oregon. (Klamath Falls, 1940) p. 63-64.

was irrigating 181,870 acres.¹³ The impact of the system on the areas it irrigated was profound. Prior to irrigation, the stockmen and dry-farmers of Klamath County had land that was reasonably productive, but not remarkably so. Small grain yields of 35 bushels/acre were considered remarkable. After irrigation, wheat yields increased by a factor of three or four, and row crops--especially potatoes--were very successful.

Irrigation also affected settlement in the county. The population of Klamath Falls increased from 500 to 5000 in the ten years between the start of the project in 1906 and 1912. Not all of that growth was attributable to the irrigation project, of course, but the project provided the town's first visible "boom."

III. 1885-1912 Railroads and Industrial Beginnings

Hill and Harriman

The westward progress of American industry arrived slowly in south central Oregon, which remained pre-industrial as late as 1910. At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the area became a battlefield in one of the nation's great commercial and personal rivalries. This was the conflict between E.H. Harriman and James J. Hill--two railroad builders whose ambition and energy shaped the U.S. west of the Mississippi.

By 1900, Harriman and his associates in New York had control of the Southern Pacific railroad in California, and the transcontinental Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines. James J. Hill and his associates in Minnesota had control of the transcontinental Great Northern and Northern Pacific routes.

Hill wanted to extend his lines south from Portland to tap the lucrative California markets. The best route lay through the Willamette and Sacramento valleys, but this was the Southern Pacific's route. The next best choice ran from the Columbia Gorge south through the Deschutes Valley and the Klamath Basin--the central Oregon corridor. As Hill coveted this route and began his plans to build, Harriman began planning to forestall him by building his own line north from Weed, California, to Klamath Falls.

¹³ I.S. Voorhees, A History of the Klamath Project. (Klamath Falls, 1912) p. 122; see also, Good, p.106.

In addition to its strategic value, the Klamath railroad route offered resources important to both sides. Hill had close connections with the lumber industry. He and Frederick Weyerhaeuser were neighbors in Minneapolis, and Hill had sold Weyerhaeuser 900,000 acres of Northern Pacific grant lands in 1900.¹⁶ Both Hill and Weyerhaeuser admired central Oregon properties, provided they were large enough to be interesting. Weyerhaeuser had the entire 850,000 acres of the Oregon Central Military Road grant under option in 1890. Extensive portions of this grant lay in Klamath and Lake Counties. Hill was more favorably disposed toward the adjoining Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain Wagon Road grant, which consisted of 860,000 acres in alternate sections from Lebanon, Oregon, over the Cascades and across the eastern part of the state.¹⁷ He bought the tract for his Oregon and Western Colonization Company in 1910.

Harriman acquired a stake in central Oregon when he got control of the Southern Pacific. An important part of the S.P.'s business was shipping agricultural products from central California. This trade required boxes, and the Ponderosa forests of northern California and central Oregon were attractive sources of box shooks. The S.P. had become involved with the Weed Lumber Company and was a major landowner in northern California.¹⁸ In Oregon, Harriman had fallen heir to the immense Oregon and California Railroad Company grant of 3,728,000 acres in the southwestern part of the state. Before withdrawing the lands from sale in 1903, the S.P. had sold 820,000 acres, 524,000 acres in large parcels suitable for logging. Harriman hoped to hold the rest for appreciation as stumpage prices rose, but his firm lost the grant lands because of abuses too flagrant even for those permissive times.¹⁹

Finally, Harriman had what must be regarded as a personal enthusiasm for the Klamath country. Although his residence was in New York state, he built and maintained a summer home on Upper Klamath Lake near Pelican Bay. Even before the railroad reached the Basin, he spent summers there with his family. For one

¹⁶ Ralph Hidy, Frank Hill, and Allen Nevins, Timber and Men: The Weyerhaeuser Story (New York: Macmillan, 1963) p.212; Albro Martin, James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 464.

¹⁷ O'Callahan p.54.

¹⁸ U.S. Bureau of Corporations, The Lumber Industry (Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1911-1914).

¹⁹ Stuart Daggett, Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1922) p.452.

summer, his guest was California naturalist John Muir.²⁰

The network of rail lines serving Klamath County eventually reached the following extent:

California and Northeastern (S.P.)-- Weed to Klamath Falls 1909
Oregon Trunk (N.P.)-- Columbia Gorge to Bend 1911
Oregon, California, Eastern-- Klamath Falls to Sprague River 1923
Southern Pacific-- Klamath Falls to Eugene (Natron cut-off) 1926
Great Northern-- Bend to Klamath Falls 1927
Modoc Northern (S.P.)-- Alturas to Klamath Falls 1929
Great Northern-- Beiber to Klamath Falls 1931

Railroad Building

The Southern Pacific's Weed to Klamath Falls line, the first to enter central Oregon, was the product of a complex relationship between the Weed Lumber Company and the Southern Pacific Railway. The two firms' objectives were the following: a) To reach Klamath Falls and claim a \$100,000 bonus that the city was offering, b) To gain access to timberlands north of Weed, and c) To profit from Klamath Falls' growth through their common venture, the Klamath Development Company.

California lumbermen Abner Weed, George X. Wendling, S.O. Johnson, and others formed an "interlocking directorate" of the railroad, the Weed Lumber Company, the Big Basin Lumber Company (in Klamath Falls), and the Klamath Development Company. Three of these firms had their offices in the Flood Building in San Francisco.²¹

The new railroad began as the Weed Lumber Company's logging railroad and then continued across northern Siskiyou County to the Butte Valley, across Lower Klamath Lake, and into Klamath Falls. Beyond the city, the railroad extended north along the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake, across the Williamson River at Chiloquin-- which it reached in 1912--and up the Williamson Valley as far as Kirk. Penetrating 43 miles of the Klamath Reservation brought the line closer to its destination point of Eugene, but it also opened up the timber on the Reservation, on the Crater National Forest, and on private holdings in central Klamath County.

²⁰ George Kennan, E.H. Harriman Vol II. (New York: Ayer, 1922) p. 328; Klamath Falls Evening Herald August 20, 1908.

²¹ Larry Shoup and Suzanne Baker, Speed, Power, Production and Profit. (Yreka, California: Klamath National Forest, 1981) p. 29; The Timberman, Jan. 1912, p.4.

A second generation of central Oregon railroads was built during the 1920s. These lines did less to change the lives of the Lake and Klamath County residents than the first railroads did, but they had an important impact on the lumber industry. Although Hill and Harriman died in 1916 and 1909 respectively, the two railroad companies continued their rivalry into the next decade.

The first of the new lines was the O.C.&E., which ran east from Klamath Falls into the timber of the Klamath Reservation. After an initial halt at Dairy, the line reached Sprague River in 1923, and Bly in 1928.

In 1913, Federal courts had separated Harriman's Union Pacific from the Southern Pacific and the Western Pacific. In 1922, however, the combination of the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific was permitted. As a result, the delicate balance that had governed the railroads' relationship in the Pacific Northwest since Harriman's death in 1909 and Hill's death in 1916 broke down.

In the fall of 1925, the Southern Pacific and the northern lines came into open conflict at the Interstate Commerce Commission hearings in Portland. The S.P. argued that their plan to provide transcontinental service through Klamath Falls would "give Portland and Oregon through this construction a new direct transcontinental line to the east, so located on the one hand to serve the greatest agricultural and timber sections of Oregon, and on the other hand, provide a mid-continental route giving these sections direct service with a major part of the United States."²² The northern lines argued that they should be allowed to build south from Bend to Klamath Falls.

Positions hardened; Sproule apparently said at one point that the S.P. would not build east from Klamath Falls if the Oregon Trunk built south from Bend. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company reportedly said that they would not build their proposed mill in Klamath Falls unless the Oregon Trunk reached the city.²³

Soon the citizens of south central Oregon were heard from. Klamath County's lumbermen drafted a petition in support of the S.P., and the county's farmers followed suit with a petition opposing the Oregon Trunk. Sproule answered with a telegram to Klamath Falls Chamber of Commerce affirming his intent to build the Modoc Northern if the Oregon Trunk could be stopped. The Chiloquin Commercial Club rose to the occasion with a telegram opposing the Oregon Trunk while Robert Strahorn--still titular

²² William Sproule, "Testimony" (San Francisco: Southern Pacific Railroad, 1926).

²³ Klamath Falls News, Sept. 13, 1925.

owner of the O.C.&E.--proposed to help the situation by building more of his own railroad if he could raise the money.²⁴

Given this level of controversy, it was not surprising that the Interstate Commerce Commission did not reach a decision until the following spring. In the end, the S.P. got its new route across California, and the Oregon Trunk got to build south from Bend to a point on the S.P.'s Klamath Falls-Eugene line. If the S.P. and Oregon Trunk could not agree on joint operation of the line into Klamath Falls, the latter could build its own line either along the Upper Lake or through the town of Sprague River.

Completing the project that it had begun in 1909, then, the Oregon Trunk filed for its extension south from Bend in the spring of 1927. It had acquired the Shevlin-Hixon Lumber Company's logging line for the first 23 miles of the new route, so only 45 miles of new track was necessary. This task was completed before the end of the year. The Oregon Trunk and the S.P. agreed to joint operation of the track into Klamath Falls, and in an unexpected move, they also agreed to joint operation of the O.C.&E. True to its bargain, Weyerhaeuser began construction of its new mill in Klamath Falls in 1928.

Despite Sproule's threat, the Southern Pacific did build the Modoc Northern. The Klamath Falls to Alturas route had been part of the company's plans since it incorporated the Modoc Northern in 1908. The Klamath County lumber mills got a direct route to eastern markets as a result, although they had Weyerhaeuser for added competition. Finally, early in 1929, the Great Northern filed with the ICC its plan for a line from Klamath Falls to connect with the Western Pacific at Beiber, California. The new line would be the last railroad built in south central Oregon.

The Lumber Industry

In Klamath County--as in much of the U.S.--the connection between industrialization and the railroads was an intimate one. The connection point in Klamath County was the lumber industry, and as the railroads opened the Klamath country, the lumber industry entered into a symbiotic relationship with them. The railroads provided access to the timber that the lumber manufacturers needed as well as access to the national marketplace for their products. The lumber industry--in turn--provided the freight revenues that the railroads needed to build and operate their expensive systems of track and equipment and to service their monumental debt.

²⁴ Klamath Falls News, Sept. 17, 24, 26, 27, 1925.

Although the town of Linkville--"Klamath Falls" after 1892-- did not get a railroad until 1909, a logging railroad reached from the S.P. mainline into south-western Klamath County as early as 1892. The railroad was used to log a portion of a large timber tract usually referred to as the Pokegama tract. Significantly, the name originated in Minnesota, which points out the connection between the western pine industry and the Great Lakes states.

The first portion of the tract was part of the Oregon and California Railway Company (O.&C.) grant lands, which were then owned by the Southern Pacific. In 1887, the Pokegama Sugar Pine Lumber Company purchased over 10,000 acres of these lands in Klamath and Jackson Counties by trust deed.²⁵ During the 1890s, two groups of midwestern lumbermen operated a mill at Klamathon, California. Logs for the mill came from the Pokegama tract. In 1902, the Klamathon mill burned, and activities in the area shifted to the construction of a new railroad and some smaller mills, including the first Algoma Lumber Company mill and the Pioneer Box Company mill.

Then, coming from an unexpected quarter, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company bought the smaller operators' holdings and assembled them into one package of 49,000 acres.²⁶ When the U.S. Department of Commerce was compiling its extensive report on the lumber industry in 1912, Weyerhaeuser was the second largest holder of timberland in the U.S. The largest was the Southern Pacific Railroad and third was the Northern Pacific Railroad. All three firms were active in Klamath County.

While clearly the dominant force in Klamath County timberlands, Weyerhaeuser was by no means the only lumber company interested in acquiring large holdings of ponderosa pine. In the north and central portions of the county, the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road grant lands were in the possession of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company interests. After 1905, Booth-Kelly sold parcels to a variety of lake states and midwestern lumber firms. Among these sales was 500,000 acres sold to the Hunter Land Company of Minneapolis for \$700,000.²⁷

During the following winter, James J. Hill of the Northern Pacific and some of his friends from Minnesota visited their holdings in Klamath Counties. Prominent Klamath County landowners from Minnesota included the Shevlin and Carpenter interests, The Deschutes Land Company, Yawkey (spelled Yacqui) Lumber Company,

²⁵ Devere Helfrich, "Pokegama," in Klamath County Echoes, II: 1964, p. 1-81.

²⁶ Hidy et al. p. 239.

²⁷ O'Callahan p. 51.

S.O. Johnson, and R.H. Gilchrist.²⁸ In 1910, a Timberman magazine feature on the Klamath Basin included among the largest private holdings in Klamath County the 159,000 acres owned by Weyerhaeuser and the 200,000 acres owned by the Deschutes Lumber Company, the Shevlin, Carpenter, and Hixon Company, the Yawkey (spelled Yochey) Lumber Company, S.S. Johnson, and the Gilchrist family.

After the advent of the railroad, several small local mills began cutting lumber for shipment out of the county. These included the Moore and Ackley Brothers mills in Klamath Falls, and the Long Lake Lumber Company, Utter and Burns Lumber Company, and the Meadow Lake Lumber Company. Then, in 1910, the first of the new, large Klamath Falls lumber companies incorporated. This was the Pelican Bay Lumber Company, a firm whose practices were to set the standards for the industry in Klamath County.

The Pelican Bay Lumber Company began as an association of Harold D. Mortenson and G. D. Hauptman, both of whom were doing business in San Francisco in 1910. Hauptman was with the Hauptman Lumber Company of San Francisco, and Mortenson was the son of Jacob Mortenson, who was reported to be the president of twelve lumber companies in the midwest.²⁹

The new company opened an office in Klamath Falls in May of 1911, and began logging on July 1 of the same year. In the spring of 1911, they began dredging on the canal or "cut" leading to their millsite, and the mill itself was ready by the following spring.

The Pelican Bay Lumber Company was a tidy arrangement. Mortenson and Hauptman had the support of family firms in a venture that was well-conceived from the outset. They also had the participation of stockholders G.X. Wendling, S.O. Johnson, and W.P. Johnson--men whose interests in pine belt business included (among others) the Weed Lumber Company, the California and Northwestern Railway, the White Pelican Hotel, the Klamath Development Company, and the Big Basin Lumber Company. Mortenson rose to a position of prominence in the industry and in the community, and his mill remained active through the 1930s.

Two years after the Pelican Bay Lumber Company was formed, the Ewauna Box Company began business. The new firm was incorporated by three local entrepreneurs: C.B. Crisler, Ben Owens, and Burge Mason.³⁰ The firm purchased the Cave Mountain

²⁸ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, Dec. 10. 1909.

²⁹ Klamath Falls Express, April 13, 1911.

³⁰ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, Aug. 6, 1912.

Unit of Klamath Reservation timber in 1913, eventually cutting 47 million board feet from this sale by the close of the 1924 season.

Major mills entering the local business scene during the 1910-1920 period were the following:

- 1910 Pelican Bay Lumber Company
- 1911 Algoma Lumber Company
- 1912 Klamath Manufacturing Company
- 1912 Chiloquin Lumber Company
- 1912 Ewauna Box Company
- 1914 Lamm Lumber Company
- 1916 Modoc Lumber Company
- 1917 Big Lakes Lumber Company
- 1918 Blocklinger Lumber Company
- 1919 Sprague River Lumber Company
- 1920 Shaw-Bertram Lumber Company

Although each of these mills had its own business profile, they all shared certain characteristics. First, with the exception of Algoma, each was "locally owned" in the sense that their principals resided in Klamath Falls and operated the mills personally. Second, while they ranged in size from 135 thousand board feet/day to 70 thousand board feet/day, the average size of 100 thousand board feet/day was moderate for western pine mills. Finally, their timber was acquired from public sales or small private holdings, but not from large tracts like those held by the industry giants.

IV. 1912-1930: Industry and the Progressive Era

Urban Growth

The city of Klamath Falls has been the focal point of Klamath County since its origin as Linkville. The city has provided a variety of economic, social, and technological services. As the Klamath County seat, it has offered a political center for an area reaching from Bly to the Cascade summit and from the California border to Gilchrist.

As a supply center for the ranches, farms, and the lumber industry, the city offered vital services. In 1918, the Hall and Fitzpatrick foundry moved to Klamath Falls from the Willamette Valley. During the 1920s, as many as four foundries flourished in Klamath Falls' industrial district. Supplies for the logging camps rolled out of the warehouses on Spring Street, and new

agricultural machinery was sold in the showrooms on south Sixth. Mill owners built their homes on the city's hills, and mill workers and their families lived in the working class neighborhoods south of the railroad. Transient workers crowded the city's boarding houses and residential hotels while the mills operated, but left for California during the winter.

Loggers and cowboys came to town to "blow off" their wages in the less savory parts of the city. Any street corner could have offered the passerby a rich diversity of tongues: Irish sheepmen speaking Gaelic, Mexican railroad workers speaking Spanish, Scandinavian lumber workers speaking Norwegian or Swedish, and Czech farmers speaking Slavic.

In her analysis of northeastern Oregon towns, geographer Barbara Bailey distinguished four stages of growth. The first two stages feature a main street composed of widely spaced frame buildings. The third stage features a main street composed of two-story masonry buildings with back yards and interstices between them. The fourth stage main street has a continuous row of two-story masonry buildings which use all the available land.³¹ Klamath Falls' main street (not surprisingly named Main Street) reached the fourth stage during the World War I years. By 1920, Klamath Falls was a well-established town of 5000 people offering the amenities usually found in provincial centers. It is probably safe to say that no one in 1920 anticipated the explosive growth that the next ten years would bring.

By 1930, the population stood at more than 16,000, having doubled twice in 10 years. By 1924, it was apparent that Klamath Falls was growing more rapidly than other cities in the state. A housing shortage had been reported in 1923, and by 1924 building permits had gained 91% over the previous year.³² Eighty-one building permits were issued during August of 1924. In 1925, only Portland among Oregon cities built more new structures than Klamath Falls.³³

In 1926 all previous building records fell, as \$1,000,000 worth of construction went up during the first six months. The next year saw the million dollar mark passed during the first five months. In 1928, Klamath Falls was third in the state behind Portland and Salem and 1929 doubled 1928's pace during October.³⁴

³¹ Barbara Bailey, Main Street Northeastern Oregon, (Portland: OHS, 1982) p. 100-115.

³² Klamath Falls Evening Herald, April 4, 1923; July 8, 1924.

³³ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, Oct. 10, 1925.

³⁴ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, June 6, 1928; Nov. 1, 1929.

Other Klamath County communities that flourished in the 1920s were Chiloquin, Sprague River, Bly, Merrill, Bonanza, Malin, and Keno. The first three of these were "mill towns" and the rest were "market towns." Chiloquin, a Reservation community to the north of Klamath Falls on the Southern Pacific main line, established a post office in January of 1912, soon after the railroad had reached the town in 1911. Two mills built nearby provided impetus for growth, but the population was still below 100 in 1922. Sprague River was located on the O.C.&E. railroad to the east of Klamath Falls. The railroad reached the townsite in 1923, and the first post office opened there during the same year. Sprague River's single large lumber mill went through a rapid succession of owners during the 1920s.

Agricultural communities like Merrill, Bonanza, or Malin offered a more stable economy than the mill towns. Merrill, in the Lost River Valley, was platted in 1894 by N.S. Merrill. The town had the second flour mill in Klamath County, which enabled farmers to sell their wheat without transporting it to Linkville. Bonanza, located at the juncture of the Langell, Poe, and Lost River valleys, was platted in 1878. Malin, in the Tule Lake basin, was founded in 1909 by a group of Czech farmers who had immigrated to Nebraska and were looking farther west for better opportunities.

Chiloquin and Sprague River, the two communities located on the Klamath Reservation, developed a unique ambience. Merchants and camp followers came to the towns with the lumber industry, and the result was a rather precarious economy that depended on the lumber industry payrolls and the Reservation per-capita payments to fuel it. The Klamath Agent deplored the results of this volatile mixture in his 1929 report:

During the past few years, many people who work in the logging camps and the sawmill have come to the reservation and as a result there are a number of small towns and communities on fee patented land within the reservation which present a difficult law and order problem. In these towns are usually found the poolroom, dance hall, and other places of alleged amusement, the bootlegger, the gambler, and in one town especially, houses of prostitution. I am advised that the Indians have free access to everything and as a result they are often in trouble. These towns and communities do very little to maintain proper law and order but depend almost entirely on the agency for police protection. Chiloquin is incorporated and attempts to do some police work, but it is done so inefficiently that the efforts have no effect.

A concentration of wealth and financial institutions characterized Klamath Falls during the 1912-1930 period. Beginning with the Moore Brothers and extending to G. C. Lorenz, men prominent in the lumber industry were also prominent in local banking and other enterprises. Many Klamath County residents found entry into the entrepreneurial class relatively easy during the boom years of the 1920s. The profits available in small to medium sized mills and box factories encouraged new enterprises.

Klamath County's Social Structure During the 1920s

The Moore brothers of Klamath Falls offer a good example of the connections within the Klamath County power structure. After their purchase of their father's mill on Link River in 1887, the brothers manufactured lumber until 1910, when they sold their new mill on Lake Ewauna to the Innis-Clark Lumber Company. Charles S. Moore was involved in city and county politics, and served two terms as State Treasurer. His business interests included the Thatcher and Worden Mercantile Company, the Klamath Falls Light and Water Company, the First National Bank of Klamath Falls, the First National Bank of Merrill, and real estate in Portland and Klamath Falls.³⁵ His obituary rather crassly included an estimate of his net worth, which was reported at \$400,000.³⁶

Charles' brother Rufus was a less conspicuous public figure, but his business interests were the same, as was his stature in the county. Other early Klamath County notables with interests in the lumber industry were Charles Worden, Fred Melhase, and Charles Witherow.

Lumbermen who came to Klamath County in the 1912-1930 period include Lamm, Mortenson, Shaw, Voye, and Hovey. Local businessmen who entered the lumber industry include Collier, the Daggett brothers, Steiger, Lorenz, Crisler, Setzer and numerous others. Economic analysis might reveal the extent to which Klamath County experienced real as opposed to perceived prosperity during the 1920s and early 1930s. For our purposes, it is enough to see prosperity and "boom" conditions as a central part of the county's self-image.

The local newspapers promoted this image by their persistent boosterism and continuous reference to growth and development. As we have seen, building records were newsworthy, as were data about the annual lumber cut, or the number of people employed in the

³⁵ Good, p. 202.

³⁶ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, July 20, 1915.

mills. In 1925, the Evening Herald ran a story about the growth in Klamath Falls savings accounts, offering evidence that there was one million dollars more in the local banks than a year before.

The positive side of this perception was a strong sense of community pride, and a fostering of such middle class values as industry, thrift, sobriety, education, and charity. These are characteristic of the Progressive spirit that infused this era in Klamath County and throughout the U.S. Rachael Applegate Good's 1941 history of Klamath county was compiled during the 1930s when the sense of community was being tested in the national depression. The volume included in its biographical section account of the lives of c. 600 Klamath residents, mostly prosperous burghers who "subscribed" a sum of money to have their names included. While this practice may strike us as rather quaint, it testifies to a sense of community and a certain pride in modest accomplishments.

Mary Agnes Hunt's 1931 Senior Thesis at the University of Oregon was an analysis of her hometown entitled "Oregon's Middletown--Klamath Falls." The thrust of the paper was a comparison between Klamath Falls and the community described in Middletown. She concluded that Klamath Falls had more divorce than Middletown, less "culture," better education, weaker churches, and more social mobility.

If the positive side of Klamath County's prosperity was the opportunity it offered, the negative side was the diffidence it created to some of the grim realities of working class life. Through the period, there were several distinct categories of workers. The first were the original loggers and lumber workers who had come to the Pacific Northwest from the Great Lakes region. These men formed the nucleus of woods crews and mill shifts, and became permanent residents of the Klamath County communities.

The second group was made up of homesteaders who moved to the mill towns during the war years and the early 1920s. These people had been lured onto the desert homesteads by the various federal reclamation projects and unscrupulous promoters. The high arid country in Eastern Klamath, Lake and Deschutes counties yielded good crops of small grains during the 1910-1918 period, but could not sustain production in dry or especially cold years. As a result the homesteaders "starved out" and moved to town, where the World War I labor shortage had created a market for their services.

The third group of workers were the transients, who provided seasonal labor in agriculture and the lumber industry. This group is the most difficult to account for, since they left little in the way of written records, and few of them remained in town to become "oral sources" for later writers. The transient population

was not unique to the Klamath industry, but it had become a discernible element in the labor mix by 1922:

...the Klamath Falls region has always had a class of labor which is somewhat below the efficiency shown by labor in the yellow pine region of eastern and central Oregon. This may be explained in that Klamath Falls is quite accessible to San Francisco, from which the greater portion of the common labor is secured. I have always noticed that there was a larger turn-over in labor in this locality and a rather inefficient type of floating element.³⁷

However much of the actual workforce they constituted, the transient workers set the tone of much of the district's working class culture. Mary Agnes Hunt, for one, did not approve:

During ordinary times Pay Night (Saturday nights nearest the 1st and 15th of the month) is a grand carnival and get together for all the [working class] people in the county. Crowds mill in and out of the stores, spending the money they have earned in the previous two weeks. Banks and stores stay open till 10:30 when the million dollar payroll is cashed and most of it is spent. Fights and intoxication are the order of the evening. Local doctors and hospitals expect their biggest business on these weekends... The town offers very little that is better to brighten the lives of the people who work in the nerve wracking box factories. (p.11)

What was offered in addition to the Saturday night promenade was a range of more serious vices including gambling, narcotics, and prostitution. Klamath Falls had no monopoly on tawdry amusement, of course, but the city's reputation in Oregon as the "wild town on the border" seems to have been well-founded.

Housing was available for employees of the larger firms in the form of company cottages near the mill sites. Lamm, Algoma, Pelican Bay and Ewauna maintained workers' residences. Single men could room in company accommodations called "hotels" which were provided for the purpose. Commercial accommodations for transient workers included rooming houses, which were distinct from boarding houses, residential hotels, apartments, courts, and auto-courts. In Klamath Falls, accommodations of any kind were difficult to find during the peak of the season. Data from Sandborn fire maps shows one long block in the industrial district that had five single family residences in 1921, 72 rental units in 1931, and has eighteen units today. The units available for rental varied from

³⁷ Crater National Forest November 4, 1914 Sale File. Readjustment Report Oct. 20, 1922.

apartments in hastily-divided houses to the tents included as permanent installations on one of the Sandborn maps.

The rural settlers that preserved their ethnic identities included the Czechs at Malin and the Irish from Lake County. Two references to Russian immigrants occurred in 1913.³⁸ Both references suggest that the Russian group was about to locate in the southern part of Klamath County, but subsequent references to the group are lacking, and oral sources can add little information. The group may not have settled, or they may have remained sufficiently cloistered to avoid publicity.

The Bohemians who founded Malin, however, formed a conspicuous element in that community. Arriving in 1909, the thirty original families purchased land and began farming soon after they had established themselves on their holdings.

The Irish immigrants to Lake County were connected with ranching and the sheep industry in particular. Driven from Ireland by a chronic lack of opportunity, they came to settle or simply to work long enough to save up money for a better chance back home. Klamath Falls was the nearest large town for much of Lake County, and some Irish immigrants entered the Klamath Falls labor pool.

1930-1942: Depression and the Motor Age

In 1930, the Klamath district was riding the crest of a wave of prosperity that had been building during the 1920s. In November of that year the First National Bank opened its new headquarters in downtown Klamath Falls. The bank was a local firm, organized in 1903, and sustained by the region's steady growth. The new building cost \$250,000. It was built to impress, standing "as a splendid monument to the progressiveness of the officers and directors of the association and...the rapid progress enjoyed by Klamath Falls the city and the Great Klamath Basin."³⁹

The bright terra-cotta exterior, the marble and granite interior surfaces, the murals on the walls and ceiling, and the sophisticated engineering system all contributed to the building's message of prosperity, permanence, and modernity. As one reporter

³⁸ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, April 29, 1913.

³⁹ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, November 14, 1930.

remarked, the whole project "discounts the theory that the depression has been felt to any extreme in this community."⁴⁰

Industry

As early as January of 1930, the lumber industry had begun bracing itself for a market decline, but the general perception was that the adverse conditions would be temporary. The slump did not deter mill building, which continued at a brisk pace. The Weyerhaeuser super-mill opened officially in January, and Pelican Bay Lumber Company re-designed its box factory in the same month. In May, the new Cascade Box Factory was to open and later in the month, the new Kesterson sawmill south of Klamath Falls ran its first shift, cutting 95 thousand board feet in twelve hours.⁴¹ The Spaulding Brothers built a sash and door plant in June, and Weyerhaeuser started their box shook plant in July of 1930. The pace slowed during 1931, with Shaw-Bertram's purchase of the Pickering Tract near Tionesta, California, becoming the largest lumber transaction of the year.

During the 1930s, the Klamath mills' customary emphasis on box and shook production became a lifeline in the beleaguered industry. Local perception of the importance of box production began with references to the box companies' relative strength when other lumber operations were dangerously weak. In November of 1931, the Western Box Manufacturers Association met in Klamath Falls to discuss the future of their industry. Shook grading practices came under discussion, as did the threat posed by "inferior materials."⁴²

Box shook became a rallying point for the Klamath industry, leading to a series of promotional schemes designed to keep the product in the consumers' minds. An effort to produce wooden potato crates which could replace burlap sacks began in 1932, and continued during the next six years.

The late 1930s were a transition period in logging technology in the Klamath district and throughout the western states. Horse-drawn equipment was phased out, and steam power gave way to internal combustion power. As the industry entered the depression, the cost of production had to diminish if the industry was to be sustained. Despite the industry-wide trend toward further mechanization, Klamath County lumber companies exercised a powerful attraction to workers during most of the depression years because it was one of the few lumber districts

⁴⁰ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, October 13, 1930.

⁴¹ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, April 4, 1930; May 9, 1930.

⁴² Klamath Falls Evening Herald, November 13, 1931.

that was active.

As we noted before, a component of the Klamath workforce had been made up of transient workers since the World War I period. During the depression, this portion merged with a larger population of transient workers who had been displaced from other areas of the country. These were typically single men who drifted along the railways and highways of the nation seeking casual labor. Oral sources commonly point out that these men were not "hoboes" in the ordinary sense, but were working men without jobs forced by circumstances into itinerant labor.

Another element in the Klamath migratory labor pool during the depression was made up of families relocating to the west from the "dust bowl" states. One oral informant who worked for Algoma Lumber Company during the 1930s, recalls these people--collectively called "Okies"--camped on the shore of Upper Klamath Lake. Their camps were organized into crude collectives that shared the income of members who found jobs in the mills or camps. Gray's analysis of the families coming to work for the mill at Mowich shows that most of them came from other mill towns in Oregon, but an identifiable minority came from Kansas or Oklahoma.⁴³

For the residents of Klamath County, the depression years were uncertain times, but as long as the mills remained open there was some money in the towns. For those who could not find work, Federal programs available after 1933 offered some help. The Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) had camps in most western National Forests, and the Reservation had its own CCC program. CCC activities included road and trail building and fire control.

State relief programs also put unemployed men to work in the forests; in fact, their programs may have required them to work to qualify for commissary credit.⁴⁴ On the Reservation, the major effect of the depression was reduction in per capita payments from timber sales. In 1932, the per capita went from \$550 to \$35.⁴⁵ As a result, the Individual Indian Money accounts--consisting of estates and minors' funds, were released to the families. These took the form of purchase orders in the case of minors' funds, which were less useful than cash.

⁴³ Edward Gray, Roughing It on the Little Deschutes River, 1934-1944: A History of a Sawmill Camp and Its People. (Eugene, 1986).

⁴⁴ Klamath Falls Evening Herald, April 26, 1933.

⁴⁵ Klamath Indian Reservation Annual Report, 1932, p.22.

Tourism and Highway Development

One of the effects of the Great Depression was to make Americans a more mobile population. Depression-stricken families with their limping automobiles were indicators of a national trend toward mobility and infatuation with private transportation technology.

Klamath County exercised a strong appeal to tourists even before the railroad came in 1909. Harriman's lodge on Pelican Bay and the Eagle Ridge Tavern, also located on the Upper Lake, are both emblematic of the nineteenth-century American enthusiasm for wild, romantic places and picturesque retreats. Later, after the advent of the railroad, the elegant White Pelican Hotel in Klamath Falls was a center of tourist as well as business accommodation.

The fish and game available in Klamath County offered recreational opportunities to visitors from outside the area. In the summer of 1906, a newspaper advertisement for a campground on the Williamson River promised boarding house service, mail delivery, pasture and hay for horses, boats for rent, and "Best of Treatment for All."⁴⁶

The star attraction for Klamath County tourists was, however, Crater Lake National Park. The lake was discovered by a prospector in 1853, was re-discovered at least twice, and became a national park in 1902.

The Crater Lake Lodge is arguably the premier architectural monument in the county. Designed by Portland Architect R.L. Hockenberry, the lodge was laboriously built during the short summer seasons of 1911-1914. Ten years later, a four-story annex was added to the lodge, and other buildings have been added to the original complex in subsequent years. Locating the lodge on the crater's rim was a courageous choice, and--while the choice has been criticized in recent years--it certainly enhances the building's drama and monumentality.⁴⁷

Access to Crater Lake and other Klamath County points grew as the county's system of highways grew during the 1920s and 1930s. The "good roads" movement in Klamath County began in 1919 with a bill introduced in the Oregon Legislature by Senator George Baldwin of Klamath Falls. The bill allowed counties to increase

⁴⁶ Klamath Republican, June 28, 1906.

⁴⁷ Elisabeth Walton, "Spas, Costal Retreats, and Mountain Resorts," in Space, Style, and Structure: Building in Northwest America, Thomas Vaughan and Virginia Guest Ferriday, eds. (Portland: OHS, 1974) p.388.

their bonded debt for highway construction. Highway systems in the county include U.S. Highway 97, the north-south route along the east slope of the Cascades, and Highway 58, the Willamette Pass route connecting Klamath County with the Willamette Valley. The Green Springs Highway, which follows an early route to Ashland, and the highway east through the Sprague Valley to Lakeview complete the County's roster of main routes.



Fig. 3 Yamsi Ranch house at the end of construction in 1928 (OHS photo #55947.)



*Fig. 4 Gilchrist houses under
construction, 1940 (DHS photo
#005678.)*

IDENTIFICATION

Methodology

The Klamath County survey project divides into four phases: a) conducting a literature search to establish historic contexts for the County, b) conducting the field inventory, c) evaluating the resources identified in the inventory, and d) reporting the results.

A. Literature Search

To establish historic contexts for the County, the project team has searched secondary and primary sources, including the complete run of Klamath County's leading newspaper, the Evening Herald, from 1906 to 1939.

The literature search and historic context phase of the survey began with a search of secondary materials including the standard historical works for the County, which are An Illustrated History of Central Oregon by F.A. Shaver and others (1905), A History of Klamath County, Oregon by Rachael Applegate Good (1941) and the History of Klamath County, prepared by the Klamath County Historical Society in 1984. More recent general accounts of Klamath County history include the Klamath Echoes series, edited by Devere Helfrich, and the Klamath County Museum publications edited by Harry Drew.

Some specific aspects of Klamath County's background are developed in such works as Theodore Stern's The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation (1956), J.P. Kinney's Indian Forest and Range (1950), and Edward Gray's two monographs on northern Klamath County.

Historical periodicals include the Oregon Historical Quarterly, the Journal of the Shaw Historical Library, and publications of the historical societies of nearby Oregon and California counties.

Primary materials available include the Klamath County newspapers, especially the Evening Herald. The Timberman, a Portland journal of the lumber industry, prepared a Klamath County column each month from 1914 through 1938. The Annual Reports for the Klamath Agency are available on microfilm in the University of Oregon collections. Additional primary materials have been taken from the collections of the Klamath County Museum, the Oregon Historical Society Library, the University of Oregon Library, the Shaw Historical Library, the State of Oregon Library, and the Bancroft Library at the University of

California, Berkeley.

The historical context statement includes an overview of Klamath County history with emphasis on the rural portions of the County--i.e., those patented (or private) lands which are outside the boundaries of incorporated communities. These are the portions of the county included in the survey area. Many of the resources in the rural areas are related to the livestock business, the lumber industry, transportation, or irrigation. These themes are important in Klamath County's development, and their history has been included in the overview, although some of the resources themselves may lie on public lands outside the scope of the survey.

Oral informants are important for identifying specific resources and for providing general background information. Primary among these are the members of the Klamath County Landmarks Commission who have been consulted on several occasions and who will review the final product of the survey. Other oral sources came from the Klamath Tribe, granges, farm families, and other social and business groups identified with rural activities.

B. Inventory

The field inventory portion of the project began with an evaluation of all buildings and other structures over 50 years old. The USGS 15' maps prepared in the 1930s (which are now obsolete) showed the location of each building in the rural areas. These maps were revised from aerial photographs taken in the 1940s and 1950s. As a result, the old maps provide a useful overview of all buildings that were on the ground in 1950. Field checking the maps demonstrated that they were quite reliable. Forest Service maps derived from the USGS maps were used to supplement the originals in the northern part of the County.

The inventory also used the predictive model derived from the historic context analysis. The model enumerates resource types likely to be important to the County's history. The historical overview singles out some specific historic sites (like Kirk), resources associated with historic personages (like the Harriman Lodge on Pelican Bay), and resources of cultural importance (like the Yamsi Ranch house designed by Oregon architect Jamison Parker). The survey team located these resources and, when they were still extant, added them to the inventory.

The inventory was limited to resources accessible from public roads in the rural areas and streets in unincorporated communities. Obviously, there are resources