AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF


Title: Rural Philomath Oregon 1850 - 1930: Geography and Economy in Oral History.

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Mina Carson

Ranching and lumbering were two of the primary economic practices in a small rural study area south of Philomath Oregon (in Benton County), from first Euro-American settlement through 1930. Ranching was common but lumbering was restricted by geographical and market transportation problems until after 1900. Catalysts for change came in the form of individuals and advanced technology. The introduction of trucks marked a cusp between two eras for both loggers and cowboys. Two important historical facts were discovered through oral history-gathering, regarding this rural area: first, the story of the first successful lumber company to build a mill close to Philomath, and second, the occurrence of a remarkably popular Round-Up in this small town, in 1916. The two primary oral informants were both born at a rural mill settlement established by this lumber company, at the foot of the Coast Range, in the southwest part of the study area. Junctions (and distinctions) between geography and economy, city and country, loggers and ranchers, and oral and written
history are highlighted in specific detail. Because of long geographical isolation from big lumber markets, this region's timberlands, mills, loggers and lumber companies remained in the hands of local people, into the 1950s. This area thus underwent a history quite different from coastal logging history. Attention to local oral sources and specific catalysts for change in other such small rural regions would broaden current historical understanding of the history of the West, and the Pacific Northwest.
Rural Philomath Oregon 1850 - 1930:
Geography and Economy in Oral History

by

John A. Russell

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Chapter 1: Introduction

History is not just found in books. History is very much alive, both as memories shared by the people around us and as a living, ongoing process of continual change shaping the societies, both large and small, through which we Americans move. The best recording and understanding of history can be found in accurate portrayals of life which engage both the mind and the senses. People who love reading history have a wide range of tastes, and the variety of those writing history also runs the gamut, from exceedingly dry, purely intellectual attempt to render history (and her subject, life) a science, to the wildly romantic historical novel which freely stretches the truth and the imagination. Like the tales told by the mountain men of the American fur trading frontier, Jim Bridger most notably, some histories are really tales which are stretched tall, to evoke a laugh or a tear from the reader - and there are many readers who prefer their history emotional.

This history hopefully will engage both the senses and the mind, but it is neither a 'folk history' nor a tall tale. Some chapters combine the art of story-telling with a close attention to detail verified by local oral informants who were born in the area, most of them the grandchildren of the first Euro-Americans to choose the rural Philomath, Oregon area in western Benton County for building homesteads.
To go further in mapping out for the reader how the process worked, what were the motivations causing economic choices and changes to be made is a risky, often controversial art. This history attempts to do both- give specific details, and also interpret how geography, developments in transportation services, and specific individuals all acted as catalysts for choice and change in economic affairs. Conclusions are drawn in the final chapter regarding the value of such a micro-history specific to a very small rural area, and what the contributions are to the study of the American West and the Pacific Northwest.

I have become an oral historian, and so to me history is found not just in books but also in the people I have taped. I believe they exhibit, in their personas, many of the social traits which originate in an earlier pioneer society formed in this specific locale. They have all, with no exceptions, been kind and generous to me, and so I believe they grew up in a social world that they have described to me, one in which cooperation and trust between pioneer families was commonplace. They have told me of many instances of such help shared between neighbors and relatives.

The local oral informants for this history have described a world in which they lived most of their lives, when written contracts were unnecessary, a simple handshake sealing the proposed business deal, (for example, between timber-owner and logger). I have found their history not in books, (though written records and many maps have helped supplement clues to events and people). This particular history's drama lies in the very real events and people about whom I have been told so much, by their own relatives and neighbors as well as by those who were themselves direct participants in the ongoing process of daily life here.
Above is an old studio photograph of Joseph Hawkins and his family. Below is Melvin Hawkins and Madge Savage, photographed in Mr. Hawkins's home during one oral history-gathering tape session.
Catalysts for change, at least in this history, came in the form first of geographic locations, affording certain economic possibilities and problems. But it was the values and skills of individual people who devised responses to those possibilities and problems that is the key to the economic history here.

For this particular history, a very small microcosm within the history of the American West, and more specifically the Pacific Northwest, a different methodology has been followed than that used for histories based purely upon written sources. In 1991 I first began recording tapes in his home with a local man who been appointed in 1959 a Benton County Commissioner, and was reelected for the next 16 years, representing the many rural residents in a county which also includes the city of Corvallis, whose voters and representatives often wanted work performed and laws implemented which the rural county residents did not like. Melvin Hawkins is one of the two primary sources for the oral history which lies at the heart of this thesis. I recorded more than fifty tapes with him, over the course of two years, until he died in 1993. Madge Savage is the second primary source, with whom I recorded more than thirty tapes, over the next five years. She was born a year earlier than Melvin Hawkins, in 1907, at the same saw mill settlement where he was born, eight miles southwest of Philomath. Mr. Hawkins introduced me to several other locally born acquaintances who also kindly allowed me to tape their personal memories of early Philomath history.

Mr. Hawkins had an astounding memory, as well as a devotion to history which motivated him, as part of the Philomath College Restoration Committee in the 1960s, to help save the large brick structure which was the first one built with the original platting of the town.
He helped start the Museum which was installed in the building in August 1980, as a member of the Benton County Historical Society (B. C. H. S.). He introduced me to another local pioneer grandchild named Minnie McMurtry, who was herself first instrumental in raising funds for the Museum, on the Board of Directors and also a past President of the B. C. H. S. (Lewis 1998). Minnie had herself been a teacher in several one-room school-houses located in Benton County. Mr. Hawkins's knowledge of his family history dates back to the 1700's. He became a logger himself at age fifteen, and his grandfather Joseph A. Hawkins owned and operated an early saw mill located only one mile south of Philomath. As was true of the earliest pioneer society in this region, loggers, ranchers and farmers all knew each other well, and most had skills in all three fields. Consequently, Mr. Hawkins knew and also introduced me to Van Smith, whose memories of his pioneer grandfather's hog-raising and smokehouse operation painted a detailed picture of that side of the early economic life of Benton County.

Melvin Hawkins had more than just his vivid memories, photographs, and a copy of his great-grandfather's journal, kept during the pioneer journey to Oregon as part of the 'second lost wagon train' in 1853. He also had a serious devotion to the accurate preservation of local history. I sympathized with his belief that modern historians were inaccurately revising the true history of this area, leaving out some of the most important and widely-held struggles and experiences of the area's first several pioneer generations. It was through those two motivations, first to preserve local historical knowledge and second to avoid revising history in a theoretical manner, that my methodology evolved. I continued making tapes with this gentleman and also with other local pioneer descendants, and began reading a variety of sources in the written history of this region.
The history of the West, of Oregon, and of the pioneer Euro-Americans who replaced the first true human 'pioneers,' the native Americans, has a continuing grip on popular icons and the academic questions of American historians. It is intriguing to both those who live here and those who do not. My methodology, taping and then framing questions to pose during each succeeding taping session based on the last tape's transcription, led me to form conclusions about the early history of this specific area. Supplemental reading in early histories of Benton County and the Willamette Valley helped fill in the gaps in the oral record I first gathered on tape.

I uncovered much crucial information regarding this area's history which had either been only briefly mentioned in written texts, or not recorded at all. The last part of my methodology has been to read some of the current academic historians, such as Richard White, William Cronon, and Quintard Taylor, whose work covers not only the American West, but also other pioneer American history, as viewed from regional, systemic, racial and environmental perspectives. The conclusions I have made lead me to believe that both American historians and the general public still have much yet to uncover, with regard to the diverse individuals and groups who came together in small communities to seek an economic and spiritual future in the American West. The relative isolation of many small rural areas throughout 'the great West,' due to poor transportation routes and primitive technologies, has all too often relegated the specific and vivid histories of each of these communities to a blank page in the history textbooks. My conclusions, formed while filling in one such page (a micro-history), lead me to assert that the history of society-formation and economic choices known by each of these communities was an ongoing,
unique process, one often ignored when only regional characteristics shared by many larger communities are considered.

The 'pioneer' Euro-American settlers who first came to the western side of the mid-Willamette Valley in Oregon found a mixture of geographical environments, and learned to adapt known survival techniques to the available natural resources found in both the forest and the meadowlands. They had always held sway over the formation of human culture and subsistence techniques, from the days of first human arrival. Anthropologists continue to search for clues regarding who and when were the first human pioneers. They may have come from Asia, across the Beringian land bridge about 11,000 years B.P. (before present time, in a broad sense) during the Wisconsinan glacial period, or perhaps earlier, from a different point on the compass. Kalapuyan bands had lived in the region of this study area, on into the early 1800's when the first Euro-American trappers, traders, and botanists traversed the trails made by them and even earlier native peoples and animals. A combination of epidemic diseases and a quick re-location of the survivors westward, to the Coast, left few Kalapuyans when settlers began arriving in the 1840s and 1850s. All of these peoples learned to use the natural resources the earth and her flora and fauna created, or they simply did not long survive here.

Though the geography buries its own floral and faunal record dating back into prehistory, and continues to reveal cultural artifacts left by native peoples, geography can also confuse, and sometimes obscure prehistorical and historical details. The wet, rainswollen mountains and valley-lands of western Oregon possess a climate and a biota mass which quickly absorb and speed the decay of all (except lithic) artifacts made by human hands, from natural materials.
This is one ironic comment made by Nature herself, regarding both the pace of change here, and the attempts made by people to remember the past. The continuing abundance of trees, especially Douglas firs, which today grace the landscape here might lead one to assume that lumbering has long been the primary economic activity. But in this study area, that is a misleading and simplistic geographical observation. Farming was the chosen occupation for most early settlers, to whom wood was abundant and cheap. The concept of trees as a primary 'crop' for the Christmas tree farms and timberlands which today thrive on these lands would have seemed, to the nineteenth century pioneers, an absurd misuse of geographic potential. When they first saw this region, the land's obvious potential was in grazing animals and growing wheat, fruit trees and other 'crops' more useful and practical than trees, for both self-sufficiency and export income.

The specific geographic characteristics of the study area, Philomath and the rural region to the south, sweep across river, bottomland, meadows, and oak grasslands to rise westward into the foothills and steep mountain forests. The attraction for most early settlers was how ideal for grazing as well as for farms and orchards was the Willamette Valley land and climate. The study area also includes the upland forests and steep, well-watered Alsea and Mary's Peak Mountains, part of Oregon's Coastal Range, approximately parallel to the Pacific Coast but less than fifty miles inland. A few hardy souls chose to reside in the forests for their potential wood products. The old growth Douglas firs, as well as other trees, attracted the attention of early rugged loggers and mill men, those individuals who embarked on the precarious, usually unprofitable and always uncomfortable business of seeking out sites, close to river and creek systems, to erect water-powered saw mills. The geography of this region was so steep
and the native ferns, salal, berries, and other brush so thick that at first this hindered the efforts of loggers and mill men to exploit the resources here, as farmers and ranchers would much more easily exploit soil and pasture resources in the Willamette Valley.

Fig. 2. Study area encircled on 1903 Huffman "Map of Benton County"

The Kalapuyan natives who had populated this area before the arrival of the historical 'pioneers' had prevented the spread of the Coastal Range forest downhill eastward towards the Valley by periodic burns. Fires, probably in small areas, were set annually for several reasons. Fires stimulated the spring growth of berries, camas, and other useful plants.
They also burned the brush and small trees before they had time to grow so thick as to hide game animals. Deer and other game would be attracted to the open meadows, where they could be more easily hunted. Honey could also be found there, and bees, birds, and coastal breezes helped pollinate other plants which we have no record of today. The annual fires left scattered groves of oak, ash, and willow, and even a lone Douglas fir. Some were too tall and thick-barked to catch fire. Fires also stimulated the growth of native grasses. The meadowlands which pioneers found in the Valley and high up on terraces in the foothills of the Coast Range were there thanks to geographic conditions and the intentional fires set by the Kalapuyans.

Wildfires also undoubtedly burned in the wooded mountains of the Coast Range, and while the taller trees might survive a fire, especially old Douglas firs whose lower branches begin 40-50 feet above the ground, many smaller trees would succumb to the blaze. Around 1850 a very large wildfire burned in the Yaquina coastal forest, to the west, but it is unknown how far east, towards the Marys Peak mountainside, that fire spread (Kasner 1976, 1; Melvin D11, S.1:466). Settlers discontinued the annual intentional fire-setting, but through the nineteenth century, rural residents had few resources with which to fight wildfires. Some settlers would build 'windrows' or piles of brush and trees they had dug and cut from the ground (intending to create open fields for planting), and then either use the windrows as natural fences, or set fire to them.

Raymond Gellatly, who was born and had lived most of his life on his grandparents homestead in Pleasant Valley, took me on a drive up into higher elevations past the pioneers' Pleasant Valley Schoolhouse, onto what today is Starker Forest land. He showed me the sites (now abandoned
and grown back as forest with Douglas fir) where the earliest homesteads were- houses he recalls seeing in open meadows when he was a boy, living further downhill. It is unclear how high the Kalapuyan burns would spread into the Coast Range, but by 1885, when Fagan described the rural areas around Philomath, burning had been restricted for about 35 years. D. D. Fagan wrote a classic History of Benton County in 1885, proudly focusing on development.

To Fagan, saw mills were noteworthy but the real significance, in a very young American county in which he characterized pioneers as having moral and industrious characters, was that some ranchers and farmers had already built up their land holdings and become wealthy men. Fagan's general description of the forestland suggests that young firs were growing high up the slopes. "Extending south from the North Fork and westward of the South Fork [of Mary's River], is a tract of broken land lying on the flank of the Coast Range and up the side of Mary's Peak, which in places is comparatively level and suitable for reclamation; but the greater portion of it is heavily timbered, the trees being of a small size however, fitted only for rails." Fagan also states that east of the South Fork "the country ... consists of high bold hills, interspersed with patches of timber and brush, but covered with luxuriant grass which gives unstinted feed to stock [and] several good foot-hill farms." Even though the topography to the west of the South Fork is "precipitous almost to the water's edge," some of the open meadowland had been farmed, and "tracts are excellent though proscribed, a goodly portion of the cultivable lands being situated in the foot hills" (Fagan 1885, 451). This substantiates what Melvin Hawkins told me. It was the open grazing land and potential farmland which attracted many pioneers who settled even in the steeper foothill region south and west.
Philomath is in what was (and still is, though development and population are currently growing) a very rural region, where pioneers chose homesites because the geography offered farming and ranching potential. The town lies on the western edge of the mid-Willamette Valley of Oregon. It is in "one of the earliest settled portions of Benton County" (Fagan 1885, 451). Pockets of population formed small communities. And the communities gained names as they built schoolhouses so their young children could be educated. In the middle and eastern parts of the study area, pioneers made land claims at an early date, on the rich farmland found there. "Independent school was located in a rich farming area just south of present Philomath, an area settled very early- at least by 1850." However, with the steeper hills (and less farmland) close by, the student population at the Independent school was not large, ranging "from 15- 30 students" (McDonald 1983, 100-101). "In 1850 the Mt. Union school (named to indicate the community's strong Union sympathies) was built ... two miles east of what is now Philomath." This school drew students who "came from long distances- ... south from across Mary's River. Many of them rode horses..." The population in this Valley land grew so that "in 1880, 53 students were attending school" (McDonald 1983, 138-9). The student population for early schools located in the area where Philomath was platted was higher, indicating a greater farm and ranch population because the geography of the Willamette Valley offered more land useful for those economic pursuits.

The town was first platted by the United Brethren church in 1865, twenty years after the area of Benton County saw "the first settler claims" (Fagan 1885, 323). A group of early settlers who all shared the United Brethren religion and a desire to educate their children came together. In a meeting with T. J. Connor, a United Brethren minister, an agreement was
made to build a large college building (whose first pupils were pioneer children much younger than college-age), which would be owned and operated by the church. The immigrant settlers agreed to try raising $17,500. The money was intended to be used in establishing an endowment and building fund for the proposed Philomath College. A location was chosen for the college on land purchased from David Henderson, who already had legally claimed a free D. L. C. (Donation Land Claim). Around the college the first town plat was drawn up, which led to the incorporation in 1882 of the town of "Philomath," a word which D. D. Fagan (452), writing only three years later, claims was chosen by T. J. Connor, to convey "Lover of learning."

Fig. 3. Philomath, pre-1900.
A second plat doubled the area within the town limits before 1885. In the deeds of town property sold to new immigrants, the church strictly forbade the sale of liquor. The actual town at this date consisted of only a few general stores, and probably little else. An undated picture postcard from Dean Tatom (Minnie McMurtry's brother), reproduced above, gives a picture of this part of the western side of the Willamette Valley.

In statistical tables showing county and precinct population, Fagan gives the 1880 population for three precincts within which is found the study area, though all three extended beyond our small area. Philomath precinct had 746 people, Willamette precinct (encompassing the hilly upland region to the south) had 181, and Muddy precinct (including the wet, lower Valley land to the southeast, and only a small portion of our study area) had 349. For the entire Benton County, in the two decades from 1860 to 1880 the population doubled, reaching a total of 6,403 people (Fagan 1885, 391). At this time, Benton was a huge county geographically, extending from the Willamette River west to the Pacific Ocean. Farms and ranches dotted the entire rural area around Philomath, and most town residents used their property for grazing stock animals and raising gardens.

Mary's River has its source in two smaller rivers, the North Fork originating far to the west, and the South Fork. What little has been recorded concerning the Kalapuyan bands who lived in the region the first Euro-American settlers would give human names to, like Mary's Peak and Mary's River, unfortunately includes only a few of their names for these geographical features. The Kalapuyans called the high Peak, "Tcha Teemanwi." It was a place to them for vision quests. A second name given to
the moist land close to the mouth of Mary's River, "Tcha Peenafu," has been translated by early ethnographers as "place where the elderberries grow." This is where she empties into the Willamette River in Corvallis, Oregon, only a few miles due east of the study area, but probably twenty river miles since Mary's River is a long meandering river, one of many here. The Valley land was well-watered with a heavy, long winter rainfall and several hillside creeks feeding other rivers south of Mary's River.

The source of the South Fork lies in the southwestern corner of the rural Philomath region chosen as the study area for this history. It was nearby this spot in the lower foothills of the Coast Range where one early lumber company chose to construct a steam powered saw mill. Why they chose this site, and the history of the development of the first mills and logging in the region, begins the first part of this history. But it is all too easy to exaggerate the influence of logging on the economic future of Philomath and the entire rural area, when it was really first primarily an agricultural region. The second part of this history explores the economy of ranchers who, besides farming and sometimes logging their own trees to clear pastureland, raised many breeds of animals for both food and work.

The two forks meet (to meander on westward across the northern part of the study area as one Mary's River) at a place called 'the Junction' by local Philomath people. It was at the Junction that a bridge was built, so the first pioneer settlers could cross Mary's River and implant on the

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1 Kalapuyan place names were gathered from oral sources, by early ethnographers who attempted to phonetically duplicate the words. Two sources are used for the names quoted above: Corvallis Lower Pioneer Park historical marker, and Frank Hall, public lecture "Tcha Teemanwi-The Kalapuyan History of Mary's Peak." Westminster House, Corvallis, Oregon, Jan. 13, 1992.
geography a wagon road which passed close to each homesite, as pioneers chose Donation Land Claims further to the southwest. They settled on terraced hillsides with open meadows, sites bordered by higher forestland. They were seeking good water, good pasture and farm land, and hoping to avoid the malaria, ague, and various deadly diseases associated with low elevations along rivers. A few came intending to log trees and erect saw mills, but the primary occupation of most was the same here as for settlers in the lower Valley: raising crops and animals. They would help do the work and feed families, and could also bring income from either export sale or sale and barter within the local region.

The Junction would, soon after 1900, see the first beginnings of what would become a lumber industry which would, much later in the century, become the primary economic choice for Philomath residents. But this geographic meeting of rivers and roads would also find two economic pursuits meeting, when a cattle baron named R. P. McClelland would erect a pen and loading chute there, to load cattle and horses on the same railroad line which first carried lumber to markets in Corvallis and much further away. It would also be here that the 'outlaw' horses and many of the famous rodeo cowboys and cowgirls disembarked, when the big Round-Ups of 1916 and 1917 were held in Philomath.

Specific details gathered from maps, documents, and oral history illuminate exactly who, what and when were the catalysts for economic choice and change in this study area. Cusps between different eras for working people were crossed, with the introduction of new technologies and transportation tools, sometimes at the instigation of particular individuals. Trucks (and the extension of roadways for them) marked one such cusp, ending one era and beginning another for both rural loggers and the
cowboys and cowgirls who ranched and worked for stock buyers interested in purchasing cattle, horses, and other animals from local ranches. Another cusp, marking the beginning of the modern era for loggers, began after World War II (and after the time period of this study) when efficient and powerful chain saws revolutionized the practice of logging. Each catalyst for economic change would act to further specialize and add economic potential to economic practices which had begun, in the 1900s, as multiple skills in both ranching and lumbering often embodied in individual pioneers, both men and women. In any particular region, the people, places, inventions and events which act as catalysts for change are fascinating to identify.

"Junction" is an apt metaphor for this history, since it combines several dichotomies. Ranching and logging practices are described, in a combination of oral and written history. It is also the intention of the author to demonstrate, with this example of a clearly detailed and relatively non-theoretical history, why larger histories covering national or regional areas need to be supplemented by smaller micro-histories, before an accurate and full understanding of the origins of Western icons and the real history of the American West can be grasped. If even one more historian of the West decides to pursue history by taping local residents, then a great goal will have been achieved. It would ultimately be a tragic loss for future generations who will be as fascinated by the history of the West as we are today, if the tremendous resource of pioneer grandchildren still alive throughout the larger region west of the Mississippi River went unrecorded. To leave untapped their vivid and detailed memories would mean a loss of much of our varied, complex, and multi-ethnic history.
America, and particularly western America, is a land which drew (and continues to draw) immigrants from around the world. Socio-economic reasons play a big role in the hard decisions made by individuals to move to a new land, whether they be Euro-American pioneers of the nineteenth century or Asian emigrants at the end of the twentieth century. Geographic potential for economic livelihoods, whether it be the excellent farmland of the Willamette Valley or simply the perceived or rumored 'spaciousness' of Western American towns with 'room to grow,' always has played a big role for people when making difficult economic decisions.

History always has lessons to teach us, and hopefully a detailed history like this will not only entertain but will also enlighten readers. Some may themselves have faced or be facing difficult economic decisions, and perhaps have disregarded how important geography and fellow individuals can be, in determining a range of potential livelihoods within a particular region. To ignore history can mean repeating tragic mistakes. For historians themselves, to ignore the resource of living memories all around us can mean repeating erroneous or generalized or useless, boring versions of history. It can be very pleasurable and satisfying to simply talk with anyone who has lived a full life and enjoys relating episodes. But to learn what a local pioneer grandchild knows about the specific region where he or she lives can be an enlightening and overwhelming experience, changing forever how one views the local landscape. Future historians and history buffs alike should recognize and enjoy the life that local oral informants impart to the recording, reading, and understanding of history in their own localities. When one first realizes that history is much more of an art than a science, and that without people, there is no history, that is when a long fascination with the living history all around us begins.
Chapter 2: Early Saw Mills and Logging History

The first saw mills were built in Benton County within five years of the arrival of the earliest Euro-American settlers. Scattered among the farmer-ranchers who settled the upland region on the eastern side of the Coast Range, a few loggers and saw mill men also set up operations in suitable locations. They began closer to the Valley settlers, but soon headed uphill where Douglas firs could be found in greater numbers. It is easy to understand why there were so few men who chose to try their hand at running a saw mill or logging, when the market value for timber was so low that many homestead loggers used old-growth timber for firewood. The problems they faced, a mixture of geographical hazards and distances, and an unpredictable demand in the local and regional economy for their basic product, lumber, would persist through the last half of the nineteenth century, and on into twentieth century.

It wasn't until after the first half of the twentieth century, in the 1950s, that a few local Philomath lumbermen would become millionaires from the lumber industry. Before 1900, pioneer loggers and men who chose to build and operate saw mills were undertaking an economic venture which was very risky, physically very demanding and dangerous (as many men lost their limbs and lives in logging and mill accidents and fires), and involved living on the fringes of 'civilized' society. To choose to live and work 'in the woods,' as they called it, was not just an economic choice but a way of life. It suited men and families who had the skills required to log or run a mill, and preferred living close to nature over the comforts and society of the emerging Oregon towns and cities.
The majority of rural Benton County settlers chose to ranch or farm as livelihoods, but a few chose to log or operate a saw mill, and their early history is fascinating to many who enjoy the details of such a life. Many early pioneers were multi-skilled, having learned from childhood how to fix machinery, raise and use work animals, and other survival practices. Experience with both farming and logging was common, so often a farmer did his own logging, and vice versa. Many millers and loggers also owned work animals, raised their food and practiced other survival skills, in a time when "almost everyone had a second occupation" (Bowen 1978, 77). Logging was only one aspect of pioneer life, but the history of early loggers and saw mill men is important. It was their skills and work which fashioned, from the abundant natural resource of a variety of tree species, the houses, barns, shops and raw material for a wide spectrum of necessities, from railroad ties to many of the tools for the rapidly growing settler population. Those who chose work in the woods for a primary livelihood often did so not so much for economic reasons as for personal reasons concerning where and how they wanted to live, and what they felt most skilled at doing.

Early loggers and mill men persisted in a local economy which for a long time undervalued wood (for fuel, as firewood or building, as lumber or railroad ties). But their saw mills and logging crews eventually grew into an actual 'lumber industry' with many white-collar professionals, a wide spectrum of blue-collar skilled jobs, and many opportunities for local people to earn a good living and go into business for themselves. Before 1900 however, rural millers had few tools with which to first reach the trees which grew primarily in steep, high mountain forests, and next bring the logs from those trees to market, as milled lumber for local customers.
Before the building of narrow-gauge logging railroad lines and flumes to carry the logs down from the upper hillsides, lumbermen were limited to logging areas accessible to oxen and horses, or nearby creeks wide enough to be used for floating out the logs.

Before trucks and railroads were built, to provide shipping access from the rural mills to distant markets, mill owners were limited to local demand for their lumber. Even Corvallis, only six miles from the town of Philomath, would be difficult to reach before 1885, when the Willamette Valley and Coast Railroad was finally completed, through Philomath. As Melvin Hawkins told me, "That's where my Grandfather sold his lumber, I think- locally. There were two or three little mills around... Small saw mills. Just a few thousand a day, [in board feet, meaning that the mills only cut a small number of logs into lumber measured by the board foot]" (Melvin 7B, S.1:194). Joseph A. Hawkins is the man with his family pictured in the "Introduction" chapter, above my two primary local oral informants, his grandson Melvin (who himself began a thirty-five year span of logging at age 15) and a woman born at the same saw mill camp a year earlier than Melvin, Madge Savage. Joseph Hawkins was one of the early saw mill owner-operators in Benton County, and one of the few mentioned (briefly) in Fagan's classic 1885 History of Benton County.

The first mill known to have been built in Benton County was a flour mill, but two mills were built in the same year (1850) "or thereabouts" (Fagan 1885, 334) for sawing rough cut lumber. Both of them were located on hilly land close to the Valley floor, and close to land claims taken by the first settlers. With only wagons for hauling their lumber and few wagon roads, the first saw mills were built closer to local settlers and to a river or creek, to power the saw, than to the basic forest resource.
"About the year 1850, L. D. Gilbert erected a saw-mill on Muddy creek, which being located in the valley and away from the principal timber regions the means of obtaining logs were soon exhausted and the building torn down after a few years service" (Fagan 1885, 334). The earliest saw mills were water-powered, and the two primary requirements for a saw mill were a flowing water source and the close proximity of the raw material: trees. Periodic fires set by the native Kalapuyans living here before the first wave of Euro-American settlers arrived in the later 1840s left some meadowlands in the Valley and even high into the foothills. Scattered oak groves, lone firs, and a few other species of trees could be found across the low Valley land, having survived these low burns. But the best lumber came from older Douglas firs, only to be found in forests bordering the Willamette Valley in this study area, to the south and to the west. By 1900, most of the county's saw mills were located close to both creeks or rivers, and the upland forest.

The hard and long labor involved in logging one old growth Douglas fir involved several steps. First a two-man team of 'fallers' would use a six or seven foot long crosscut saw to cut the tree down. Even after the turn of the century, as the steam donkeys, and later the gas and diesel-powered donkeys and caterpillars were used to yard logs down the hillsides to a skidroad, or to a landing, loggers were still using the same primitive tools to fall trees. It wasn't until the mid-1940s that chainsaws began to replace the basic tool of the logger's trade: the old 'misery whip' or crosscut saw. Requiring one man on each end, this long saw acquired its name because it took so long for the falling of each tree. Just to position themselves so as to be able to get a long, even stroke on the saw was tricky, in the steep terrain and thick brush found even in the lower Coast Range. Often each
logger would have to stand on a 'springboard,' a narrow board with a metal lip on the end, which was wedged into a notch chopped into the side of the tree to be felled. The pace and feel of logging at a time when mills could easily satisfy local demand for lumber with only a few thousand board feet a day, and more than twice that much lumber available in a single old growth Doug fir, gave loggers time to rest, drink water, and enjoy the wildlife around them as they did their hard work. Since the work was so laborious and difficult, a mill man strived to produce the best lumber, and in this region it was found that old growth Doug fir trees produced long, straight-grain lumber ideal for most building purposes.

The next steps in the process of getting the fallen tree to the mill were also labor-intensive. Men called 'buckers' would cut off the limbs and 'buck up' the tree, meaning cut or saw the tree trunk into logs of a length depending on the tree's diameter, and weight. The longer the logs, the longer the boards which could be milled, but since oxen or horses were used to drag the logs to rivers or to the mill itself, they could not be so heavy and long as to be impossible to move. Melvin Hawkins learned that his grandfather Joseph used oxen to pull logs out of the woods, and later as the turn of the century came, "they shifted to horses... because they're faster. Oxen didn't require- with a horse, you'd have to slash the brush out of the way. They can't stand to walk through the brush. Oxen could. And you didn't have to drive them; you just talked to them. 'Gee' and 'Haw' [to command an ox to turn right or left] and they'd go. But they were slow... And I heard [two pioneers] argue, almost to the point of getting into a fistfight, over which was best. Oxen or horses. Two fellows particularly, that I used to follow around when I was a kid" (Melvin 2, S.2:220).
Sometimes the same men who logged would also drive the animals, but usually another man besides the logger did this. When he was driving oxen, he was called a 'bull puncher.' Frank Bennett, who worked for Joseph Hawkins at his mill for nine years, and later employed both Melvin and his Dad Frank Hawkins at his own mill, knew how to drive oxen himself. "He said he was 'punching bulls'. That's the way he called it—driving oxen... This Bennett... He was pulling logs into a [mill] pond, with oxen, and he called it 'punching bulls'. Well they actually did. They had a goad that they'd punch 'em with, you see. With a little sharp nail sticking out. It didn't stick clear out, but it had metal around it, right to the point" (Melvin 15B, S.1:109).

There was a big difference between using horses and using oxen. With oxen, "you'd tell them what to do. You didn't have reins on them, like you do with horses. Use "Gee" and "Haw" [to direct them to turn right or left] and they'd go... You'd have harness on them to do the pulling, but not reins. You'd have a yoke and everything, tugs. But you didn't have reins to pull them around, like you do [with] horses... With horses you had to have a line, to pull them." The bull puncher always worked with his oxen from behind them (and to the side, to avoid getting in the way of the log being dragged). Men who guided horses had to use lines, and either worked horseback (with a team) or in the front, pulling and guiding the horse with the "line" or rein, to encourage him to pull the log. "And that's the reason those who favored oxen said they were smarter than the horses... They listened... Usually they seemed to do what they were told to do, as far as I know." But Melvin disclaimed any experience either bull punching or horse logging, having only himself seen "one or two logs pulled."
It might also have depended very much on the individual animal, whether horse or ox, as to how good at pulling logs they were. Melvin knew that in the nineteenth century, there was a common debate over the relative qualities of each species (Melvin 15B, S.1:141).

This mode of transporting logs was replaced in the early 1920s with what represented a revolution in transportation for loggers and early mill men: trucks. One truck Melvin recalled was a "Rambler... It was just a flatbed truck with a cab on. Rather smallish cab, it seemed to me like. And that's about all I can remember about it. Except the main thing that I remember, it ran... It was a darn good truck" (Melvin 15B, S.1:094). "And then [one local family who operated a saw mill, the Bests] had another truck, ... called a Jackson. And then they had still another one, a Sterling, and they were all good ones... They called it a '5 ton Sterling.' They hauled logs on it.... They had hard tires [made of solid rubber, three inches thick, no air]" (Melvin 15B, S.1:103). It wasn't until after 1900 that technological inventions made the higher elevations in the steep east side of the Coast Range at all accessible to the logger. Before this, it was pointless to fall a tree far from any river or road, since it would be too difficult to transport it to the mill. Rivers and wide creeks could carry logs from felled trees to a mill, and they are plentiful in this rural region south and west of Philomath. The mills too needed to be nearby a 'road' (of water or dirt) so that customers could in turn transport the lumber they purchased, (by horse and wagon) from the mill towards their homestead.

Once at the mill, the skills and work of the early saw mill men were employed to turn the raw logs into lumber, railroad ties, or timbers and raw slabs of wood to be used in framing big buildings. They were men with the multiple skills of a sawyer, machinist, and blacksmith.
Melvin's great-grandfather James Hawkins was a blacksmith who passed those skills on to Joseph (the early saw mill man), who in turn taught his son, "Ed Hawkins [who] ... was a good blacksmith... In order to have a saw-mill, you had to ... be something of a blacksmith, if you were going to make a go... There were no shops around. You had to do your own metal-work, you know ... [Joseph Hawkins] would have had to have a little blacksmith shop off to one side there somewhere [with an anvil] and a little forge, one you crank up yourself... They'd be welding things together [and] pounding them out into shape so they could use them for parts" in the mill machinery" (Melvin 7B, S.1:136). As a matter of fact, after Hawkins (like so many other early lumber millers) gave up milling, he sold his mill and moved into Philomath. The Franklins "were the next ones to take over the old mill and use it for a blacksmith shop" (Melvin 7B, S.1:354). Blacksmithing was an integral part of early milling. Millers also needed to be skilled sawyers, able to carefully judge how and where to guide each saw cut, wanting the best and most lumber possible from each log.

Early loggers were very selective in the trees they chose to cut. Clear cutting was unheard of, and would have been extremely time-consuming, and impractical. Since it was so labor-intensive to fall, limb, and buck up each tree into logs which then needed to be skidded to the mill, care was taken in choosing each single tree to fall. After the trees practical to be felled and milled into lumber were used, then "they moved [the mill] to a different location, where you could skid the logs to the mill... They'd always put them on a stream, of some kind. Because they wanted a little Pond there too [a log pond in which to store logs ready for milling]. And pull them into the mill [out of the Pond] with power"(Melvin 8B, S.2:169). The first saws also restricted mills in the amount of lumber they could cut.
Large circular saws and the primitive technology they used to move the carriage made milling lumber a slow job. "That's the main one. You put the log on there and run it back and forth through the saw. And they changed the saws too [after the early 1900's]. The [early] ones were circular saws. Then there were band saws... Then they could have several of those band saws together ... lots more versatile" (Melvin 8B, S.2:186). Such innovations in saws came several decades into the 1900s, with changes in the power source (conversion to electricity), which greatly improved the ability of mills to work efficiently and make money for their owners.

Since water was used both to transport logs and power early mills, it was wiser for an early saw mill man to locate his mill close to the creeks and the tree resource, and then let local customers find him. This is what happened when William Matzger built his saw mill on the free Donation Land Claim he chose in 1850 (west of the Valley land which later was chosen for the platting of Philomath). His mill became the nucleus of "the first center of settlement in the western part of [Benton] county" (Phinney 1942, A-25). As farming and ranching communities without nearby saw mills (or lumber) slowly grew, settlers cooperated in building log structures, which could be used for schools or churches. Corvallis, a faster growing town than Philomath since it was located on the Willamette River and soon became an important commercial steamboat landing, was squarely within the Willamette Valley, on low land where no early saw mill was constructed. Consequently, "a log building at the corner of Second and Jackson Streets, erected in 1848 by community effort, housed the first school in Corvallis" (Phinney 1942, A-24).

The decade after 1850 witnessed the construction of several saw mills in Benton County, some generating the growth of small communities.
The tiny village of Monroe, in the Valley just southeast of the study area, "had its beginnings in a sawmill constructed in 1853 by Joseph and David White on White's donation land claim on Long Tom River" (Phinney 1942, A-26). White's Mill "manufactured a great deal of lumber for some years and supplied the whole of the surrounding country, but by the time the mill needed repairs the timber was exhausted" (Fagan 1885, 449). After William Matzger built his saw mill, the small settlement around it grew as he added a grist mill (for grinding flour from wheat), a church, and a schoolhouse. However, a strong national religious organization known as the United Brethren had many members among the first settlers in the area, who asked their church to organize a college and choose land to purchase (to be funded by these local settlers).

It was David Henderson's Donation Land Claim (D. L. C.) that they chose to buy, located west of Matzger's small community and at a lower elevation, in the Valley farmland where many settlers chose homesteads. This is where the town of Philomath was platted in 1865, becoming a focal point for local trade. "The founding of Philomath halted the growth of [Matzger's] community" (Phinney 1942, A-25). One other mill would be built within one mile (south) of Philomath, which Melvin Hawkins's grandfather would buy later, in the 1870s. Melvin believes that Joseph "bought the mill, I think, when he first came out" to Oregon, (for a brief stay) "and then came back in 1881 and started in actively using it... He had a saw mill back in Kansas, too [before this]... He and his brother William had a saw mill together ... in the Flint Hills... Then of course they wouldn't be cutting the kind of timber they cut here" (Melvin 7B, S.2:091). Trees there were not big Douglas firs. "Of course their Dad James, I'm sure, could have done some logging, too. In those days you took hold of anything that you
needed to do. Whether you knew how or not, you went ahead." Joseph Hawkins also was a skilled farmer, who told his father James "when he left to go [enlist] in the [Civil] War, ... he had put [planted] the crops in, mostly himself that year... So I'm sure he was a good farmer" (Melvin 7B, S.2:113).

Melvin's father was born in 1882, a year after Joseph Hawkins took over operations at his sawmill. "The mill was going though. And when that mill started, I have never found out... It goes back a long ways... well, maybe back to 1860. Possibly as much as 1860, but I don't know for sure... {Maybe by} 1870" (Melvin 7B, S.2:219). It was in 1876 that Joseph first came to Oregon, buying the mill before returning to Kansas to help his ailing father on their family farm. Here is one example of the discrepancies sometimes found between oral and written histories- neither one always entirely accurate. This saw mill is one of the few mentioned in Fagan's 1885 History (453), described thus: "This mill is located about one mile to the west of ... Philomath... , and was erected in 1878 or the following year by David Enos. In 1881 it was purchased by Messrs. Hawkins and Logston, and was carried on by them until November, 1884, when it passed into the hands of the first named gentleman. It has a capacity of about six thousand feet of lumber per day, which is manufactured chiefly from red and yellow fir, and gives employment for four workmen."

Many more mill men went further south and west, to elevations in the Coast Range where trees and flowing water could be readily found, but not to the higher elevations too steep for oxen or horses to haul logs across, either towards a river or along a skid road to the mill itself. Finding a good location for a mill brought the earliest mill men only half-way to establishing a prosperous business. Economic conditions were unstable throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century in Benton County, and those who
turned to saw mills or logging (working either for a miller, or as a wood-
cutter hoping to sell firewood) would only find temporary and infrequent
work, often having to barter for their goods and services. Many local peo-
ple would either do their own logging or only be able to offer farm and
ranch products in trade for lumber or work.

Two of the first three mills in the county already mentioned, White's
and Matzger's, lasted for nearly 17 years as saw mills, then sold in 1868
and 1867 to new owners, one of whom converted his to a grist mill (Fagan
1885, 450 and Phinney 1942, A-25). They had both known success, for
awhile, as two early settlements in the county grew around them. After
1870, (a decade Fagan describes as experiencing a general economic de-
pression), presumably the demand for flour was more constant than the
demand for lumber. The instability of the national economy, and the scar-
city of cash in the predominantly poor, agrarian rural society contributed
to the difficulty most saw mills had in surviving for very long. "In the year
1857, another saw-mill venture was made, on the North Fork of Muddy
creek, but the result was disastrous. Now, there is no saw-mill in the pre-
cinct" (Fagan 1885, 449).

The hills south and west of Philomath had some open valleyland ripe
for raising stock, planting wheat (for export as well as to take to the local
grist mill, and have flour made for one staple food, bread) and crops, and
also good for locating saw mills. Communities named Independence,
Beaver Creek, and Starr Creek, located progressively further south from
Philomath in the foothill drainages, all slowly grew as the century wore on.
Rancher-farmers who also preferred wooded hillsides for the tree resource
(used as firewood, for fences, homemade building construction and fuel for
woodstoves) chose these areas, above the rich Valley farmland.
As the population grew slowly in these areas, communities evolved and large one-room schoolhouses were built. Local millers found customers, at least on an intermittent basis when the winter rains, accidental mishaps such as machinery breakdowns and mill fires, or a regional economic depression did not stifle local demand for their lumber and other wood products.

Melvin's grandfather bought a mill that was located only one mile southwest of Philomath, and even this location so close to a town did not ensure a steady demand for the lumber sold there. South of Philomath the community of Evergreen might not have had any local mill before 1900 at all, though perhaps they came downhill to Joseph Hawkins's saw mill when they did need lumber, since it was close by. Much further southwest, along the upland edge of the Valley and across the South Fork of Mary's River, the communities of Pleasant Valley and Westwood each built their own respective schoolhouses. To construct family houses and barns, as well as community schoolhouses and churches, lumber was likely bartered or purchased from the nearest mill, since the lumber would be lighter and easier to use in construction than would raw (unmilled) logs. Homesteaders might cut their own trees and bring these logs to the mill. Loggers were sometimes employed, though often nearby families would trade labor to help each other, and many would have at least some logging experience.

Marlene McDonald gathered information about early schools in Benton County, which a small publisher in Philomath printed in 1983. Before 1893, this county extended from the Willamette River to the Pacific Ocean. It cut a wide swath across the middle of western coastal Oregon, and there were "nearly 100 school districts, the vast number containing one-room country schoolhouses." She states, in her book's Foreword (i), that after the
1893 creation of Lincoln County from the western half, "sixty-four districts remained, all but a few of them rural, some with more than one school."

One unnamed school was described vividly in an autobiography quoted by Marlene McDonald. The author, "Rev. G. W. Kennedy," apparently vied with another local source in his belief that this was "the first school in the Mary's River Country." As a child he attended the school, built on his father's D. L. C. and with his mother as the school's first teacher. "'In 1854, that school was taught in an old log cabin, standing on a beautiful oak hill, built to hold a settler's claim. It had no floor but the earth. No seat but the flat side of a split log. No desks. No place for fire, except in the rude stone chimney, built at one end of the cabin... To that initial institution came the whole community of young immigrants...''" (McDonald, 166-7).

Further south was Independence, and in the foothills another community, the "truly rural" Beaver Creek community. This "peaceful quiet farm community" had "a small post office and a store 'of sorts', [but they] didn't last." Their school drew pioneer children within a radius of several miles, from as far southeast as the Starr Creek community, and from the Bandbox school, located to the northeast. "[P]arents would send their youngsters to the farther away Beaver Creek school to finish" when the local residents could not afford to keep the Bandbox school open. By 1871 the student population was high. "According to the 1912 census, when ... the school had 10 grades, it was 74. In 1915 ... the enrollment was down to 26 or 27. The Depression [of the 1930s] hit hard here, as elsewhere, and closed the saw-mills... As late as 1935 students from Starr Creek walked a trail. [It went] across the hills, as there was no road. In winter they carried a lantern partway" (McDonald 1983, 30-33, 39).
Many of the early schoolhouses (some of which also served as churches on Sundays) were built from logs, indicating that perhaps no local mill had as yet been established. In the Starr Creek community, along the southern boundary of the study area, on the Starr land claim "the first school in this area was a log school built about 1850" (McDonald 1983, 39). A later community established on the north flank of Mary's Peak also began with a log schoolhouse. "Heading up the north and west sides of Marys Peak, several families tried homesteading 160-acre parcels of land near the turn of the century... The new school house was built of logs in 1905, with everyone in the community working on it. Chinked with moss, it was roofed and sided with hand-split cedar shakes.... The school term was only six months long. Winters could be very harsh with deep snow and short days, so the schedule ran three months school, three months winter break, then another ... term." This community was named Peak, and due to several reasons, among them poor transportation routes into the area, "Peak began to die... Lumbering closed down, and one by one the families moved away. By 1925, only two students were enrolled in the school, the next year none. In 1929 the school was listed as 'abandoned-lapsed.'" However, "from 1907 until 1915 the small community flourished and so did the school, with as many as 30 students crowding into the little building" (McDonald 1983, 163-4).

Some log schools were replaced with buildings of milled lumber, perhaps indicating the new arrival of a mill in the locality. The first two Pleasant Valley schools are very likely one example of this happening. Jacob Henkle was a well-known early miller, recorded in both written and oral histories. McDonald quotes Fagan as stating that in 1853 arrived the pioneer "Jacob Henkle ... and in 1856 the first school in the little vale was
opened and taught by J. D. Wood, the building being constructed of logs on
the land of Mr. Henkle, near the bank of Mary's River." The next year, "a
frame erection, standing on Mr. Gray's property" was built. The "school
population varied from less than 10 in the early years to 20 or more in the
1920s and 30s," and "[o]nce or twice each year, the Pleasant Valley school
would walk the mile or so to the nearby Westwood school to play ball or
vice versa." One former student recalled "'[t]he schoolhouse was a small
room with the boards running up and down. If the cracks got too wide as
the boards dried in the sun, a batten would be nailed over the outside'"
(McDonald 1983, 171-2).

Since Jacob Henkle's mill was probably built within a few years of his
immigration into the new community, it could have been the source for the
'frame erection' which replaced the first log building. Or it could have been
one other mill which also was located in the community of Pleasant Valley,
close to a heavy Douglas fir resource. "Moore's Saw Mill ... has its location
at the head of Pleasant Valley, seven and a half miles from Philomath, and
was erected in the year 1865 by Jesse Hoffman. In 1884 it passed into the
hands of Francis Moore, its present owner, and has a capacity of six hun-
dred feet per day" (Fagan 1885, 453).

This relatively isolated upland area found slower growth than did the
foothill communities south of Philomath. Andrew Gellatly's grandparents
Andrew and Isabella Gellatly chose to buy land there "for the pasture, and
the stock." They wanted to establish a general farm and ranch. Later the
Gellatlys became well-known for the excellent onions they grew. Like
most pioneers who were multi- skilled, "My grandfather had worked on a
dairy in Scotland. So he knew cattle. And he worked when he was a real
young boy" (A. Gellatly 7, S.2:022). There was considerable mobility among
early pioneers throughout the Pacific Northwest, and the Gellatlys "bought the place from the Boones, I believe. Daniel Boone's nephew" (A. Gellatly 7, S.1:112). When I taped the grandson Andrew in 1997, he was still living along Gellatly Way, close to the land purchased by his grandfather, on what became known as Gellatly Creek. "And then the neighbors- they are named Gray. And they came a little before Gellatly. And that [creek nearby their homestead, adjoining the Gellatlys farther south] is 'Gray Creek'" (A. Gellatly 7, S.1:145). Though seldom seen by that name on most maps, this creek, like many others in the area, acquired its locally-known name from the pioneer family who settled and remained there, not moving on.

There were few settlers who chose to try to survive from the wood resource, as loggers or mill men, in this community, though further south the Westwood community did find some 'woodcutters' at least temporarily living there. "In the early years the student body was pretty much divided into two groups- the more or less permanent farm youngsters and the transient woodcutters' children. A large population of woodcutters lived in camps on the slopes of the Alsea Mountain and the children attended Westwood School, when they attended at all. These families moved frequently" (McDonald 1983, 204).

In 1860, a U. S. Census found 12 saw mills in Benton County, which had fallen to 11 by1880. This fact was recorded in his master's thesis in Forestry, for the Oregon State College (Corvallis) in 1940, by Franklin R. Longwood (49, 50). A Land Use History of Benton County, Oregon found lumbering to be a focal point in the county's economy, but to Fagan back in 1885, saw mills were remarkable but incidental in a county whose primary economy revolved around agriculture.
Early woodcutters may have been transient because slack demand left the mills idle. Longwood surmised, based on records of cordwood and milled lumber, that in 1879 farmers cut twice as much cordwood for heat and fuel in woodstoves, as the amount (in board feet) of lumber millers sawed! There was a greater supply of wood than there was demand, at least in the rural Philomath region, still remote and isolated from big lumber markets throughout the nineteenth century. In an era when barter and credit was common, it was impossible to establish anything approaching an 'industry' in lumbering.

Near the end of the century, some entrepreneurs did try to establish local businesses in small rural county towns and in Corvallis, using lumber and rough cut wood slabs for raw materials, with small success. "Small amounts of western red cedar and Oregon ash were exported" (Longwood 1940, 73) between 1885 and 1900. Monroe had a local wagon company by 1885, and Philomath and Monroe both had two blacksmiths. It was in the county seat of Corvallis, a railroad transportation hub for distant markets beyond the limited local demand, where some nascent industrial use for the rural saw millers' railroad ties and lumber began. In 1892, the Corvallis Wagon and Carriage Factory (valued at $40,000) began operating, and eventually "employed forty men and turned out six thousand units per year. It had a unique, if possibly exaggerated promotion. It was advertised as 'the only wholesale carriage house west of the Mississippi River.'" In Corvallis, "farm implement factories and furniture factories were operated for a time but with no continued success" (Phinney 1942, A-24).

The short life of early mills which could only find brief periods of prosperity is mentioned by Fagan, suggesting that early logging and mill operations were subject to the limitations of technology and topography.
A certain amount of luck was necessary, to avoid natural and human-caused catastrophes from the dangerous and physically-demanding work in the woods, and the fires that so often plagued early mills. Local market demand for cheap lumber, railroad ties, or other products could earn a mill man a good living only when the demand was high.

Before 1900, pioneers with the skills to run a saw mill or log trees for other mill men found it very tough to survive for very long, in the unsteady regional economy. Though the 1880s were boom times throughout the region, the increase in local demand for lumber could not survive the reverberations of the national Panic. Melvin Hawkins was impressed by the story he heard from his Uncle, during the Great Depression, a national plunge in economic activity when jobs and money were again scarce. "If you think this is bad, you should have seen the Panic of 1893. Because for five years, we had no money. And what I mean- we had none." He said, 'We kept patching and patching our clothes.' And they could eat, because they had a farm" (Melvin 1, S.2:407). The year 1893 brought severe financial hardship to settlers throughout Benton County who believed, after the booming 1880s, that the local economy was strong.

The 1903 Huffman map has only eleven sawmills listed in the entire Benton County and their locations shown. The Hawkins Mill (though no longer being operated by then) is the only one of them at a location on the Valley floor, below the forested lower foothills of the Coast Range. Seven of these saw mills are within the study area, all in the western half. The first mills after 1850 had been built close to Valley settlements, but six of these seven were by 1903 built closer to the basic tree resource.
**SCHOOL HOUSES**

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<td>98 W 33</td>
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**Miscellaneous**

- Willamette Grange Hall U 10
- Cingles Hall R 2
- Plymouth Hall T 15
- B.C.C. Mills L 14
- Walters Mill M 23
- M.H. L. Co. 1 M 11
- Horton M 11
- Alsea Mills F 29

**Legend**

- Baker Springs T 20
- Inglis Springs L 12
- Pongs Mill N 12
- Frazier Mill L 3
- Heggie Mill N 15
- Hawkins P 18
- Gleason P 20
- Rubel J 28

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**Fig. 4.** 1903 Huffman map legend (in part)

Under "Miscellaneous" are listed 11 mills, 7 in the study area.
The locations of all seven identified on the map legend, reproduced in part (and enlarged) above, are highlighted next in the map figure below.

Fig. 5. Western part of the original study area, from Huffman's 1903 "Map of Benton County"
In the forested hills found to the south and west part of the study area is where most Benton County mills identified by this mapmaker were situated. The names of each mill were written on this handdrawn map, but are difficult to read. All of the seven mills found within the study area (none located on the eastern side, where White's Mill which generated Monroe and a few others began soon after 1850) are identified by letter and highlighted in the map figure above.

The two closest to Philomath (just east of the junction of wagon roads seen in the upper right corner) were the Hawkins Mill (letter "A," "Saw-mill" on map) and the Henkle Mill (letter "B," name as in legend within three highlighted dots across from "B"). Both of these were either shut down or about to cease operations by 1900. As the twentieth century began, it would be the mills already (and about to be) built in the Coast Range foothills, in locations close to the Douglas firs found up there, which would survive. This is the mountain range seen on the map figure above, in heavy black letters printed upside-down along its sweeping eastern flank. Their problems would again be partly geographical: first to transport the lumber and railroad ties to towns and depots now further away from the mills, and second to continue to access the timber on higher slopes, after the best trees close to the mill were cut.

The Henkle Mill "was, I think perhaps larger than the one my Grandfather had... [and] located... along in the valley out there between Philomath and the Alsea Mountain" (Melvin 7B, S.2:239). "According to my Dad, why I don't think that he [Hawkins] could cut that much" (Melvin 7B, S.2:340). Fagan describes Henkle's Mill as one with "a capacity of about ten thousand feet per day, chiefly fir timber, for which a ready market is found in Philomath, Corvallis, and the surrounding country..."
Henkle's Saw Mill... is situated four miles westward from Philomath... It has had many vicissitudes, having been once destroyed by fire, in 1872, and twice rebuilt" (Fagan 1885, 453). The early mills were often idle for repairs, heavy winter rains which restricted logging, or slack demand for lumber. They did not run on a consistent schedule. By the time Melvin was born, in 1908, both Henkle's and his grandfather's saw mills were gone, neither having survived the drastic drop in the local economy which ended the previous century, after the national Panic of 1893.

The South Fork of Mary's River (also called Greasy Creek) flowed through a low valley. According to the 1903 map, Henkle's Mill was situated up a tributary to Mary's River, named Rock Creek. Many tributary creeks, feeding Greasy Creek, flow down from the Coast Range of mountains to the west of this valley. To try to situate any of the early mills higher in the mountains, far from roads and wide rivers or creeks, would have meant severe handicaps for the lumbermen in connecting with local customers. Logging too was impossible on steep slopes, before any technology beyond horse and oxen had been developed, to drag logs out of the woods. All eleven of the saw mills shown on the 1903 map of Benton County are close to roads, needed if the local customers were to be able to come and carry away lumber on their wagons. The single saw mill close to a town was the one owned by Joseph Hawkins, only a mile south of Philomath, and Melvin recalled his grandfather quit milling before 1900. The lumber he sawed may have come as often from trees cut by local farmers, which were then hauled into his mill on wagons, as it did from trees he logged himself.

There are two mills which the 1903 map shows as being located close to each other, in an area on the middle of the map figure above.
This area is outlined across from the single later "F." The first mill belonged to the "B. C. L. Co.,” and the second to "M. H. L. Co." These two lumber companies were both small in 1903, and the latter may have been on its last legs, while the former was just beginning an economic voyage detailed in the next chapters, which would have a profound effect on the economy of the entire study region, including the town of Philomath. The name of the former was "Benton County Lumber Company," but the full name of the latter is unknown. A reference in Fagan's History of Benton County, together with the map location of the "M. H. L. Co." mill, identifies this miller. "Where the South Fork [of Mary's River] emerges from its mountain sanctuary there stands the old Huffman mill..." (Fagan 1885, 451). The Rubel Mill, outlined near "E" further southwest of these two mills, was perhaps fairly recent, since it was mentioned neither in Fagan nor by oral informants.

Neither do we today know of all the early rural mills, who owned them or how many there were. It seems possible that other mills besides those listed on this map were built in the Alsea Mountain- Mary's Peak area west of the South Fork. They may have simply not survived, or possibly were unknown to the mapmaker by 1902, when presumably he finished gathering the information to make his map.

In 1885, Fagan described the "Gleeson" Mill (a name he also spells with an "a" only a few sentences later) as a fairly high production mill (for the time), and also mentions one other, not found by 1903 on the hand-drawn map. Both had different owners prior to 1885. "To the west of the foot-hills is the Coast Range, whose commanding heights and deep canyons are clad with timber awaiting the penetrating axe of the woodman. There are several saw-mills in the precinct. That known as the Newhouse Mill is
located at the head of Beaver Creek in a grove of remarkably fine timber and is the property of Mr. Gleeson; the establishment that stands on the site of the old Foster has been repaired by William P. Irwin, within the last two years; while such are the facilities of these works for producing **cheap lumber** that, although twelve or fourteen miles distant, a good market for it is found at Corvallis... Gleason's saw-mill ... is run by steam, with a capacity of from eight to ten thousand feet of lumber per day; while, two miles farther down the creek is the Irwin mill, operated by water power" (Fagan 1885, 445-7). The 1903 Corvallis architect and mapmaker J. P. Huffman did not list any Irwin Mill, but the Gleason Mill is shown, highlighted next to "C" on the map figure.

The next nearby mill on the map, keyed with a "D" and surrounded by four highlighted dots, belonged to a man Melvin Hawkins met early in the 1900s. "I even saw this man, that built the mill I think, Tom Coon, once. I wasn't very old, either. I might have been about 12 or 13" (Melvin 8B, S.2:327). Melvin knew a great deal more about Gleason's Mill, however. "I remember that one. There was some of the mill [left standing] there, if it's the one I'm thinking about, they called the Gleason Mill. There was some of it left. I got to see it- up Beaver Creek, way up... I was pretty young when I saw it. And it was long gone, really. They weren't using it. It was on a little branch of Beaver Creek... Duffy Creek [on maps]. They [local folks] called it Gleason Creek" (Melvin 8B, S.2:349). Melvin was born in 1908, and it was not until the early 1920s that he saw the remains of the early Gleason Mill, "about fourteen miles from Corvallis."

The Gleason Mill at first did not have a water wheel, like the Hawkins Mill had, which used the water's current to turn a saw blade; it had no mechanical device at all, but used raw human labor to saw lumber.
In most early mills, the running creek water would be used "to generate direct power... It ran the pulleys [to]... make everything else turn. My Grandfather's was different. It was a steel water wheel, undershot- in an enclosure. And the water poured in there. That gave more of a turbine type, gave it lots more power, I think, than the old wooden ones that they had" (Melvin 8B, S.2:145). Gears were used to accelerate or decelerate the speed at which the saw turned. "Now they had something that's unique in the lumber-cutting business. You know they had a place to saw the boards- they sawed 'em by hand. A man down underneath, and one up above, running a saw up and down... They may have gotten a water wheel later. But to start with, they used that saw" (Melvin 8B, S.2:385). It also appears, from the 1903 map, that Gleason's Mill was built at a higher elevation than most of the other mills. Perhaps the creek that high was not strong or deep enough to turn a wheel. If Fagan's information and Melvin Hawkins's recollections are both correct, Gleason later converted the mill begun by "Newhouse" (perhaps with the long hand saw Melvin described) into steam.

Some of the early mills before 1900 were steam-powered, using a more modern and efficient engine than simply a geared water wheel to turn the saw. "There were eight privately owned sawmills operating in the county in 1890... The Oregon Pacific Railroad Company also had one mill... Four of the mills used water power and five used steam... The] major portion of all species cut was used locally for fuel, [railroad] ties, and constructing purposes" (Longwood 1940, 69-70). Steam-powered saw mills also had to be built near water and wood, the wood burned to heat the water for steam. This made them big fire hazards, just as a blacksmith's
forge, with its burning coke and coal, was a fire hazard for any water-
powered mill when it was being stoked up, to bend or weld metal for the
mill's machinery. Steam was also later used to power engines for logging
machinery called 'steam donkeys.'

Local informants believed it wasn't until after 1900 that the first
steam donkeys were employed in Benton County. Steam engines were
powerful, and also dangerous. They required a constant flow of water
which, if it was interrupted, could result in an explosion. "But you could
run the water in a trough or something, a pipe or something, a long ways.
And then they had Donkey engines. They used [water]. And they had to
pipe it quite a ways. They used pipes [to keep the water flowing, from a
stream or creek, into the boiler which was being constantly heated by
fire]... They'd just have a gauge there. And they had to keep the water up,
in that gauge. If that glass to gauge the water ever ran out, [showing the
water flow, through the pipe, to have ceased] then they'd begin to dive into
spaces to hide themselves... It's gonna explode" (Melvin C1, S.1:408).

To safely stop a steam engine, "they had to let the fire go out and the
[water cool down]. But you could shut the engine off and then they'd have
a 'blow off', you see, let the excess steam go up out that 'blow off'. But if
the water ran out, why then that was too much [with the fire still burning,
heating an empty boiler about to explode] ... I know one man that had-
Bennett- his steam engine under his mill did blow up. And he said he
knew it was going to blow, because he ran out of water. But he said, 'I
wanted to see it blow. Yet I knew I should be down behind the engine
block.' But he didn't get there, and it blew him clear across an alleyway
that he had coming in, to get the lumber. Blew him across there and filled
his face up with glass, sawdust and stuff.
He said he was too stubborn to get down there quick enough... I saw some of the pieces of that mill a hundred ... and fifty yards anyway, down the creek, pieces of that old [steam] Boiler. I saw them there myself..." (Melvin C1, S.1:420).

"Anyhow,... that was one of the things that that old man [Bennett] went through [as a timber mill owner]." The Bennett Mill then was "right on Starr Creek," south of Corvallis, and to the east of Greasy Creek. After the Bennetts rebuilt the mill, another catastrophe befell them there. "I remember the night it burned, in 1918" (Melvin C1, S.1:441). In section 14 a short distance east of the Gleason Mill, an "E Bennett" can possibly be deciphered from the mapmaker's pen-and-ink scrawl on the 1903 map, but no mill is identified there (on what is Starr Creek, before it joins Beaver Creek further east). Perhaps it was built after 1903, only to explode, be rebuilt, and then burn down in a mill fire in 1918.

"Alexander Bennett was a circuit-rider, a preacher that rode around on the circuit [of families who were without a nearby church or minister]... That was his son [Frank Bennett, who owned the saw mill which Melvin moved to, at age 4, when his father Frank Hawkins began working there]" (Melvin 2, S.1:448). And, as an example of how stubborn and resolute some of the early saw mill men had to be, to continue in this trade, the first Bennett Mill on Starr Creek may have come in the age of water power, before the conversion to steam. "He had a big water wheel there, when I first saw it. It wasn't in use, but it was still standing... And I don't believe that was too successful" (Melvin C1, S.1:450). The Bennetts are examples of how determined a man had to be, to survive as a saw mill owner-operator.
At age fifteen, Melvin Hawkins himself began several decades spent as a logger working "in the woods," during which he had some harrowing times. He ruefully recalled one logging partner named Oscar Gustafson. He was in fact "a big Swede," though "we just called him Oscar. You wouldn't want to call him anything he didn't want to be called. Although he was good-natured, but [chuckles] he could get rough, too." This man "carried me out twice," helping save Melvin's life after logging accidents in the woods, the first time in 1927 when Melvin was 19 years old. "The first time I was using an axe which was quite sharp. I made a 'mis-lick' [struck the axe into the wrong spot] and it went across the next to the sole of my shoe. Cut four toes so that they dropped down, like ... Cut the ligaments. And they took me right into the hospital, and they had to splint them, you know, and [stitch the toes back on]." The second time "I was falling timber with my Dad, and we felled a tree in small timber, and the top out of one of those small trees cut back end over end. And one end hit the ground and the other one hit me. And I could just barely have a vision of that. When I came to, I was going down the hill, on the back of that- [same] big man that carried me out the first time. And that was a cerebral hemorrhage" (Melvin, T.2, S.2, L.135).

Saw mills were built in greater numbers after 1900, when railroad and road links with very small rural towns up in the Coast Range, such as Wren (located northwest of Philomath up the North Fork of Mary's River) and Kings Valley (further west), facilitated more business. Saw mills in those towns gradually grew to provide more jobs. "There was a steam sawmill across the street from the present mill. This steam sawmill was the main local employer. Later the mill was sold, dismantled, and moved to a new location...
Wren had a sawmill, a store, a post office, a train station, a community
court, and a few houses" (Kings Valley P. C. 1985, last chapter "Wren").
On the 1903 map, the populations of Wren, Peak, Kings Valley and Hoskins
are not listed. They were probably too small to be noteworthy, to the map-
maker Summit, Monroe, and Philomath, (besides the first city, Corvallis)
are listed, with populations of 75, 150, and 850 respectively (a very exag-
gerated number for Philomath, which really had about 350). (see Appendix
B) All of these towns, including Philomath, were very small, and the em-
ployment of any workers was noteworthy.

Even as business prospects improved, some mills closed in the early
1900's. Further northwest, in the Hoskins area, another mill shown in the
1903 Huffman map legend (but northwest of the study area) is the Frantz
mill. "Robert Lyday built a water-powered sawmill in 1904. The Frantz
mill closed about 1910... " (Kings Valley P. C. 1985, chapter "Hoskins").
The man who installed the Frantz Mill in Hoskins, Samuel Frantz, was re-
membered by his son as a rancher first, and a miller second. Mr. Frantz
was "a man who 'depended on cattle raising more than upon tilling the soil.
The hills were then generally bare of trees and covered with fine grass.
The cattle were sold to drovers who drove them to Portland or to the
mines in Idaho and in southern and eastern Oregon."

Though Frantz
"dammed the Luckiamute and put in a water wheel to run" his sawmill,
apparently that saw mill was not very successful (Kings Valley P. C. 1985,
chapter 'Hoskins"). His son did not even mention the mill, which closed in
1910. It was his cattle and farm products that earned Mr. Frantz more
money than his saw mill did.

"Also in 1912, Cobbs & Mitchell purchased an abandoned mill on the ...
Lyday property at Hoskins along with 157 acres of land and ... timber.


The mill was rebuilt and equipped, and logging was started in May, 1913. Lumber from this mill was used to construct bridges, ties and buildings for the V & S [Valley & Siletz railroad line]" (Kings Valley P. C. 1985, chapters "Hoskins" and "Valley and Siletz Railroad"). This railroad, with connections to longer interstate railroad lines, carried passengers, freight, hops, and other farm products, but "ninety percent of the freight shipments were saw logs" (Kings Valley P. C. 1985, chapter "Valley and Siletz Railroad"). Before the railroad came, both mills in the Hoskins area had closed down, but once a transportation link to state and national markets penetrated into the area, the abandoned Lyday mill was revived, and logging operations picked up speed. The basic raw material, large fir trees, was still abundant. Another raw material found in these areas was much easier and less expensive to harvest however- local grasses. It was as "an excellent cattle-raising district" and potential farming country rather than as a lumber-producing district that Benton County became known and drew settlers, from the mid-1800s on into the early 1900s. It was only "to add a little income, [that] timber would be cut and taken to the local sawmill" (Kings Valley P. C. 1985, chapter "How People Made a Living").

The turn of the century found stubborn mill men still trying to at least supplement their other economic ventures with operating a saw mill. Loggers too could find work, though it was seasonal and often involved long waits before actually being paid. There was a resolve to continue with an economic pursuit that many believed could, some day, bring a steady income and steady employment to many rural people. After the effects of the Panic of 1893 wore off, around the year 1900, a new optimism towards working in the woods was shared by many. It was "after 1900 that logging [in] Benton County rose to the importance which it
occupies today, but, even though this fact is undoubtedly accurate, rather meager data is available to show its progress from a relatively unimportant industry to one of the county's largest industries" (Longwood 1940, 93).

Longwood based his conclusion on "a number of personal interviews," leading him to realize that "it was at this period when an awakening of the lumber industry was first discernible. It is not construed that there was a lumbering boom or rush at this date, but rather the beginning of a gradual realization that favorable opportunities were present for this industry; a realization or vision which was not a fanciful dream but one that was soon to materialize within the next decade" (Longwood 1940, 70). While describing lumbering as an "industry" before 1900 was only accurate in that it certainly required heavy toil, a growing economy in lumber would develop, fitfully at first, in the local study area after 1900.

Technological developments helped solve the geographical problems loggers and mill owners found in the steep higher elevations of the Coast Range. It was the conversion to diesel and gas power that really changed logging operations. The 'yarder' machinery created in the 1900s elevated logs and swung them through the air to a 'landing' pile. This replaced the long, arduous building of skid roads and hauling of logs, using horses and oxen. However, early yarders ran from a steam-powered donkey, which also restricted their use to locations near creeks or rivers, for constant infusion of water (to avoid explosions, as described above). "Well, you see with the steam, ... it was a lot harder to use because ... they had to get water to 'em... They had to pipe water [sometimes] for a half mile or so. Or not quite that far, but, goodness! It was a long distance ...
They'd pipe the water out of some creek. And then they had to have wood, too, you know, right there. And that took extra work. When they got the diesel, and gasoline too ... they could do away with that" (Melvin C1, S.1:045). When reliance on water (and steam) was replaced with using a tank full of gas or diesel, then yarding equipment could be much more mobile and versatile.

Transportation technology evolved in the 1920s with the introduction of log trucks, and in the 1940s new logging technology also fundamentally changed that occupation, as chainsaws first replaced the old 'misery whip.' Melvin recalled that it was "after the [19]30s, why, ... I didn't hear so much about the steam donkey. They started using diesel... during World War II, I think, is when they started ... using the diesel. And awful fast-everything changed" (Melvin C1, S.1:066). The way in which trucking revolutionized transportation of logs out of the forested regions to the mills, and from mills to railroad depots and markets can be compared to the way in which the chainsaw revolutionized the lumber industry at its source: the basic technology available to the logger, for falling the tree.

With a truck, an individual could begin to think about working independently. With another vehicle called a caterpillar, one man could try to bid for a contracted logging job. He could drive his 'cat' both to clear a logging road into the woods and then haul out the bucked up logs from the tree, after falling it. With chainsaws, loggers would be able to fall more trees faster than any early logger would have ever imagined possible (or necessary). By the time these tools were invented, the regional transportation links to markets outside the local area provided access to national demand for lumber, which skyrocketed after World War II ended, and new young families wanted to have their own homes built.
Every early saw mill was really a story of its own, with all the vicissitudes of mill repairs, fires, times of heavy and slack demand for lumber and other milled products, until the mill's final abandonment or demise. The next chapter begins the story of one local lumber company partnership, beginning with its first rural mill in 1901, and ending with its untimely demise in 1920. Rather than just one man building a saw mill and hiring loggers and perhaps other local people to help run the mill, their story involves an incorporated lumber company, the first to use new technology to solve geographical problems of both accessing steeper timber resources and reaching bigger markets with lumber shipments. This first rural company to find real success at lumbering would do so by first tapping into the resolve and skills found in the rural communities, and then by supplementing the rough cut lumber from their first saw mill, with other wood products from a new planing mill they built close to Philomath, and along a railroad line providing access to bigger markets than could be found in the rural Philomath study area.
Chapter 3: **Rags to Riches- Ha!**

This narrative (true, not tall) tale begins where all good Oregon tales should: in the fog. This comes out of a fog of time, since it has never been told in this complete detail before. However, as on most wintertime foggy days in western Oregon (which has a wet maritime climate), it turns into a misty fog as late morning patches of blue sky appear, clearing as the western Pacific Ocean breeze blows through.

Fig. 6. Horse team using skid road
This true story takes place on land where most winter mornings were cold and thick with fog, and it was difficult for men to work outdoors. Wintertime often shut down logging operations, though if logs were close by, either in a mill pond or stacked on land as a 'cold deck,' then the mill might run. For this small slice of history (beginning soon after 1900) to be written, it has taken ninety years- a long wait indeed for the fog to 'burn off.' Parts of this history never will come clear, but the memories and photographs of two people born there in 1907 and 1908 will help the reader to visualize the story. Like the tapes on which I recorded oral history recalled by local informants, these photographs preserve memorable events in the lives of the families of those informants, little or none of it collected by museums or historians before now. There are, however, recorded deeds, business ledger accounts, and several maps of Benton County, all of which help supplement the story's details.

The private photographs, copies of which appear in this chapter, are uncatalogued and unnumbered, and come from sets of photographs handed down by the parents of Madge Cone and Melvin Hawkins. They are very well preserved, large clear photographs, copies of which were given to Mr. Cone and Mr. Hawkins (possibly among others who worked there and asked for personal copies). Some have brief descriptions on the back, which must have been written by family descendants or the people themselves who worked for the lumber company whose history is presented in this chapter. All, except for the flume photographs, are from 1912 or earlier. When such a description exists, it is reproduced in quotations (anonymously) in that particular picture's caption.

Notice, in the skid road pictured above, that there are some buildings barely discernible in the fog. They are uphill above the boys and a woman.
(She is standing in the background, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, to the right of the huge log being dragged by the team of six horses.) The horses have been turned around to have their picture taken, but the log is headed towards the buildings. They were part of the mill camp where Melvin Hawkins and, a year before him, Madge Cone were both born. Madge is unable to recognize the girl barely seen peeping out from behind the log, but possibly it is her sister Glyde, born in 1897, ten years earlier than Madge, or another little girl from one of the families living in the mill camp there.

Besides many photographs saved by Melvin and Madge, there is a short history written by Madge’s father, Enoch Arden (E. A.) Cone, from a copy typed for him by Madge. It is undated but was composed by Cone one day several decades after the events took place. He asked his daughter to make a copy on a ’machine’ (a typewriter) where she worked, and she saved the copy. It has no title and is brief, written in the laconic, amused style of late nineteenth and early twentieth century westerners. Most of it is reproduced below, using spaces but no indentations (as the author did) to mark new paragraphs. (It also helps the reader to know that the author was a talented and popular old time fiddle player, and loved telling stories.) E. A. Cone’s history tells about the rural birth of the ‘Benton County Lumber Company’ in 1901, and describes the nearest small town (to which the Cone family moved nearly twenty years later) located seven (actually eight) miles northeast of the mill camp:

"Mrs. Cone and I moved from Dallas to Philomath in April 1901 in company with Mike Flynn and Sam Ewing and installed a sawmill on the John Hyde place, seven miles S.W. of Philomath."
The road was next to impossible. We loaded the mill boiler on a heavy log wagon. We hitched four good horses and three yoke of oxen to the wagon and it was all they could do to haul that load over the muddy road.

"We built over a mile of skid road and used a six-horse team to haul the logs to the mill.

"When we came to Philomath, I think there were just three general stores in town. Most of the citizens owned their own homes which consisted of 1/4 block. Most of them kept a cow and one or two horses. They fenced in their property and let the cows run at large. I think the cows had a leader that acted like a spy. When the leader would see a farmer entering town with a load of hay, she would let out a warning bellow. Cows with dozens of different toned bells would come ... and ... have half of the hay eaten before the farmer reached his destination.

"Wages those days were $150 to $200 and workmen were satisfied- no complaints and no strikes. The first bill of lumber we sawed was for the Mary's River bridge west of Philomath. Price- $6.00 M.

"In about 1902, Victor Moses declared himself a candidate for County Clerk. He came to the mill one evening and stated his cause in a nice manner and the boys all decided, both Democrats and Republicans, to vote for him. He was elected by a very few votes, thus starting his political career.

"In 1901 there were two United Brethren Colleges in Philomath. The Liberals and the Radicals, but they were not united- they were bitterly divided. The colleges are both extinct but we still have the two churches. They buried the hatchet and smoked the pipe of peace and work together as they should."
Enoch Arden Cone, (or Arden, as he preferred to be called) gives a very interesting little portrait of the tiny farming community that was the town of Philomath, at the turn of the century. The small population of little more than 300 was an interesting mix of people with many livelihoods. Ranchers, farmers, cowboys, and a few tradespeople lived in and around the small town. Among the motley group were many families, children, and even several professors and students, who attended the two colleges in town. The human population may have been outnumbered by the animals, including work horses kept by some local men, farm pets, chickens, and perhaps other species of stock. Most townspeople imitated local farmers and ranchers but on a smaller scale, in owning (and probably building) their own homes. Their property was often used for grazing just a few horses and cows (among the chickens, hogs, goats, dogs, and other animals unmentioned by Cone, probably because they were so common).

Cone's story refers to a split, or division, in the church that had founded the town, and mandated by restrictions written into deeds of property owned by the first Philomath College that no liquor would be sold or "tipped," the United Brethren. Their strong morals, inspiring them also to take "a decided stand ... against slavery" (Springer 1929, 18), sparked a dispute over whether it was proper for members of the church to join any of the popular local Lodges, (such as the Odd Fellows or the Masons). This had divided the Brethren, resulting in the creation of a second rival 'College of Philomath' (see Appendix C). Another division in the community existed between pioneers who were Civil War veterans. Melvin Hawkins recalled that living in Philomath were "Civil War veterans... Several veterans there. Union veterans... Not many Southern- far as I know, there was [one].
A Southern veteran in Corvallis- name of Moses... I remember both of his sons- Victor Moses and Sam. Samuel Moses had a store there in Philomath, for I don't know how many years. Long time... A general merchandise store... He sold food and clothes, what have you" (Melvin 6, S.1:386). Moses's store was one of the first three mentioned in Cone's brief history.

Fig. 7. Hyde Creek saw mill settlement
He also mentions another rural working population, most living in smaller scattered communities dotting the rural foothills of the Coast Range. The communities between Philomath and the mill site were named Evergreen, Pleasant Valley, and Westwood. Westwood had a United Brethren church. The church schism had resulted in the creation of two groups within the small rural population who (some quite "bitterly") began attending separate churches. They were not to reunite, or at least learn to forgive their differences, until later in the 1900s, as Cone mentions at the end (using a popular colloquialism). It is also clear how much individuals loved politics, an observation reinforced by Melvin Hawkins and other local informants. The Victor Moses Cone refers to was a son of the Civil War veteran who lived in Corvallis. Some took political sides based on past family affiliations during the Civil War. Democrats and Republicans both lived in the area, many individuals held strong political beliefs, and people enjoyed often heated political debate.

That "the boys" at the mill were as united as Cone claims when they each came to cast their private ballots is questionable. Perhaps they were really as 'united' as were the United Brethren, thus resulting in a very close vote for the candidate who had travelled out to the mill settlement, just to campaign for more votes. We also learn how much money could be earned by boys and men who worked for this rural mill. Philomath was too far away down the "next to impossible" dirt wagon road for any townspeople to become workers at the mill. Some would supplement their livelihoods with a real wage, but not until the company expanded operations, a year or two before 1909.

Their first big job was probably paid for by Benton County, at a price quoted of six dollars per "M" (one thousand board feet of lumber).
Oral informants knew that this job was to build a covered bridge over the rough, flat bridge spanning the Mary's River, just barely west and south of town (the left side of which is barely visible in the distance, in top flume photo on page 77). One square foot, by one inch thick, (144 cubic inches) makes one 'board foot' of lumber. To realize how low was the value of lumber, it is necessary to compare the price B. C. L. C. got for the milled lumber they sold ($6.00 per “M”) with recent prices. In the mid 1990s, timberland owners were happy to find the price for 'export' lumber (sold overseas, mostly to the Japanese market) exceed 'a thousand a thousand.' For one thousand board feet of volume (one “M”) within a raw log (un-milled), one thousand dollars was being paid to the timber seller.

So by the late winter of 1900-1901, M. G. (Mike) Flynn and S. S. (Sam) Ewing had begun to assemble the pieces needed for their daring venture. While E. A. Cone went to work as their sawyer, these two men pooled their resources and skills with others in the rural area to incorporate a private lumber company. The early land deeds recorded at the Benton County Courthouse identify them as a private group of "partners doing business under the firm name and style of Benton County Lumber Company." J. D. Irvine (a mystery, since none of the local oral informants had ever heard of him), was a third partner only identified on the first two land deeds with Flynn and Ewing. He 'got cold feet' and sold back to the company his one-third share in early 1903, for $2,500. They filed with the (still less than 50-year old) state of Oregon as "a corporation duly organized."

The "Benton County Lumber Company" began with the open-sided steam powered saw mill seen in the big photograph above, behind its log
pond (with the heavy "mill boiler" E. A. Cone helped Mike and Sam haul to the mill location) and with several flumes (long elevated ramps built on trestles) running out both sides. The mill used water from Hyde Creek, likely named for the pioneer on whose property the mill was situated, John Hyde. The mill site was on the southern perimeter of a long valley formed by the South Fork of Mary's River (locally known as 'Greasy Creek'), with steep forested mountainsides to the south and the west. The saw mill probably quickly grew into a 'camp' or settlement, with several large buildings serving many purposes besides that of housing the men and the families of those who worked there. Madge Cone (who took the last name of her husband, Savage) drove with me twice to the site where this mill settlement was. She was born in a house about one-quarter mile to the north, in which her father, mother, and sister lived. None of these buildings have survived ninety years later. The site now has grown back with blackberries, fir trees, and a variety of other trees and brush closer to the creek.

The three partners had many resources at their command, not least of which was the presence of many local people living nearby with multiple skills, willing to work either at the mill or in the woods on a wage-earning job. There were two nearby rural ranching communities of pioneer homesites, gathered around the schools of Westwood and Pleasant Valley. Many had at least some experience logging and working with farm machinery. Besides the machinery the new lumber company would use, both at the mill and with their woods crews, horses were still used sometimes in the logging work. People experienced with work animals, and many who simply were strong and wanted to work, would be employed. Madge Cone Savage's father was the head sawyer at the mill,
and her mother also did some bookkeeping for Mike Flynn, as well as later sharing the job of cooking for both the mill and woods crews with her sister. So Madge was born there, while her sister Glyde walked to the tall one-room Westwood School, located only a mile to the north.

Fig. 8. "Old Benton County Lumber Company Sawmill-1900-1912"

"Top: Jim Gray, --
L. to R.: --, Mike Flynn, Lloyd Hyde, Charles Hodge, Chester Huffman E. Arden Cone, --, --, Freeman"

Mike Flynn, with the short, wide tie on and watch chain attached to his suspenders, was the boss of the small mill crew seen above.
The men working for him probably shared an easy confidence in their work and needed little instruction. Charles Hodge, who later became the company President, stands to the right of Mike, his arms crossed. Between him and the well-dressed E. A. Cone stands a man in the center of the group, Chester Huffman, who probably felt at home working there. His family's farm was only a few miles north of this new mill. Behind Chester is an unidentified boy, and behind the group stands Jim Gray, who was probably part of another local ranching family who lived only three miles north. Madge believes Lloyd Hyde could very well have been a descendant of the same John Hyde on whose place was built the Benton County Lumber Company (B. C. L. C.) mill in which this photograph was taken. The three other men in this photo on the far right are unknown. Aside from the name alone of the last man (Freeman), they are, like the figure on the far left next to Mike, men who were unfamiliar to any of the local informants interviewed.

Mike Flynn's brother Paddy is seen in the next photo of a more relaxed-looking (or tired) crew also there at the mill. Both Flynns apparently had the personalities and knowledge to boss the mill crew (and the many more men working on crews in the woods). Sam Ewing handled the books (and perhaps dealt with the legal technicalities). "I think he's the one that hired [E. E.] Wilson for their lawyer. Sam Ewing's the one that took charge of all that," Madge recalled. At least one of the three original partners must have had money with which to begin the business operation- quite likely Sam Ewing, but not known for sure. Perhaps the company tried to borrow money, using timberlands for collateral. But the early deeds for land they purchased indicate that they began with several thousand dollars.
Relatives of the Flynns soon sold them some nearby timberland, and Mike Flynn himself also owned timberland close to the mill site.

Of course the primary local resource was a stand of forest trees of mixed age and species, including some large, old-growth firs growing nearby. While not a 'virgin forest,' early mill men had barely tapped this resource, using more primitive tools than those in which this new company would invest. Other initial resources included many local rural community residents willing to provide skilled labor for wages, and the personal skills, knowledge, and ideas which the partners and E. A. Cone could use to become a success at a business venture tried before, but never on this scale. Earlier small mills along creeks in the area southwest of Philomath had only cut timber and sold lumber to local customers, not in a sustained manner but only haphazardly as weather, machinery, and demand allowed. Primarily due to the many hazards inherent in logging operations in the nineteenth century, as well as the lack of transportation to big timber markets, those early mills had only found seasonal profits, until a bad year or two had drained their limited capital, credit, and customers.

As with much history of the American West, the elements of this story which stand out the clearest are the geography and the people. The general location for this mill camp is in the eastern foothills of the Coast Range, a very wet region in which several creeks run down the timbered hillsides. They feed into Greasy Creek (Mary's River, South Fork) which flows north towards its own junction with the North Fork, to combine as one Mary's River and meander eastward to the Willamette River. "At the foot of Alsea Mountain" is a common expression used by the local oral informants, to describe where this mill camp was built.
The local name "Alsea Mountain" is a high saddle seldom seen on maps. It is below the even taller Mary's Peak, the highest peak in Oregon's Coast Range at an elevation of over 4,000 feet.

The old wagon road which ran close by the Benton County Lumber Company proceeded up and over the mountain which took its local name from the next town (and the last native Indian bands) several miles to the southwest, Alsea. Both Dinner Creek and Hyde Creek flow down the mountainside into Greasy Creek where begins the small lowland valley, at the edge of which the mill camp was established. The timberland around the mill camp was steep, and the mixed species of hardwood and softwood trees, of which lumbermen preferred old growth Douglas fir, populated a forest little penetrated by the early pioneers. The geography had a character of its own, a wilderness both forbidding and, to some, enticing. The woods crew of this young company began slowly penetrating the forest. Before this, it had seen few loggers and only the Kalapuyan native peoples (now much diminished by epidemics and pushed westward to a reservation along the Pacific Coast). At the turn of the century, only cougars and other wildlife still called the forest wilderness at the higher elevations 'home.'

The mountains cut by numerous drainage basins centered on creeks which lay between the lower rural foothill communities and the town of Alsea were very steep, but the area had, at least on paper, been mapped. The young company quickly set out to purchase timberland parcels close to their mill site. The earliest recorded deed for B. C. L. C. found in the Benton County Courthouse records was signed in the winter of 1902. In December, on the eighth, they paid "the sum of One Dollar" for 80 acres of timberland, a very auspicious beginning for "a corporation duly organized."
Perhaps the price was so incredibly low because the same man, "H. Hirschberg (unmarried) of Independence," had already agreed to sell them a neighboring parcel, much larger at 240 acres "more or less," for a much larger price of "Thirty-six hundred dollars." This second sale came only one month later, on Jan. 14, 1903. Perhaps also, since the first parcel sold was so close to the mill and on flatter land, many of the trees useful for long boards without knotholes had already been felled, and it was to the bigger parcel that the woods crew was sent, to supply timber from falling only the choicest large trees growing there. The two sales amounted to the northern half (320 acres) of a whole section: Section 1, in Township 13 South, Range 7 West. This forestland was actually the timbered hillsides immediately west of the millsite on Hyde Creek. The Flynns soon sold their timberlands adjoining these, further to the west up Alsea Mountain, to the legal entity which Benton County Lumber Company had become.

The man with whom I began recording this oral history, who was also born there at the Hyde Creek mill settlement, was Melvin Hawkins. Melvin himself knew many places as a young boy, after first moving in 1912, at age four, to another mill camp located on Starr Creek, south and east of Philomath. He also spent many years in Philomath, living with one of the College professors, when work left his father Frank little time to raise his son. Frank Hawkins was a logger. He was working on the woods crew for B. C. L. C. when he met the woman whom he married, and who gave birth to Melvin. The Hawkins who were grandparents to Melvin also figure in the early history of B. C. L. C. "My Grandmother cooked there too for awhile, apparently. And my mother. That's where my Mother met my Dad- out there. That mill" (Melvin D19:183).
"You know they offered my Grandfather a chance to come in to that mill [buy in or join somehow as a partner with Flynn, Ewing, and their brief partner Irvine]. It was around the turn of the century... But then he didn't get along well, you know.. See, he was getting up around [60 years old]. He was born in 1843" (Melvin D19:407).

Fig. 9. B. C. L. C. woods crew, most anonymous.
Frank Hawkins appears to be man left of center, back row, immediately in front of "stack' on steam donkey.
The crews of men working for B. C. L. C. were needed both to run the mill and to work in the woods, and could very well have included immigrants who were newcomers to the area. In the 1930s and 1940s when Melvin Hawkins himself worked 'in the woods' as a logger, he recalled working with Indians as well as men from several other nationalities. "In the woods, lots of Swedes and Norwegians... We always called the Germans 'Dutch' around here" (Melvin 5C, S.2:188). Melvin recalled that there was a lot of kidding between people of different nationalities. The Irish especially had a knack for needling everyone, even fellow Irishmen. After he was appointed a Benton County Commissioner in 1959, Melvin got to know a "Judge Larkin" who also was a Commissioner (Melvin 5C, S.2:200). "He was always kidding somebody. That's Irish, you know, that Larkin. He said one time he was working on a railroad, tamping ties, when he was a young fellow." A new immigrant showed up on the crew one day, "name of O' Casey. [He] looked kind of grumpy, and didn't say anything. Long about noon he said, 'Sure and what's your name?' And he told him it was 'Larkin.' 'Larkin? Why, there's more of those in Ireland than there are O' Caseys, but we've got 'em all in jail and hanged by the time they're 50!"

It took both money and brains for B. C. L. C. to purchase and use their steam donkeys. This clever use of technology very advanced for the time\(^1\) was characteristic of the strategies employed by B. C. L. C. to make themselves successful. The 'donkey' was a great improvement over either horses or oxen, since it used heavy cables to drag the logs down or up from spots inaccessible to any animal. That gave them the ability to access truly 'virgin' areas no logger before them would ever have considered.

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\(^1\) The Dolbeer Donkey was first used in California in 1881, according to Hutchinson 1974, third (unnumbered) page in chapter, "Sierra Logging Company."
The fallen tree logs could never have been hauled out of the higher elevations up Alsea Mountain without a steam donkey. According to Melvin, of the two types of steam donkeys, the "narrow-faced" variety was even deadlier than the "wide-faced" donkey that killed one logger working in later years, on a job in the Woods Creek area, probably not contracted by B. C. L. C. "More men killed over donkeys- when they got those big narrow-faced ones, I'm talking about. They were so fast" (Melvin C10, S.1:161). There are several photographs of the woods crew that worked for B. C. L. C., and one can see a steam donkey in every one.

This new technology they were using brought greater efficiency, and greater access, but it also increased the risks involved for loggers, donkey crew men (who hauled water, strung out the cables, and guided logs swung from one place to another), and anyone caught in the path of the heavy cable lines. Melvin Hawkins told me a story of one logger fatality involving the steam donkey being used at the time. "I heard about the first man was killed, as far as I know, in this part of the country. And he was out along the line, where the line would come by. He was sitting on a stump. And the line came traveling out, pulling a 'choker' out, to put around the log. And that 'choker' may be 20 feet long, with a big chunk of steel on there, you know, for a hook. And it was swinging around. And it was fog- it was real thick. He was too close. And that went around his neck and jerked off... why, it killed him instantly. [pause] Grover Pritchett. 'Wide-face,' some of them were pretty big. And they had lots of power... Grover Pritchett was killed by a wide-faced donkey" (Melvin C10, S.1:180).

Andrew Gellatly, whose grandparents farmed one foothill homesite in Pleasant Valley, still resides today on a road named Gellatly Way. There is also a nearby creek named for the family. Andrew himself was a logger.
He logged some fir trees growing there in the 1960s, in a spot which, from the debris he found in the soil, he realized must have been the mill pond for B. C. L. C. (seen in the mill camp photos, a pond they created where logs could be stored for the mill to later saw into lumber). Andrew drove out to help confirm the location (seen earlier, in a road trip with Madge) on Hyde Creek for the original mill camp where Benton County Lumber Company began. The firs he logged in the 1960s were of a type known to old-time loggers as 'yellow fir,' and there were many growing nearby the mill site both at the turn of the century and sixty years later. "But that was some of the nicest lumber. It was awful yellow, and it was an extra good grade of lumber up in here. I logged some of it. [The old-time loggers working from before 1900 on into the next century] just sawed the best. Yah, I hauled some awful good logs out, up the creek there. "When I asked Andrew about 'yellow fir' he told me what they look like, and why they made choice lumber. "They're smooth-barked. And they grow up a long ways, without limbs. 'Cause they wouldn't hardly saw a knotty log" (A. Gellatly 1, S.1:350).

Logging in this era was more than just 'selective,' as the modern practice of choosing larger trees rather than all the trees (or 'clear-cutting') is called today. Few trees then were cut, since only the best lumber producing trees with characteristics loggers recognized were chosen. 'Hooter trees,' as Melvin called those firs with many branches growing far down the trunk, perfect nesting sites for doves, owls, and other birds of the forest, were one type not cut. The many knotholes where each branch left the main trunk would make the timber difficult to saw into lumber, and very tough even for those who would use the wood for chopping into firewood. Both Melvin and another local informant, Minnie McMurtry, recalled that in
the 1920s a man with a gas-powered saw mounted in the back of his wagon would offer to cut knotty wood into firewood for Philomath town residents. (Many rural ranchers chose to fall the trees growing on flatter land. They intended to farm the land, and would often just use the old growth firs for firewood.) Loggers would often hear the birds such trees with many limbs, and so began calling them "hooter trees."

For the mill to produce straight-grain lumber, as was characteristic of old-growth fir, the trees with many limbs (and knotholes) would not be cut. Customers would expect to purchase lumber of a high quality, and since not only tall firs with few lower branches but even 'yellow firs' were abundant, then those would be the trees chosen to log, or 'fall.' The value of wood was not very great, and high prices for lumber were unknown until after World War II, with the housing and construction boom which hit the entire nation. Though Oregon later became notable for its resource of timber, it was first attractive to settlers in the 1800s for its climate and farm-land. Minnie McMurtry lived in Philomath for many years, and was born on her pioneer grandparents Donation Land Claim, west of Philomath. It was located near Kings Valley. She recalled (McMurtry 1, S.2:292) that her parents "had this land that Britton Wood [pioneer settler who crossed over-land to Oregon with one wagon train in 1852] had given them... that hundred acres. And it was mostly timberland. And of course in those days, the whole deal was to get rid of that timber. Their reasoning was, the land that would produce such things as those big giant trees... would raise any-thing. And so the play was to get rid of those pesky trees. Cut 'em down. Burn 'em up. Anything. Because they were just sure ... that they could raise great crops of wheat and other kinds of produce. Hay, you know. My goodness!" Minnie laughed at how values had changed, today.
One of the primary 'crops' for Oregon had become trees. This would have seemed absurd to pioneers. To those who both logged and owned timberland, it was wasteful and counter-productive to try to rid the land of trees, but to the farmer old growth fir was only good for firewood.

It was also so time-consuming and the terrain so steep for early loggers equipped only with long crosscut saws, that only the best trees in any area were logged. Teams of two loggers, one at each end of the long cross-cut saw, would log or 'fall' trees by sawing in rhythm together.

Fig. 10. "Benton County Lumber Company at foot of Alsea Mt."
"(Probably 1st donkey in Benton County) Frank S. Hawkins is standing on far right (hands back of him)"
Each man alternately pulled the saw in a 'stroke' to cut into the tree. This hard work earned the crosscut saw the happy name, "misery whip." In the photo above, perhaps the loggers (including Frank Hawkins) wore suspenders, and the rest worked on the donkey crew, including the man sitting piggy-back on the shoulders of the genial boss, Paddy Flynn. On logging crews, some men would work as 'fallers' cutting down the trees, and others as 'buckers' cutting up the fallen trunks into long log lengths. The woods crews working for B. C. L. C. had many men, including both logging crews and donkey crews. They would work hauling or piping water to the steam donkey's engine, fastening the cables to logs, guiding the logs off the steep slopes and down towards skid roads or waterways. Donkey crews always included a 'donkey tender' who controlled the cables, and ran the machine. Melvin's father Frank is in the picture above, and, like Madge's father Arden Cone, he owned the photographs which were handed down in the family. *Apparently the company had many sets of these photographs made, perhaps because they realized how new and how momentous to logging in the area was the technology they were using.*

Melvin Hawkins recalled working in the mid-1930's, at "probably 25 or 26" years old, with his father as a falling team (Melvin C1, S.2:187). They were working at the time for Rex Clemens, a local Philomath lumberman who owned timber rights or timberland both on the Alsea Mt. and much closer to the Coast, at Siletz. "In Siletz my Dad and I felled spruce for awhile... There was a bunch of big ones down below Siletz, along the river. And we went down there and cut there. I think most of them [were] around 7, 7 1/2 feet in diameter. And we only had an 8 1/2 foot [long] saw. So we'd have to [use a axe to] chop in on the side, in order to get a stroke on the saw. And chop in... the undercut."
You couldn't **saw** where it was the least bit **tight**, where the tree was leaning. So I think we'd get 1 tree down in a day, and get the undercut in the next. ... But you couldn't get many of those down. But you didn't need to, they were so big. They'd have 15, 20 thousand [board feet of lumber] to a tree, if they had any length [or vertical height] to 'em. Some of them were snag-topped. And there was lots of spruce down along the river. I don't know; probably a lot of it's grown back" (Melvin C1, S.2:165).

Melvin also compared spruce to fir, in terms of problems loggers would find cutting each species of tree. Unlike fir, spruce has no pitch under the bark and inside the trunk "but there's some kind of a little gum in there... The way the grain is, it pulls hard. They weren't easy to saw." Fir could be hard to saw if "you get into pitch seams... Oh boy! The runny pitch will just run right out. I've had some with enough pressure to push your [crosscut] saw away from the cud. Usually in that case we'd just pull the saw out and let 'em drain. Let 'em drain out and then come back and saw 'em off... Oh, it'd be too hard" (Melvin 5C, S.1:225).

Along the low ground near Greasy Creek the company built one type of early logging technology: a wooden flume. This was a trough erected on stilts which, using water inside of it, could float lumber and small logs from one site to another. In the second picture on the next page, a copy from one owned by Andrew Gellatly, the flume can be seen as it stood for many years after it was no longer used (after 1912). It stands below the Gellatly's homestead, sitting on the hillside above, looking west. The brush growing between the flume and the hillside shows the route of Mary's River, so the flume here ran along the east bank of that river. The idea to build this flume might have been suggested to the partners by any of the local men working for them, but it seems likely that they had planned for it at first.
Without this flume, there would have been only the long, muddy wagon road to transport the mill's lumber, one wagonload at a time, towards the nearest place with any large population (and potential customers): Corvallis. If they had tried that, then the story of the Benton County Lumber Company would have been no different than that of any of the early mills situated in this region. The slow production of lumber for nearby customers, many of whom could only ask for credit or offer ranch products in trade (or ask the miller to run their own logs through his saw, to produce 'rough cut' lumber) would have meant small success.

However, within six months of the first recorded land purchase the young corporation had secured the rights to build this flume. It would float their lumber for free, for most of the year (when the water in it did not freeze). It would transport the lumber directly from the sawmill camp on Hyde Creek (or elsewhere along its eight-mile route) to a siding or spur for the Corvallis and Eastern Railroad. By railroad and ship the partners could then ship lumber to San Francisco or Portland if they chose, much bigger markets than Corvallis. (The Corvallis market apparently was itself big enough to necessitate sending E. A. Cone there, to handle deliveries and shipments.) Lumber cut in the steam-powered saw mill on Hyde Creek could be quickly delivered to the railroad siding, via the flume. A continuous flow of lumber could be off-loaded there at the Junction and stacked in a lumber yard, the one seen in Chapter 4, on the 1903 Huffman map. This railroad siding quickly grew into a busy place called "Flynn" or "Flynn's."

The basic resources with which the company began have already been listed. On a deeper level, the first primary component of their success was the use of technology to overcome difficulties posed by geography.
Just as important was the desire, shared by nearly all the local community residents, to see the logging industry in the region grow. The practical generosity of those people living along the foothills of the timberland south of Philomath has already been described. That an immense timber resource grew on the mountainsides above them, all knew. That the timber growing on the higher slopes of Alsea Mountain and Mary's Peak would ever bring a good price or even be accessible to both loggers and markets, many probably doubted. But to have a mill built in the area which would offer employment for many people and actually remain in business long enough to pay those who worked there wages, in cash, was still a dream as the twentieth century dawned in the rural area southwest of Philomath.

What made the dream come true, and ensured the success of B. C. L. C. over the first two decades of the 1900s, was the combination of skilled labor from many local rural community residents (as well as townspeople who later worked for this company), and the opportune time and place the partners chose. The desire for the company to succeed was so strong that they were able to purchase the water rights and passageway for free over the site along Mary's River where Melvin Hawkins' grandfather had erected his mill (now unused), only little more than a mile from Philomath. On April 30, 1903 B. C. L. C. (now only Flynn and Ewing) signed an "agreement" with Ida M. Horning, granting them the right to erect a "flume for the purpose of fluming lumber, wood, & [etc.]", eight miles "from the said saw mill ... or elsewhere to the said C. & E. Railroad side track." The Corvallis & Eastern Railroad siding is where Flynn's was established, a lumber yard site big enough to build a planing mill there (before the first decade of the 1900s was over).
Fig. 11. Flume carrying lumber, looking north towards covered bridge at "the Junction"

The above picture was part of a promotional real estate brochure, printed by Rainwater & Watson, undated.

Both the fact that there was no charge, and the language in this flume agreement exhibit the depth of the desire for the Benton County Lumber Company to grow strong, to "succeed" as no other mill before it had been able to do. Certainly Ida Horning, as well as other local timberland owners, hoped to gain financially from a local lumber company that would buy their timber. Historians often find that an accumulation of circumstances seem to precipitate future events, which are often set in motion by that one individual
one individual or one group who either invents a piece of technology (such as Edison’s light bulb, or the Wright brothers’ airplane) or commits to some action (such as the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne in 1914, igniting World War I). Flynn and Ewing (with Cone’s help, if not originally sharing in the partnership) seem to have been such a catalyst in Philomath history. The background circumstances included the geography and the timber resource, but the early society they moved into also made their success possible.

Both the people and the forest environment favored practicality, stubbornness, hard work, and self-sufficiency among those who would survive far from any ‘civilized’ town. Traces of these qualities can be found in Ida Horning, from the language of the flume agreement she fashioned.

Fig. 12. Flume, built by B. C. L. C. to float lumber north.
She knew that it was a big gamble that the men would succeed with their new notions about how to build their logging operation, and that practical possibility was plain in one sentence of the agreement. "If said flume is not built and in operation in one year from this date this privilege expires."

Such a plain, bold statement was in accord with the hardiness and self-assurance of the people of her time and place.

There were other reservations in this carefully worded document. Horning granted Flynn and Ewing the right to use her water rights, and build the flume over her land, with the stipulation that it be elevated high enough to allow for the passage "of teams [of work animals] under the said flume" on her premises. Ida also made sure that "said flume shall be so constructed and maintained so as to admit of the free and uninterrupted passage of water and logs through the ditches, race, and ponds connected with" her place. Her land was "known as the Hawkins saw mill property" and was certainly already well known, and probably respected, (for the job Joseph A. Hawkins accomplished, overcoming the severe difficulties he faced operating his mill there in the later 1800's). Her agreement may have been a signal to the community: these two fellows are likely candidates to 'make a go' of their enterprise.

But just in case they failed at their bold attempt, the last stipulation implies that Ida reserved the right to start up the old Hawkins mill again, herself. She seems to have had some wealth, since she paid "Three Hundred Two DOLLARS, gold coin" to buy forty-five acres of timberland located a good mile and a half over steep terrain from the proposed flumeway, (and more than three miles from the B. C. L. C. mill, by the way). That purchase was made on the 23rd of February, little more than one month before she signed the flume agreement. The success of many in
Corvallis as merchants or prospectors in the California gold fields of the 1850s may have been replicated in others who settled outside of towns, and hoarded their gold. Since this agreement offered Ida no future opportunity to share in company profits, one wonders why she signed such a liberal flume agreement with the two men, about whose new enterprise she may have heard gossip, but who were probably strangers to her. If one believes the language of the flume agreement was both practical and honest, then perhaps the lack of monetary motivation reflected not only Ida Horning's financial security but the community goal as literally stated in the agreement itself.

Ida Horning was certainly not the only one in the foothill country southwest of Philomath who was anxious to see the timber industry thrive, since others had already tried operating mills and logging in the area, before 1900. Her generosity was a strictly practical one, and as likely characteristic of the people of her day, as it remains a vibrant personality trait in the pioneer children and grandchildren who welcomed me into their homes, to make the oral history tapes upon which this history is based. She granted B. C. L. C. the right to use the water and build the flume over her property "... in consideration of the most convenient transportation of lumber... and to assist in the extension of and to stimulate and promote the lumber industry in the community where said flume is proposed to be constructed, and without any other consideration...." That is the exact language, and the only reference in the entire recorded agreement stating what the B. C. L. C. partners were required to give Ida, for her generosity- not a single penny!

Ida Horning was a stubborn woman, it seems, since she specified exactly how a gate releasing the flume's water was to be installed, and that the flume itself was "not to exceed forty inches in width on top and is built in V
or triangular form and is constructed as near as practicable to the present-surveyed line for said flume." She also limited her agreement to "the period of twenty-five years." It seems from the very specific stipulations that she 'drove a hard bargain' which Flynn and Ewing needed badly, for their business to succeed. That she did not charge them any money seems a strong indication that she knew how common it was for mills to fail, that she also knew how risky (and potentially profitless) their plans were, but that she, like many others in the local rural communities, wanted the lumber industry to flourish. Probably many in the rural communities of Westwood, Pleasant Valley, and Evergreen had hopes of marketing their own plots of timberland and labor, should any local lumber company grow strong and financially solvent enough to pay them for this. Theirs was a practical generosity, given the tough pioneer conditions which shaped their lives well into the twentieth century.

Since the history of logging, milling, and lumber companies in this very small, specific area recalls the work of individuals whose struggles to survive were in some measure rewarded, however fitfully, by the generosity of nature, it is also appropriate to record the generous nature of the society many of those individuals formed with each other. That, however, is difficult to know, since many acts of kindness went unrecorded. A "free store" in Corvallis which continues today to provide free clothing, bedding, furniture and all kinds of donated goods to the needy is named for the woman who started it, the Vina Moses Center. Madge recalled her knickname was "Viny." She was the wife of Victor Moses, the man who was narrowly elected County Clerk in E. A. Cone's history. One way to perhaps substantiate the belief that the early rural and town populations in the Philomath area shared a society characterized by hard work, fun, generosity and
compassion is to present Madge's portrait of one man who lived in that society, her own father. Here are a few paragraphs she composed:

"Enoch Arden Cone was a teenager, when he left Marysville, Ohio by train with 21 family members... He loved his family, was fond of music, horses, and the outdoors. He would walk for miles- from McMinnville to Corvallis, and over mountain trails. In 1895, at age 27, he married Cordia Mae Hodge, a 21 year old school teacher in McMinnville. Their first daughter, Glyde, was born there February 28th, 1897.

"Mr. Cone was a hard worker, small in stature but wiry, taking pride in outdoing anyone he worked with. He was a timber cruiser, a sawyer, and he helped set up logging operations and a sawmill for the B. C. L. C. In 1907 a second daughter, Madge, was born in a house near the Mill pond, living there until 1909, when they moved to Corvallis. Mr. Cone worked with his team of horses at the B. C. L. C. lumber yard in Corval-lis, at what later became known as the Independent Lumber Company...

"At any family gathering there was always music. Arden sang in quartets and choirs in any town where they lived. He played the fiddle, banjo, guitar, and harmonica, and chorded on piano. He played in many Old Time Fiddlers contests in this area, accompanied by his daughter Glyde, and most always won first place. In a Ted Mack contest, he won a small radio. At age 85 he rode his spirited horse in a parade in Philomath. At 89 years of age he rode on a float in the Oregon Centennial [1959] Parade playing fiddle. That night he won a t.v. at the fiddlers contest in Corvallis. He was witty, having a great story for any subject that came up."
Madge is certain her Dad had begun playing music long before she was born in 1907, since as a young boy raised in Ohio, "all their family played music of some kind." He taught Glyde to play the piano, and "my sister always went with him to play in all those contests. Doke Gray [another local fiddler] would go," and also other musicians from the area. "They were always playing there [at Mary's River Grange]." On into the 1920s "almost every week probably they had some kind of music. He probably entered into most of them. And then he sang all the time; he ... was always in a quartet of some kind. The quartets sang "in the Grange" and also "at the Odd Fellows Hall in Philomath," where "they had something going on almost every weekend. A play, or a- something... And operettas, and they had all kinds of music... And then when I was in the Campfire [a Girl Scout club], we put on 'Singbad the Sailor'." Madge acted in this play before 1925 (Madge L6, S.1:457), when still enrolled "in high school."

Some of the many men and women who worked for B. C. L. C. over the years can be seen in the photographs in this chapter. They and their families wanted to gain a livelihood, but also enjoyed sharing music, picnics, parades, games and sports of many kinds, as well as religious activities, with each other. The musical activities Madge recalls may very likely have been as common there at the mill camp, in the evenings, as they were in later years when Madge enjoyed them. "In the church, they had a quartet. And they had a quartet outside of the church... [In] Corvallis, my Dad was in a quartet with two women and two men. I can remember them going to ... practice. And I know that he spent an awful lot of time doing that, while my mother was cooking or something" (Madge L6, S.2:239). "I think- in my family, my mother worked just as hard as my Dad. In fact, when she married him they said that she'd be [the breadwinner]."
They thought that he would just take life easy... I think he had so much respect for her, that he worked so hard, too" (Madge L6, S.1:063).

Women and men at a young age developed a wry sense of humor, since one never needed to 'go far' to find work that needed doing. This was true of a wide spectrum of a society in which most relied upon physical labor to survive economically, from rural foothill loggers' families to families of farmers. Most farming families lived on the Valley floor, many very close to towns and to Corvallis where they could also perhaps find work for wages. Melvin Hawkins drily noted that, "I hitched it up a few times," when they needed to take the (one seat) buggy (with one horse) into town, before they bought their first car, a Model T Ford. He did this when he was only "around 9 or 10" years old. But horses didn't fascinate him. "At the mill where I was born, why they had horses around there. I wasn't so much interested in horses... But boy I wanted to see cars" (Melvin 6, S.1:082). Melvin began driving their first car at age 14, when his father was too busy working in the woods to go to town for needed supplies, and the family lived out on Starr Creek. The car itself seemed so rugged that even after cold weather caused a head gasket to 'blow' (and Melvin stopped to put snow in the radiator), it still ran. "But with a Model T, you just went on anyway, you know." He used the car also to drive himself to high school in Corvallis, and flat tires occurred so often that "we were very happy when we didn't [get a flat]. But [when he did] you'd just stop and tie right into it, you know" (Melvin 6, S.1:321).

Melvin preferred working in the woods, where "I cut timber mostly, I guess," but sometimes he had no choice but to do other kinds of work the boss wanted done. One such job was loading railroad ties, cut by the mill owner for whom he worked, onto railroad 'Cars,' (as they were called).
In a dry, humorous tone, Melvin told me about this work. "I helped load them a time or two... You'd grab one of those ties, and run with it...
Quite often, they expected you to move. And they weren't too light. They were heavy, and you hated to do that. But you felt like you could, so away you'd go." "The boss said, 'Go over there and load ties.' And they weren't ready to cut timber right at that time... No, there's no way you could have gotten me to volunteer. I was appointed 'volunteer" (Melvin 6, S.1:221).

In the summers of 1918 and 1919, the Cone family lived at another mill located on nearby Griffith Creek, a tributary of Rock Creek. E. A. Cone worked again as the sawyer there, milling lumber sold to B. C. L. C., while Cordia Cone worked cooking (and sold milk from their cow which Madge recalled delivering to a nearby neighbor). Madge and Glyde worked with their cousins taking turns as night watchmen and watering skids, replacing men gone to fight in World War I. Three girls would each earn fifty cents a day, taking the wage of one man. There was a sixteen-year old boy who guided the team of horses hauling logs over the skid road. "And he was the one that drove the team, and sang, 'Memories.'... And you would hear that all through the mountains. It echoed, you know. He had a wonderful voice... We were only [eleven or twelve years old] but we just thought that he was something" (Madge L6, S.1:228). Madge also recalls that her Dad probably played his fiddle "in the evenings" there after work, since "I think he always had his fiddle" with him, wherever he lived and worked (Madge L1, S.1:451).

Their ingenuity and hard work would bring success in the lumber business to the partners who began B. C. L. C., at least until 1920. The company's planing mill, and their next saw mill, both built right at the huge Flynn's junction and lumber yard site, came to employ many individuals.
People in the rural area southwest of town, as well as other Philomath residents, would find a rare deal with the company: fairly consistent work for wages, and earnings that would be paid. For early mill men and lumbermen, as well as farmers, ranchers and even local tradespeople, most products were "sold" with the understanding that the customer received credit.

Transportation delays, suspension of work and commerce caused by seasonal and geographic difficulties (such as crops that spoiled, or logs that could not be moved as heavy rains set in), and the inevitable accidents common to physical labor and perilous transportation techniques all necessitated that an economy in which credit and barter were commonplace was the only kind of economy all could share. Both local and distant customers of B. C. L. C. were extended credit, but this was a normal business practice in early twentieth century American society. The company had complex business dealings with a multitude of customers, from near and far. This could have meant some delays in pay for their workers, while the company itself waited for customers to pay for lumber and other products often sold and delivered on credit.

But B. C. L. C. grew at a rapid pace, and workers were probably more assured of being paid (and sooner, rather than later) than they were when hiring themselves out to smaller, less profitable rural enterprises, which were still often short-lived. Melvin Hawkins learned that anyone who hired others to work gained a good reputation in the community if he first paid his help, after he himself received money owed. His father learned (the hard way) to appreciate the success B. C. L. C. found, when other local mills (still out in the rural areas) kept trying, but often floundering. "My Dad worked there
[at the company mill, at 'the Junction'] in 1915, '16, and '17. Then he left, and went out to work on Starr Creek, for his brother Edmund, and Frank Bennett [at their rural saw mill]. Later he wished he’d stayed where he was. Because he said he got paid there [at Flynn's], and [the rural saw mill] ran out of money" (Melvin D-19, S.1:103). It was well into the mid-twentieth century before rural mills would come to share a lumber market that could support all. Before this they relied on spotty local sales, contracts with timber buyers who came into the local area, and sometimes contracts with local mills (including B. C. L. C.'s, at Flynn's) who were closer to transportation hubs for bigger, distant urban and national lumber markets.

Since winter rains and the muck and mud (and occasional snow) could shut down logging operations, work days in the other seasons were long and began early. To some, that necessitated living at the mill camp, to avoid travel (by foot or horse) home each day and night. But the mill camp settlement also drew people to it, among them relatives of the Hodge and Cone families. E. A. Cone and his wife Cordia (Madge's parents), and her brother Charlie Hodge, (seen in the center of the first mill crew picture with moustache and confidently crossed arms), all lived at the first mill settlement on Hyde Creek in 1905.

Of the men named in the second picture of the mill crew below, it is known that Chester Huffman (#1) lived about two miles north of the mill camp. Another mill identified on the 1903 map of Benton County may even have belonged to his father, or someone in the Huffman family. It probably did not last long after 1903, since none of the local informants knew whose
was the "M. H. Lumber Company mill," but nearly all of them were familiar with the "Benton County Lumber Company mill."

Fig. 13. Hyde Creek mill crew with Paddy Flynn

This photo had writing in longhand on the back (by an unknown hand):

"Benton Co. Lbr. Co. 1902
Sawmill at the John Hyde place
Eight miles from Philomath
on Alsea road"

(And these names are given, beginning with the men in front, from left to right. Last is the one unknown fellow, arms crossed, behind Mike Flynn's brother):

"1st row
1. Chester Huffman
2. Paddy Flynn
3. Arden Cone
4. Freeman

2nd row
5. Grover Pritchett
6. Paul Cone
7. Howells
8. Newton

middle 9. (?)"
A reference in Fagan's 1885 History, already quoted in the previous chapter, places the Huffman mill "where the South Fork emerges from its mountain sanctuary," and that is very close to the place on the map where this mysterious mill was located. (One even wonders if the mapmaker was a descendant of this same Huffman family.) Perhaps Chester Huffman began work for B. C. L. C. after the other mill closed, but this is merely hypothetical. Madge remembers him for his red hair. "He had that auburn hair—lots of it" (Madge L1, S.1:153). The farm on which he lived was not far away and so he probably slept in one of the mill shacks only if too tired to walk home. Others of these men may also have lived nearby.

Biathur Newton (#8) is the man sitting on the dock, far right. He later worked at the Flynn's millyard in the town of Philomath. Freeman (#4), Huffman, and Arden (E. A.) Cone are three men also seen in the first mill crew photo, with Mike Flynn. In this mill crew, Mike's brother Paddy Flynn (wearing a vest) was the man in charge, perhaps because Mike was out with the woods crew. (Paddy can also be seen in the second woods crew picture, in which it appears he was a pretty genial boss.) Charley Hodge and E. A. Cone not only earned wages applying their skilled labor to run the steam powered saw mill but also later became company officials.

The story of Grover Pritchett's death (as Melvin Hawkins recalled it), from a steam donkey that may or may not have been owned by B. C. L. C., has already been told. Paul Cone (#6) was the younger brother of a much dirtier and determined-looking E. A. Cone (probably from work that day as the head sawyer in the mill). It isn't until 1931 that E. A. Cone's name appears on any of the land deeds found pertaining to the Benton County
Lumber Company in the Corvallis Courthouse. He had actually replaced M. G. (Mike) Flynn at some time after the last recorded deed before this, in 1925, as "Secretary" of the corporation, but in 1931 Arden is the "Secretary- Treasurer." He not only helped the original two partners haul in their heavy steam boiler, to begin the whole operation in early 1901 but he also had, about 1909, been chosen to run another small delivery yard for Sam Ewing (and B. C. L. C.) in Corvallis. Arden had long been working with the company by 1931, and his responsibilities and position in the company had taken another upswing in about 1920.

That is when Madge recalls moving back to Philomath with her family- at about age 13- after Sam Ewing died from consumption. E. A. Cone tried to replace Sam, who had run the business from his office at "the Junction." By then, what had begun as a lumber yard known as "Flynn's" had added not just the planing mill, but also another saw mill to their site where Ewing and Charlie Hodge had built their houses. By 1925, in the deed by which B. C. L. C. sold a small parcel of land with Flynn still as Secretary, "Charles Hodge" had become "President" of the corporation. (They also had what this deed calls a "Board of Directors"- but prosperous times were over.)

This particular mill camp was different from many larger mill camps in the Pacific Northwest which were set up by big companies whose owners lived elsewhere, even in other parts of the nation. This one became a 'settlement' as the people living there and working for B. C. L. C. organized a literary society, and perhaps shared music as well as intellectual and religious activities with each other. Arden Cone's wife Cordia wrote a long letter to her sister Martha dated May 7, 1905, urging her to come.
(She would join Cordia and her brother Charles Hodge in working for Flynn.) Madge still has the letter at home, together with the envelope post-marked "1905." On the envelope is a two-cent stamp, with a portrait of George Washington. The letter is very revealing in its portrayal of mill camp details. "The lady that is cooking here has rheumatism so badly that she has to give the boarding house up... They pay the cooks $45 per month, and have averaged just 12 men to cook for, and said there wouldn't be over 15 at all... So Chas. [their brother Charley Hodge] and Mr. Flynn are both so anxious to have you come." Martha left her job at the Woolen Mills in Salem to come take the cook's job and live there on Hyde Creek, far from the more civilized comforts of town.

A degree of 'civilization' had been introduced at this small settlement which distinguishes it from the more typical mill camps of the time, in the heavily logged coastal areas. Those camps consisted usually of just rough, makeshift housing to shelter and feed the single men who were employed as wage laborers, often for large operations capitalized by absentee owners. This place really grew to be a temporary settlement, more than just a mill camp. "Then they have built the Hall and we have Literary every Saturday night. And they have organized a Sunday School and have preaching every other Sunday." The photos of the woods crews show many men. Some possibly were single and new immigrants into the local community. Many workers were actually married men who lived there at the mill settlement with their wives and children. They may not have owned any land, but perhaps they liked working in the woods, and when this mill camp closed down they just moved on to another (as the Hawkins family did in 1912).
Fig. 14. Sisters Cordia and Martha, with young Glyde Cone, at Hyde Creek mill camp, circa 1905.

Madge recalls being told she broke her older sister Glyde's doll. "That's the only doll she ever had." Notice long springboard notch in tree trunk, above ladies' heads.
Madge believes that "all of those other cabins [seen in the first photos of the mill camp] probably had somebody [a wife, and child perhaps living] in them." Perhaps the "boarding house" was the only building there housing single men, (as well as the camp cooks). When the Hawkins family moved to the mill at Starr Creek (in the southeast part of the study area), there was no such mill settlement there. Madge knows that "my mother did a lot of sewing for everybody" and both of these remarks are substantiated in Cordia Cone's letter to her sister Martha. "Three of the other ladies up here have one just like that. [Their other sister] Hattie thinks maybe she will have me make her one too." The object referred to is a "waist," Cordia's 1905 term for a blouse, the material she used being described in the letter as very popular among the women living at the mill camp settlement. "Everybody thinks [the 'waist'] is going to be about the prettiest thing they ever saw."

The partners who began B. C. L. C. probably planned to live and establish roots in the local community, so their company would succeed. While E. A. Cone's brief history tells us that Flynn, Ewing, and the Cones moved to the sawmill site from the small town of Dallas (located only about thirty miles north of Philomath), we have no other information about how they met or why they chose the sawmill site they did. Possibly the ownership of timberlands nearby by the Flynns and Cone drew them there. But that all three men chose lumbering more as a profession (forming a corporation which was serious about investing money to turn a future profit) than as just a trade meant that they would choose a mill site accessible to both the forest resource and nearby markets or transportation links.
Dallas sits squarely in the farmland of the Willamette Valley. Philomath lies near the Valley's edge; further southwest are only small communities. Westwood (without a post office until, as Madge believes, one was established right there at the mill settlement) was balanced between upland forest and lower hillside terraces where small farms or ranches were first pioneered. The geography there was rugged, though suitable for logging. There was a low valley along Greasy Creek through which the flume would be built to carry lumber, some bound for markets much bigger than any local demand for lumber would be, for many years to come.

It is interesting that the three men all lived in different locations by 1909, where each was pursuing business interests for B. C. L. C., which by then had grown quite big. Sam Ewing, who Madge pointed out is absent from all of the photos of the mill and woods crews who worked there at the Hyde Creek mill, probably oversaw operations from the very beginning at the railroad loading site of Flynn's (named after his partner) at the Junction just west of Philomath. He may have taken lodging in town until a planing mill was built at Flynn's. By late 1909 Sam had met and married Martha Hodge, and built a house for himself and his new family right at Flynn's. Sam would live there, devoting his life to the business (as Madge recalls him), until his death from tuberculosis in 1920. It was in the year 1909 that E. A. Cone moved, with his family, to Corvallis. He worked delivering lumber shipments out of a second, smaller lumber yard and railroad siding used by B. C. L. C., like the original (but much bigger) Flynn's site, before any mill was built there.
The second original partner, Mike Flynn, lived with his wife at the mill camp. Bridget Flynn was often bedridden, as Cordia informed her sister Martha in the letter. "Mrs. Flynn" (the boss's wife) was rheumatic and (it would seem) unfriendly or at least unpleasant for Cordia Cone to deal with. Perhaps she and Cordia did not at first like each other. But over the years between 1901 and 1905, the Flynns had come to know and trust both Cordia and her brother Charley Hodge. Cordia herself had recently been taken into Mike Flynn's confidence. "Flynn had me help him on his books the first of the month, and said he wanted me to, every time. And of course I like to, fine. Of course he will always give me something for it." Charley Hodge had also become a highly valued employee, one who was now quite familiar with both Mike and Mrs. Flynn. While Cordia was composing this letter, "Chas. is here and they are talking so much I just can't write." Further along in the letter, Cordia tells Martha why the boss's wife has been treating her better. "Everything is more pleasant up here this summer than it has been, ever before. Mrs. Flynn is different, from what she ever was before. She thinks so much of Chas. that she is just as good to us as can be." Madge believes that she never saw Mike Flynn. Though certainly Mike must have passed close by Philomath on his way to sign deeds and transact business at the Benton County Courthouse, Madge's personal recollection at least indicates that the Flynns did not travel much.

The Cones seem very different from the Flynns. The Cone family did travel to visit relatives living in other parts of western Oregon, trips by horse and buggy that would have been long and arduous but important for them, in maintaining family connections.
Early in the letter, Cordia mentions returning from a trip they took to visit her sister Hattie, who lived in Monmouth. "The only unpleasant thing about [the cook's job], Mrs. Flynn has to take her meals over there. She has rheumatism bad. She can't do anything. Her hands are all swollen. But of course, one can't expect everything to be the pleasantest, anyway. I know it couldn't be any worse than being around the people you have to be, all the time."

Martha's job at the Salem Woolen Mills may have required her to be on a crew with recent immigrants who were crude or rude, at least in her sister Cordia's eyes. In contrast with that, Cordia tries to portray to Martha a picture of the young mill settlement as a place where she would feel at home, and be welcomed.

There are also several hints in the letter that the women who lived there had a strong voice in mill settlement life. First of all, apparently this letter from Cordia was composed in a room with Mike Flynn and Charles Hodge, but rather than the boss Mike offering Martha the cook's job, her sister Cordia was delegated to persuade Martha to accept the offer. And the letter's author herself ended up with the coveted job; she was chosen to team up with her sister Martha as a camp cook. Secondly, that the men decided to build a "Hall" where the people living in the mill settlement could have "Literary" meetings and "Sunday School" is one of the first things Cordia mentions. It is likely that it was in response to a request from Cordia and the other women living there that the "Hall" was built, and the meetings held.

One even wonders if the job offer to Martha was not originally Cordia Cone's idea, and not Mike Flynn's. Certainly some adjustments to the living conditions at this mill camp were made because there were women
present, and to have a good cook was always extremely important in all
mill camps, even those with only men. The letter makes it clear how much
Cordia wanted her sister to come, and how many concessions Mike Flynn
was willing to make, to induce Martha to come live with them and be their
cook. Martha was offered vacation time, as well as much free time during
work days. "So you see, you could have the whole afternoon to yourself.
I would do your washing for you, if you liked. I wish you would come. I
would be so much better contented, if you were here... You could get off
from the first to the tenth of July to go to the Fair." (Madge knows this refers
to the popular Oregon State Fair, an annual event held in the capital city of
Salem which attracted many who had to travel by horse and buggy long
distances to attend.) Such liberal working terms were probably very unusu-
al for mill camp cook jobs, or for any jobs to be found in the Pacific North-
west in the early twentieth century. They demonstrate two things: how
different B. C. L. C.'s original mill camp was from most others, and how
much the Flynns had come to rely on the Cones.

Mike Flynn had even offered to stop charging the Cones (and presu-
missibly Charley Hodge) for meals, known as "board" in those days, and one
wonders if this also was an idea of his own or originally Cordia's. "But if you
would want the place [the job, or position] and wouldn't want such a young
girl to help, I would go in with you if you would rather have me. I would like
to, for I have been so well all spring. Then we would all get our board, too."
Cordia also cleverly offers a financial argument to persuade Martha to
accept the job, even if she would rather choose a young girl for her helper.
"If you came, you could give her 50 cents per day out of the $45."
Then you could clear more than you do, where you are, and wouldn't have to work near all the time." (Apparently Martha Hodge earned less than $30 per month, working long hours at the Salem Woolen Mills.) It seems that Cordia Cone had earned the respect of Mike Flynn for her math skills, since he sought her help with the books. It would be fitting, given the strong work ethic of many women who were close descendants of hardy pioneer women, that Mike Flynn and the other working men there would bow to the women's wishes in many matters concerning the life of their little settlement.

Apparently the partners who began B. C. L. C. not only created a tightly knit mill settlement where many men and women met and fell in love, but they also intended to establish personal roots in the community. Sam Ewing soon fell in love with the new cook Martha Hodge, whom he married. They had two daughters, Lucille being the first, born at Flynn's in November, 1909. Melvin Hawkins was born in 1908 at the mill settlement. His parents also met there, when his mother was cooking (before 1905) and his father Frank was working on the woods crew. Though both owners were characterized by Madge as hard workers with little social life, their involvement with the local community is obvious. The Flynns lived first at the rural mill camp, and perhaps remained living in the Westwood community until 1925. The company rail spur at the local 'Junction' was named after them. Sam Ewing lived in his house next to the mill at 'Flynn's,' just west of Philomath, until his death in 1920. Neither of the two original partners chose to become 'absentee owners.'

The growth of their company seems to have been rapid, though the work in the mill and out in the woods was very labor-intensive.
Many local men were hired to work for them. Though Joseph Hawkins (Melvin's grandfather, who had run a mill just one mile south of Philomath for several decades) was too old to join their partnership, both Charley Hodge and E. A. Cone grew from strong, knowledgeable workers into positions of ownership in the company. There are many other clues indicating that B. C. L. C. earned respect as a local company. They were not a large, impersonal corporation like many that began lumber operations in coastal Pacific Northwest communities, to supply wood and profits for American capitalists from outside the area. One crucial difference between those communities and this one was geographic. Being located along good harbors on the Pacific Ocean, those forestland communities quickly attracted outside investors who could easily ship lumber to big markets outside of the region. The forestland southwest of Philomath remained relatively isolated from big lumber and other commercial markets, until later in the twentieth century.

The 1925 deed signed by Charley Hodge (as company President) with Mike Flynn (as Secretary) is intriguing. This deed was for the sale of a small parcel of land to the city of Corvallis. It became part of the city watershed up Rock Creek, but it was sold for only $400 by B. C. L. C., and it was given to them free. It had been willed to the company by a man named Eric Blazier, only a little less than one year before the sale. What the relationship was (or if there was one) between Blazier and the partners Flynn and Ewing is unknown, but B. C. L. C. employed so many local people that Blazier may have felt his property would be an investment in the future for both Philomath and the rural communities to the southwest. That would have been true, however, only if Blazier wrote his will before 1920.
Chapter 4: End of B. C. L. C.

Madge Savage saved a large, old Ledger book which was in her father's possession when he died. Careful examination of this thick book of accounts reveals many gems of information which historians of early such lumber businesses might find illuminating. This ledger is a truly marvelous, very heavy bound book of curious construction, filled with the names of customers, suppliers, workers and other account sheets, divided into 26 alphabetical sections, each letter with its own tabbed index page. It is the primary ledger into which all of B. C. L. C.'s business accounts, many kept in thinner books, were transferred. A similar but smaller tabbed book (like a dictionary) appears in the photo of 'Sam Ewing's Office' on page 157. That one sits on Rob Clark's desk, in the background left corner of this photo. It is open, and the young Mr. Clark, who was Sam's bookkeeper, appears to be checking one of its accounts. Other "Journal" books seen on the big table in the foreground of this picture may have held the many individual, smaller account records.

The weight of this very thick 'book' comes from an old tin mixture known as "pot metal," sewed into the corduroy and leather covers. Metal was used to protect the book from a possible mill fire. Fires continue today to plague mills, who usually hire nightwatchmen to guard against smoldering embers which might grow slowly, in the night. Even early mills located in towns with nearby horse-drawn fire wagons suffered from fires, and many rural millers' dreams were reduced to ashes, since early rural mills had little fire protection, once a fire grew hot.
This ledger was in E. A. Cone's possession even though Sam Ewing directed business operations for the company, from his office at Flynn's. Arden had tried to save the company from bankruptcy, but failed, after Sam died in 1920. It appears to be B. C. L. C.'s last ledger book, missing some earlier accounts but including a summary for a few big ones which begin as early as 1909, with balance or inventory values. Other accounts begin at later dates, either because they did no business in that product or with that individual or company before then, or because the records kept in an earlier ledger were only transferred into this one on that late date. With only a few minor exceptions, all accounts end in 1919, since B. C. L. C. apparently did no business after 1920 began.

It is the "inventory" entries in this ledger which establish how steady was the flow of lumber down the flume, and how quick was the rise to success for the young lumber company. The "Logging Outfit" which begins with an inventory value in January 1, 1913 of $4,280 may have referred to one or more steam donkeys, or other equipment, but it has a relatively small value compared to other accounts. They may have actually attracted local investors as well as cut more logs and lumber than they could sell, since the monetary value in a few accounts is so high when they were first recorded in this ledger, with January 1, 1916 dates for all three. "Stock Capital" and "Surplus" each had a balance of over $30,000. The company had, by 1916, done well enough to build a "Saw Mill" (with a $10,000 balance) on the Flynn site.

But a problem might have arisen if they could not find a market for their primary product, which was lumber. While the business apparently was able
to pay big crews to log and mill the lumber, their "Surplus" remained high, with a January 1, 1918 balance of $29,800. The other two accounts do not have any more entries, after the single inventory balances recorded as the year 1916 began. These account entries indicate that the Flynns were busy logging, while stockpiles of lumber and other products grew, which Ewing could not sell as fast as the raw logs were sent to the millyard.

The ledger account for timber begins with a big January 1, 1909 balance of over $20,000. One would assume that this account refers to timber logged and rough cut out at the original Hyde Creek saw mill, since 1901. After April 1912, the inventory balance remains the same until October 1918, which seems to support the family picture captions giving 1912 as the final year for that mill's operation. In 1910 another $8,000 and in the next year another $3,000 worth of timber was recorded. The first three months of 1912, apparently a rare year with a mild winter, were also productive. Then there is a long pause in "Timber" account activity (until October 1918). Between 1909 and April 1912, only $2,400 worth of timber was sold, while the inventory grew by over $10,000. Credits (earnings from timber) taken in the last three months of 1918, and in June 1919, reduced the increase in value from the earlier years, but still there is a huge final (surplus) inventory value recorded on August 1, 1919, of over $30,000.

A close reading of this thick company ledger poses a partial picture of the rises and falls of this company's many business interests, which were probably fairly typical of many such mid-sized lumber companies in several small towns in western Oregon. B. C. L. C. employed sizable crews.
Those expenses, for logging and for both the planing mill and saw mill, are recorded in the ledger. With the planing mill, they were able to manufacture many wood products besides lumber. They also kept in stock bricks, cement, and other materials for retail trade. Their advertisement below is from a small, folded real estate brochure dated 1910, which Andrew Gellatly allowed me to copy. The unfolded cover pages (for "The Reliable Mr. Ambler," who was the realtor) follow.

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**Benton County Lumber Co., Inc.**

Manufacturers of and Dealers in
Fir Lumber Mouldings
Door and Window Casings
High Grade Flooring, Rustic]
Keep in Stock: Posts, Doors
Windows, Lime Cement
Brick, Etc, Etc.

We make a specialty of house bills in carload lots

Come in and figure with us on estimates

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PHILOMATH —— OREGON

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Fig. 15. Unfolded real estate brochure with B. C. L. C. ad

Most of the sales accounts are for local customers, but they probably focused on their wholesale trade, since it would have been more lucrative.
At least one large lumber company in San Francisco also did irregular business with B. C. L. C., as did many small Oregon lumber companies (perhaps comparable in size to B. C. L. C., or smaller). "Willamette Valley Lumber Co." purchased one lot worth $151, in August 1918 and paid for it the following October. From 1914 through 1917 other such small lumber shipments were sent to several lumber companies: Alsea, Carlton, Coast Fir, (also a timberland owner), Harris, and the nearby "Hammond Lumber Co." (in Albany). "Duncan Lumber Co." (in Portland, Oregon) was a more distant wholesale customer. There were a few bigger shipments also, such as four lots sent in 1918, totalling $1,882, to "Wamm Spruce Co." (presumably fir lumber needed for their customers, since spruce only grows along the coastal region).
Probably the most distant customer was "Pacific Mill and Timber Co.," located in "San Francisco Calif." Judging from their few purchases, this lumber company was probably much bigger than B. C. L. C. One of the advantages of their original flume-to-railroad transportation network was the (potential) ability this gave B. C. L. C. to guarantee lumber shipments in a timely manner, to such distant, wealthy companies. Pacific Mill bought large regular monthly deliveries, four from August to November of 1916 averaging over $350, three from August to October of 1917 averaging $550, and two last deliveries in May and September of 1918 which together earned B. C. L. C. only $760. Possibly earlier shipments (before 1916) were recorded elsewhere. The large lumber shipments of 1918 must have gone (by rail) to wealthy wholesale lumber company buyers. They were probably located in distant market and transportation centers, but this ledger does not specifically record who they were.

The B. C. L. C. Ledger seems to verify Madge's recollection that her father tried to help revive business affairs which had grown dysfunctional with her Uncle Sam's progressive sickness from tuberculosis, in 1919. Everything finally collapsed with his death in 1920. A note clipped with thick, round metal paper clips onto the Account page for "Cash #1" strongly supports the contention that Sam Ewing grew too sick to handle the business's books (as well as presumably co-ordinate business affairs, while Mike Flynn and his brother continued logging operations in the woods), very early in 1919. The note appears to have been carefully worded for auditors or lawyers representing either the banks to whom the company owed money or potential buyers:
"Cash a/c #1 contains transactions performed Jan. 1- July 1...

Owing to the fact that there was no bookkeeper during this period, Jan. 1 to July 1, only an incomplete record of these transactions was available, especially of receipts, so that the credit side of the a/c is greater than the debit."

The year written on this Account page is 1919; it could have been by 1920 that the old "Flynn" lumber yard, with its railroad siding and its planing and saw mills, the real heart of the business, had shut down. E. A. Cone then tried to assume control of a very confusing jumble of accounts which had seen unrecorded business in the first half of 1919 (though at a reduced, but still brisk pace).

There aren't the kinds of single, large sales found in the Lumber accounts for 1918, in any of the earlier years' records. While in 1916 and 1917 the company seems to have been struggling to make sales of lumber exceed debit costs, that changed in the next year. By then the company had established a steady, though small local business in lumber. The vast majority of accounts are for local people (many of whom Madge knew, recognizing the names), who usually purchased (on credit) small amounts of lumber or other products sold by B. C. L. C. But they also had made contacts with at least some larger buyers, probably in markets reached only through railway shipments. In 1918 the company sold lumber even in the winter. In April they had what appears to be the company's first big sale, a single shipment of lumber worth over $3,000. Four of the next five months also saw single sales of over $2,500. May was the peak month, with five sales exceeding $4,000.
But in 1919 it seems that communications with their big customers broke down. Sam Ewing's consumption could have kept him out of the office.

Though one can see a phone in Sam Ewing's office picture (seen in the next chapter), it is doubtful that Mike Flynn had a phone, wherever in the rural area southwest of Philomath he lived. After 1912, the logging operations were not centered on the (abandoned) Hyde Creek mill, but logging records in this ledger show that crews were being paid on into their last year, 1919. Perhaps the competition for the larger distant lumber company purchases was also a thorn in Sam Ewing's side, when there were many other mid-sized Oregon lumber companies, also located along railroad shipping routes, all competing for the big lumber orders. It was a combination of factors, the final blow being Sam's sickness and the lack of direction and control in business affairs, which sank B. C. L. C., in the year after what this ledger indicates was their first year shipping large lumber lots, probably to distant customers.

When the phone in Ewing's office rang, but no one answered, then such customers probably quickly turned to another supplier for their lumber needs.

Lumber sales continued through the end of 1919, but they were probably selling off lumber stacked in the yard to local buyers who flocked to the site, having finally heard that Sam Ewing was sick and the business going broke. The records for lumber sales indicate this because there were unusually high monthly sales, for very small total values ($523, $998, and $303) in those last three months, especially compared with the fewer, but bigger monthly sales earlier in 1919. The peak month was August, when twelve sales grossed over $3,000. The last entry in the Planer Labor account is a single November, 1919 expenditure: six dollars, probably for incidental work.
Earnings for the first half of 1919 are in a dark black ink, with dates mixed up, suggesting the work of a later accountant, trying to make sense of the mess.

It is clear that other ledgers existed, in which probably much of the earliest business was recorded, and possibly there was even a later ledger, though that seems doubtful. Certainly customers and suppliers whose names are listed on alphabetical tabbed index pages in this ledger, but are missing in that section's individual account sheets, must have had their business recorded in other folios or journals of accounts. Indeed, one such Journal (identical in appearance with another 'Journal' of accounts, for the Corvallis lumber delivery business) can be seen on the table in Sam's office picture, in the next chapter. However, this ledger alone gives at least a partial (and hopefully accurate) picture of the business. One can almost point to a single day, September 20, 1918, as being a pivotal point for the business. On that day the company took a loan from First National Bank (in Corvallis) that appears to have been too big for them ever to pay off. It is easy to understand how it happened.

One account for "Bills Payable" tells the story. It would be interesting to see an earlier ledger account, because 1918 was probably not the first year money was borrowed. The calendar seen in Sam Ewing's office at Flynn's is significant, not just for its date. 'Benton County Bank' probably gave the calendar to Sam. B. C. L. C. may have been customers there, before "this bank became the Corvallis branch of the First National Bank of Oregon." It is "the tan brick structure" (Munford n.d., 10), a beautiful round-cornered historical building still standing on 2nd St. in Corvallis, which is pictured on that calendar. The Ledger lists a series of loans borrowed from that Corvallis bank,
"F. N. B.," beginning in April 1918. The average loan was for $300, with only three for as much as $600, and while a few were "60-day" loans, nearly all were simply "Note demand secured by mortgage on lumber." The loans apparently carried no interest, (possibly because B. C. L. C. was such a big First National Bank customer). The payments equal the dollar value of each loan, and payments were often made several months after the loan was issued.

It may have been the temptations of such easy credit that contributed to the company's downfall. On single days in 1918 (a year in which business seems to have been booming for them), B. C. L. C. would even take out more than one "Note," or loan. One of two July 15th Notes, for $600, was repaid in three installments, the last not until December 21. All of the debit payments and note credits for 1918 are referenced to each other, in a neat, small hand, and all the note credits (loans) are checked off with a red check, as having been paid, except for the big one of September 20. The company was borrowing money to pay all of its many expenses, it seems, using future lumber contracts as credit. When a lumber shipment was paid for, then at least part of that income was used to make a loan payment or partial payment.

But the problem was an escalating number of loans, as winter and the regular seasonal slump in both logging and lumber sales was approaching. The first credit (loan) recorded for 1918 was borrowed on March 18, and it was for a large $500 amount (compared with most other, smaller loans). It took four payments to pay off that single loan, the last not until May 24. Meanwhile, they took out five loans in the next month (and made only two payments, probably since lumber business was still seasonally slack). In May they took out ten loans but paid eleven times.
By the end of July, after twenty more loans (including three on one single day, June 25th), and seventeen payments, they had borrowed nearly $10,000, but paid back only $6,400. From mid July through late November, after which very little of this bank business was done, they borrowed another $6,000 and paid back $8,700.

So perhaps it was because they realized that winter was coming, and their balance of payments was in the red, that they took out a very unusual loan on September 20, 1918. This loan is the only one recorded not as "Demand secured ..." by lumber, but says simply "Note Secd. [secured] by Mortgage, F. N. B." It is the only note among all the others taken before November 16 to not be checked off, as paid. It also is the single note with a different type of "Folio" reference, (a bookkeeper's reference to other ledgers or journals of accounts). Most important, it is the single loan for more than $600.

The amount of the credit loan is $5,500! This loan may indeed have helped 'tide them over' the slack winter months into 1919, a year during which the company clearly is shown in the Ledger as having done business. But if indeed (as this entry indicates) it never was paid off, then this big loan Note may have been the final nail in the coffin for B. C. L. C., after the illness suffered by Sam Ewing, during which business affairs grew careless. Whether or not this loan was secured by a mortgage on the company itself (as the record suggests), it was certainly large enough to give the company doubts about its future, especially after 1919 ended and the loan remained unpaid.

It is significant that the First National Bank continued lending them money, that their lumber business obviously did pick up again in the late spring of 1919, and that the number of loan Notes borrowed was far fewer.
Whoever was representing B. C. L. C. only approached the bank for Notes once each in March and May, four times in August and five times in September. All of the only eleven Notes borrowed from the bank in 1919 totalled only $3200. Equally telling is the small number of payments made on bank Notes (the last on September 10), totalling $1600. They only borrowed a little more than $1,500 in 1919 that was not paid off in that same year. The large September loan for $5,500 which may have been backed by a mortgage on the company itself was apparently never paid. Whoever was in charge of doing business with the bank must have realized that the high rolling business practices of 1918 had to stop. But it was already too late.

Since the 1919 bookkeeping (for many important accounts at least) seems to have been neglected, it is important to understand that this ledger is a valuable, but incomplete record of the business affairs. Some accounts seem to have been transferred into this ledger from other account books, and many important records either do not date back before 1915, or seem to have information missing. Before this, logging activity probably rose and fell from year to year- especially after the Hyde Creek area was abandoned. Potential highs could have come in 'dry' winters, and lows when long, heavy winter rains kept crews out of the woods. Logging labor accounts in the Ledger indicate that during the winter no crews were being paid (or working). Also, the labor costs seem to rise and fall from year to year, unfortunately beginning only in 1916 for this particular ledger. (This pattern mirrors the rise and fall of logging expenses. The yearly expenditures were low for 1916, dropped lower the next year, and in 1918 jumped to over $700!) For the year 1916, which perhaps was a 'dry' year since logging began early in April, and ran on through
October, the year's labor costs were $2,700. In 1917, the payroll did not begin until July, and the year's total spent on logging labor dropped to just over $2,000, only to rise dramatically in 1918 to over $7,000.

It may have been left to Sam Ewing alone to deal with such sophisticated business factors as regional market demand and supply. If Mike Flynn operated with little regular communication with Sam Ewing, then logging activity depended solely upon geography and weather ('wet' winters keeping logging to a minimum, 'dry' winters having the opposite effect). From this company's ledger, it seems that 1916 was a good year, 1917 a poor one, and then a phenomenal year for logging came in 1918. In February of that year, B. C. L. C. even purchased an "Auto Truck" for $1600. The flume had long been idle by then (probably since 1912, when the Hyde Creek saw mill quit running), and they probably began using the truck to haul logs into Flynn's. Madge recalled that when the Cones lived at Johnson's mill, a big wagon was used to haul lumber cut there, down to Flynn's. "We'd ride to town on the lumber wagon, and that one time the girls fell off" (Madge D4, S.2:353). B. C. L. C. may have anticipated future growth, not that they would need to borrow a large loan later in the year, on September 20, and that the bottom would drop out of the business in 1919, when the man in charge of the primary business affairs would grow too sick to keep everything straight. Of course, if lumber inventory was high and customers few, that too could have had as much impact as the weather on when and how long woods crews worked, (if indeed Mike and Sam were communicating and planning business together, which seems doubtful).

There are other clues indicating that the last year when the mills and lumber yard at Flynn's were producing income for the company was 1919.
The primary evidence for this is the fact that for nearly every account in the ledger, the last entries date December 31, 1919 or earlier, (many ending in 1918). There are only five exceptions, all in early January 1920. Besides the last disbursement to "S. S. Ewing" on January 7 of less than twenty dollars, there are two entries involving the "First National Bank, Corvallis, Ore." On January 5, 1920, the last loan payment is recorded, and on January 3, the last $76 debit, (presumably a deposit into their account). Their three final "credits" (withdrawals) in 1919 totalled $1,900, leaving a "$10.00" balance. The last two are curious entries for debits at the Planer mill, for less than five dollars each.

Labor costs at the Planer mill were over $5000 in 1918 but only $3,000 in 1919, when apparently the last month in which the planing mill ran with a full crew was October. The saw mill labor account also ends in October, after a nearly idle September, with two "Expense, Saw Mill" debits for only $16. July and August 1919 were the last two busy months of operation, when they paid $2,200 to the big saw mill crew (many of them seen in pictures in the next chapter). While local and this big wholesale business continued along many lines in 1919, it was at a slower pace than that of what seems to have been one of their peak years, 1918. Probably the company was trying to sell the planing mill and saw mill, which stood idle along with the big lumber yard with its rail spur line, during the year 1920. (The smaller lumber yard in Corvallis was sold in late October, 1919.) It could have been any year between 1920 and 1925 when B. C. L. C. first found a buyer interested in opening negotiations to take over.

Madge herself is an unusual source for the latest date by which the company who bought the site at Flynn's had taken over.
"When I graduated from high school in [19]25... Griswold and Grier was buying [Flynn's] from the Benton County Lumber Company." Her Dad had been the manager, since Sam Ewing's death in early 1920. "When Uncle Sam died, he had to go out there [move back to Philomath] and manage it" (Madge F-2, S.2:.012). The last entries in the big Ledger for payments to Sam are still substantial through 1919, but they end on January 7, 1920. "I used to work at the office at the mill, after I graduated from high school. I worked there two different times [before and after taking business courses at a school in Portland]... They called it the Griswold- Grier Lumber Company when I was working there... And [before the new owners took over] they took out bankruptcy, so my folks never got anything" (Madge F-2, S.2:139). Perhaps lawyers advised Mike Flynn, Charley Hodge, and E. A. Cone to seek protection in bankruptcy, so they could at least save their timberlands, after Griswold- Grier Lumber Company began negotiations for the big millyard at Flynn's.

The people living at the Hyde Creek sawmill settlement probably dispersed, either back to their nearby local homes or on to other jobs, in 1912. When there were no more trees the company would choose to fall within reach of the original mill and its steam donkeys (and tributary waterway transportation networks) then that place was abandoned. They moved on. Land they owned or bought timber rights to was probably traded, sold, and more bought. Timber and logs were obtained, probably from a variety of sources besides their own lands and their own woods crews. One such contract supplying some lumber to B. C. L. C. for two summers, 1918 and 1919, was with a rural mill owner named Johnson. He sold his lumber to B. C. L. C.
The whole Cone family moved to live at Johnson's mill, so E. A. Cone could be the sawyer, cutting lumber that was hauled by wagon to Flynn's. Two accounts exist in the B. C. L. C. ledger, one from May through July 1919 for "Cone and Johnson," the second a briefer one listing debits of $703 to "Ewing and Johnson" from October through December of 1918 (perhaps debts owed for that summer's lumber shipments to Flynn's). Madge and her cousins all worked together there, replacing men gone to fight in W. W. I. Cordia Cone cooked (and sold milk that Madge remembers delivering to a neighbor). Madge recalls having to wait a while, until Sam Ewing could pay them their wages.

Once the original Hyde Creek mill camp was disbanded, one assumes that Mike Flynn continued working with crews logging on property that the company either bought outright or from which it bought the timber rights. But that record is silent. A third account does offer information about logging which did occur in 1919. This third account records a progressively larger "Logs" inventory for that year, through August, when no more records for that account were kept. From June through August 1919, $2,600 worth of logs was cut, so Mike and Paddy Flynn may have both been busy directing logging crew operations in the woods. While Sam Ewing was getting too sick to record and manage business affairs from Flynn's, Mike Flynn was probably too busy to know or, if he knew, to do anything about it. (News about her new job helping Flynn keep the accounts from Cordia Cone's 1905 letter also indicates Mike Flynn would have been unskilled and unprepared to take over Sam Ewing's duties with the company.) Indeed, most oral informants believed that B. C. L. C. was owned by 'Hodge, Cone, and Ewing.' Charley Hodge may have been so busy running the mill crews in 1919 (if Sam was too sick to handle that job) that he had little
time (and less experience) to devote to managing business affairs and accounts they had all come to rely on Sam to understand. And there is nothing in any of the oral tapes that indicates Mike or Charley tried to save the company (as E. A. Cone did at least move back to Philomath to attempt doing) after Sam grew sick. Their names appears on one deed dated 1925, Flynn as "Secretary" and Hodge as "President" of what was left of B. C. L. C., but there is no record of expenditures to either man in this ledger (as there are for Sam Ewing, Martha Ewing, E. A. Cone, Mrs. Cone, and even their daughter Glyde Cone). After 1925, both oral sources and deeds records are silent as to what befell Mike, or any of the other Flynns associated with B. C. L. C.

Other factors affecting the rise and fall of lumber business operations for B. C. L. C. would include many variables, few of them entirely under their control. Competition from other timber buyers and other lumber companies probably grew as quickly as did this particular company. It seems from the surplus inventory that the market never was strong enough to buy all of the lumber they milled. But even in 1919, the Flynns kept the woods crew busy. More logs were cut, to keep the mills at Flynn's running until, apparently, the 'business side' of B. C. L. C.'s operations grew careless. In 1920 Sam Ewing died, but he had long been sick with consumption, and unable to keep business affairs straight. Madge recalls, "In later years, Uncle Sam was so sick he didn't want to talk with his wife. Because she would get so upset, because they were losing so much money. So he asked Mom to help him with the books. The reason Aunt Martha was so upset was because Sam just let people go without paying the company. Sam was just kind of easy-going, and didn't like to harp at people to pay their bill" (Madge F2, S.2:065).
"Sam was a typical Irishman. Maybe that's one way they all got together [to start the B. C. L. C.]. My cousin Lucille was just so proud of her Dad. She just idolized him." Madge supposes that, "It must be that he just let everything go real easy, when his health was so bad... He was in very poor health, from the time I knew him... I'd visit all the time" (Madge F2, S.2:102).

Most lumbermen, even those lucky few who grew rich from the business, will tell you that the history of the lumber business is like a roller-coaster ride. Sometimes up, sometimes plunging down into bankruptcy, few got very rich (which in the early decades of the twentieth century meant a lot less money than it does today) for very long. And there was never anything 'smooth' or 'easy' about any of it. Sometimes the very geography itself seemed to resist all attempts to 'improve it,' or to 'use it to succeed.' Many men left the woods on stretchers, killed or maimed. Others simply left, determined to find an easier job in a town or city, one which paid regular wages in cash you could count on receiving. For awhile, the Benton County Lumber Company boomed. The banjo music was loud, the flume full of lumber and many men employed, their families happy and, for the time being at least, not struggling just to survive. But after World War I, when business prospects may have looked good, Sam Ewing grew sick, the handling of business affairs grew careless, and the company had debts they could not control or pay off. After that, the noise was hollow, like a trumpet that is flat, or a piano that is out of tune.

The story of the Benton County Lumber Company seems to be one typical of many such bold enterprises of the time, as technology and enterprising groups of capitalists trudged up into the steeper mountain forests that were the hardest to access, and remained wilderness the longest.
The Mary's Peak and Alsea Mountain area, within one such grand Coast Range forest, had itself experienced changes at a pace and with a feel known only to those who followed the trails into them. E. A. Cone was one such man, for he enjoyed "timber cruising" in the forest. Madge knows that her Dad loved hiking long trails through the forest, and he was not only a sawyer (and worked a team, delivering lumber) but also he "was a surveyor... He did timber cruising... probably he surveyed what was to be cut" by the woods crew from the Hyde Creek mill (Madge F-2, S.2:340). Carl Bennett also recalled E. A. Cone. "He was a surveyor and a timber cruiser.... I knew him real well" (Bennett B1, S.1:404). Before the partners came together, with Cone's help hauling the steam boiler down to the mill site on Hyde's place, it may be that not only the Flynns owned timberland there. "Dad used to timber cruise from home up in Dallas, [often walking extremely long distances]. That's how my folks got [involved in the business venture], probably. They took out a claim, and got that timber up there" (Madge F-1, S.1:375).

The ownership of timberlands is a study in itself. Rather than focus on such a study, this thesis uses oral history relating early economic strategies employed by most families in the rural Philomath region. Maps also are used throughout, to provide historical information which may not be found elsewhere, especially specific information regarding a small study area. However, to understand the competition B. C. L. C. faced and their final demise, it would be helpful certainly to have such a study of local timberland ownership available. Unfortunately, it is not. One such local competitor was the Noon Lumber Company, which also cleverly employed modern technology to connect the timberlands on the north side of Mary's Peak with a railroad spur.
Like Flynn's, this spur was named for the lumberman owner, being called 'Noon's Station.' Trains heading eastward would make a stop there to pick up lumber, just as they did at Flynn's, before stopping again at Philomath for both passengers and other freight.

Fig. 17. Another nearby lumber enterprise, competition for B. C. L. C.
Heading westward from the Alsea Mountain, loggers would begin climbing the east side of Mary's Peak. Looking west of the study area, one saw the northwest face of Mary's Peak, another area rich in untapped timber resources which Noon's narrow gauge railroad would attempt to carry out, just as the steam donkeys belonging to B. C. L. C. would do their work. Loggers working for "the Noon Lumber company" (identified in the Corvallis "Gazette-Times" article above) would find the topography just as steep and hazardous on Mary's Peak, and as full of steep creekside drainages as did the loggers working on the B. C. L. C. woods crews. Though Noon's line was bought by the Spaulding Lumber Company and extended closer to the Peak, their logging operations were, like B. C. L. C.'s on Alsea Mountain, still limited by geographical hazards to just logging the best of those trees close to either the rail line itself, or (for B. C. L. C.) close to a creek or skid road usable for transporting the logs out of the area.

The many steep drainages up both Alsea and Mary's Peak mountainsides left several areas unlogged at all, and those areas loggers could access were not clearcut, but left with many trees, especially younger ones and those (like 'hooters') which would not provide long, straight-grain lumber. As a result of such early logging methods, which persisted for nearly half of the twentieth century, local men like Carl Bennett would still find many good trees to log on both Alsea Mountain and Mary's Peak, in the 1950s. When he was logging on Mary's Peak, Carl also came across traces of the old rail line. "... When we logged up in that area, we would run across an old railroad tie or timber or something pertaining to the railroad of that time... Spaulding Lumber Company logged up along the Peak there... for quite some time" (Bennett B1, S.1:432).
Melvin Hawkins also recalled seeing, on one hike up the old north trail to
the Peak, an old locomotive which, because the geography necessitated build-
ing a track with high trestles and many switchbacks, had plunged off the track
to the forest below. The news article with the picture displayed above also
mentions other such sightings. Timberlands in the Coast Range would retain
their trees and their value because in the many high, steep drainages above
each creek found there, logging simply could not be done, with early logging
methods using oxen or horses and misery whips. It wasn't until after the sec-
ond World War that technological advances, in the use of new wood products
from pulp and in modern clear-cutting logging practices, would make it feasible
and practical for loggers to fall even those trees unfit for lumber, among all the
trees early loggers would have left standing.

A quick study of changes in timberland ownership east of 'the Peak' within
one township in the Mary's Peak- Alsea Mt. area shows a heavy turnover rate
(probably after 1900) for ownership of many small parcels, ranging from a
small size of forty and even twenty acres, to the extremely rare parcels of an
entire section (640 acres, or one square mile) in size. Before 1900, it is likely
that much of the forestland on the northeast slope of Mary's Peak and to the
south, on Alsea Mountain, was too steep and difficult for anyone to access or
consider owning. Ironically, it was the meadow on the 'bald' on top of Mary's
Peak which attracted owners who were not loggers but ranchers, since horses
or cattle could be grazed there. On the map below, the misspelled name of
"Frank Wyett," undoubtedly a descendant of the pioneer rancher William Wyatt
(discussed in later chapters) can be seen, next to an unknown "A. M. Os-
borne," as owners of that meadowland on the very top of Mary's Peak.
Historical information concerning land speculation in the Alsea Mountain-Mary's Peak area is sketchy, but a few tentative hypotheses can be posited. Before 1900, mill men attempting to log in the area might purchase (or file a timber claim) on forestland in the foothills nearby their mills, or along a wide creek flowing down close by their mills, before others could. One can see "Henkle," "Hawkins," and "Bennett," three men previously identified as early local mill men, all owning small quarter sections on the map below. It appears that much of the forestland (without any names) was indeed unowned, even as a timber claim. It is possible that unclaimed timberland, still part of the public domain, might also have had trees logged by the early mill men, if any such areas were within the 'reach' of their uphill creeks and their horses or oxen. The map shown is obviously (from all the 'chicken scratches' along the sides where the mapmaker tested his quill pen, perhaps before adding an owner's name) a working map, and one with very low reliability, simply because we know nothing more about it, nor are there any other contemporary large scale maps like it, with which to compare or test map data. The depiction of the creeks on this working map is very inaccurate, but it appears to be a cadastral map in design and purpose, and so needed not to closely approximate actual ground features. It is one of over fifty unsigned, hand-drawn maps donated to the Map Room at O. S. U.'s Valley Library, from a collection that a local Corvallis lawyer named E. E. Wilson had, as part of a plat-making business he owned. We have no data about the map or its sources of information, but it is the only known cadastral map of the time period. It shows the part of a township which is within the western side of the study area, and Mary's Peak can be seen straddling a section line.
Fig. 18. Map #1, (circa 1900) working map, E. E. Wilson

This cadastral map shows (with some inaccuracy) Township 12/7 in Benton County. Its 36 sections are each subdivided with lines into four quarter sections.

It is in the center of three southern parcels owned by a Corvallis-based wagon road company, a "Wyett" relative, and someone named "Osborne." This map can be used with regard specifically to Township 12/7 (Township 12 South, Range 7 West, Willamette meridian), in Benton County, Oregon.
The biggest owner of forestland property before 1900 was the Corvallis and Yaquina Bay Wagon Road Company, seen as "C & Y B R" or "CYB Road," who claimed full sections in an alternated pattern, as part of their land grant awarded them for constructing a wagon road to the Coast by 1866. There even were a very few land speculators in the area, among them apparently Martha Hodge and her brother Charley, "C J Hodge," who by each making a claim for adjoining properties together owned a total of one half section, high on the southwest flank of Mary's Peak. Since we know, from her sister's 1905 letter, that Martha Hodge did not move to this area before that year, then possibly the map above was prepared in the first decade after 1900. However, it would probably show cadastral (ownership) data which dated from before the turn of the century, and so it is captioned as 'circa 1900.'

The ownership by the Wyatts on the Peak and the wagon road company land grant both date before 1900. It was not until 1929 that the next known cadastral map of this Township 12/7 was printed, by a mapping company whose bound folios of county maps were widely used by lumbermen, real estate companies, and many local people interested in purchasing or identifying land ownership. This company's maps are still today familiarly called by the company's name, Metsker maps. These maps, as opposed to the circa 1900 map shown above, do have a high reliability, not for topographical features but for property ownership. It is with more certainty that one can see how high was the turnover rate after 1900. With only three small private exceptions, all of the timberland shown on Map #1 east of Mary's Peak changed hands by 1929.
Fig. 19. 1929 Metsker cadastral map of T. 12/7, Benton Co.
The three owners who kept timberlands in this township which they owned circa 1900 (on the first map) were: Wyatts on the Peak, Harris along the eastern side of Section 2, and in Sec. 10, Wood. The wagon road company's land had been sold, possibly to other owners first, but by 1929 their former lands were primarily owned by lumbermen who were, for the time and place, 'big operators.' "Merritt C. Griswold" owned the entirety of Sections 23, 25, and almost half of Section 15, "Coast Land & Timber Co. et. al." owned all of Section 1 and 3/4 of Section 9; "Chas. K. Spaulding Lbr. [also "Log"] Co." is another lumber company owning former C. Y. B. Road lands.

Spaulding's company name by 1929 can also be seen on land in Sections 10, 15, 16, and 22 which the E. E. Wilson map shows as being unowned by anyone before 1900. Spaulding perhaps bought some other timberland first owned by the Noon Lumber Co., when Noon's railroad line was purchased by his lumber company, sometime between 1900 and 1929. Spaulding also probably owned the "Mill" seen along his (formerly Noon's) railroad line, in Section 16 (one of the many unowned sections before 1900, and before a logging railroad made the trees there accessible to loggers).

It is not only big lumbermen who bought timberlands chosen by the wagon road company as part of their land grant by 1929, in Township 12/7. The "Corvallis Water Co." owned, by 1929, the entire section 13 located far up Rock Creek, in an area which became part of today's Corvallis Watershed. The pure, fresh water found at a high elevation in this forest was drunk not only by wildlife, loggers, and hikers in the early 1900's, but the city of Corvallis wanted to preserve it for possible future use. By 1929, Benton County was here (possibly redeeming timberlands in section 5 whose prior owners earlier in the century
could not pay the taxes). And a handful of private owners held the rest, nearly half of the former wagon road company's land.

Individual women, as well as men, became timberland owners (besides Martha Hodge, and the Ida Horning who granted the first flume rights to B. C. L. C. across her property, on which Joseph Hawkins's mill still stood, with its mill race, pond, et cetera). Someone named "Blain" owned 2/3 of section 3, (the rest of that section being owned by smaller private owners, including a very dubious "Lillian Lanktree," a possible pseudonym referring to a famous Western singer). "Sadie Woods," very possibly a descendant of the pioneer Woods after whom the Creek running across section 11 was named, and several other individuals also owned parts of former wagon road land grant sections. By 1929, B. C. L. C. was no longer a thriving lumber company, and it is with the small landowners that the half of Section 24 (also in the hands of other small owners in 1900), still registered to them and the posthumous Sam Ewing, belongs.

Even the many sections of land unowned in 1900 (according to the E. E. Wilson map) attracted, by 1929, a mixture of many small private owners, some big lumber companies, and government and bank entities. (The latter group probably claimed lands private owners mortgaged, on debts they could not repay in the first decades after 1900). There isn't any unowned land left in the public domain by 1929, while the "U S Govt" is seen as owning some parcels. Others are specifically retained in the new "SIUSLAW NATIONAL FOREST." This narrow diagonal strip was formerly unowned public domain lands running from northeast of the Peak towards Alsea Mt., in sections 21, 27, and the northern half of section 35. One of two small parcels connected at section corners to
this narrow strip was an exception, 40 acres in section 15 which had been part of the wagon road land grant.

Aside from this 40 acres, and the southeast quarter of section 21, it was not former wagon road lands which first became part of the new national forest, but land which was probably too steep, too rugged, and too far from any waterway or other possible mode of transportation, for a logger to try working there. In other words, it was at first simply geography which made these sections of timberland unwanted by anyone, and so perfect for the establishment of a national forest. No price would need to be paid for them, and no controversy would arise over their ownership by a public federal agency, in a time when there was a great deal of interest, and a high turnover rate, in ownership of timberlands covering the rest of this township.

A comparison of the 1929 map with the next Metsker map for Benton County, dated 1938, shows that many of the owners again have changed, but there are several who did not sell their timberlands. Griswold did sell nearly all of his land in this Township to "E. W. Barnes Logging Co." by 1938, and lost (or sold) half of Sections 14 and 15 (360 acres in each) to the U. S. Government (not Siuslaw National Forest). By 1929 Mary Wyatt owned the Peak, including 480 acres of land "Frank Wyett" and "A. M. Osborne" had owned in 1900, but by 1938 perhaps that meadowland was no longer useful to her for grazing cattle or horses, and all of it went to the "City of Corvallis." The city also apparently made a deal with B. C. L. C., trading them a small 80 acre parcel the city Water Co. owned, for the adjoining two parcels owned by Ewing and the lumber company. Surprisingly, many small private timberland owners were able to hold onto their quarter sections (160 acres).
Fig. 20. 1938 Metsker cadastral map of T. 12/7, Benton Co.
It seems that such small parcels were easier to retain, for private and small owners, through the long years of the national Great Depression between 1929 and 1938. Perhaps bigger lumber companies were the ones 'hardest hit' by the plunge in economic activity, though Spaulding Lumber Company did retain all of its land holdings too, except for a very small 40 acre parcel in the middle of Section 10, which became county-owned land by 1938.

The general trend, however, was that big lumber company land holdings came and went in the area, from 1900 to 1938. Of course what constituted "big" for this area was a local partnership, or one from a nearby Oregon town (as the Griswolds seem to have been from Falls City, actually a very small town to the north, past Dallas). While the ownership of two whole sections, over 1200 acres, was a large land holding for this area, it would not seem "big" to coastal lumbermen or others who were well financed by outside capitalists, and could afford to buy huge acreages of timber, a local mill or two, and immediately begin logging. Nothing even approaching that happened here. The biggest landowner in 1900, a wagon road company, was replaced by a wealthy lumberman, Merritt C. Griswold, who by 1929 was one of the two biggest landholders in the township. Spaulding Lbr. Co., the other, was itself an antecedent to Noon's railroad and lumber company. Noon was perhaps the first to begin buying lands and logging in the higher elevations after 1900. The E. W. Barnes Logging Co. bought most of Griswold's lands after 1929, becoming (with Spaulding), the next big timber company landowner in this Township by 1938.

Another new landowner, (a local Corvallis forestry professor) is identified on the 1938 Metsker, with his first small timberland parcel of 320 acres, straddling across parts of Sections 3 and 4. Together with those of his son Bruce, T. J. Starker's timberland holdings in this Township, and throughout Benton County, would grow to dwarf those of Griswold and Spaulding.
His land ownership in this Township at least began apparently with this small parcel, but his company, now owned by his grandsons, continues today to be one of the biggest (local) timberland owners throughout the entire study area. The 1962 Metsker map records that the Starkers' land ownership had expanded to include the entire Sections 1 and 3. They also owned most of Sections 2 and 36, and parts of Sections 4, 10, 11, 12, and 36, and neither Spaulding nor Barnes owned any timberland in this Township 12/7, by 1962.

However, some land owners seen on the 1929 Metsker map were neither as temporary nor as speculative as the national economic upheavals and normal unsteadiness of the lumber industry forced the early big lumber companies to be. The only land owners consistently retaining their property, from 1900 until 1938, were two private owners of small parcels- Harris and Wood, in Sections 2 and 10. Close by, Sadie Woods kept bigger adjoining parcels, across Sections 2 and 11, that she may have first purchased before 1929. The Coast Land & Timber Co. sold all of their lands to private individuals by 1938, among them Edith Stovall, who bought the entire Section 1 (formerly C & Y B R land). The other landowner, whose holdings neither grew nor decreased but remained exactly the same between 1929 and 1938, in Township 12/7, is Siuslaw National Forest. Almost a quarter of a century later, by 1962, this public government agency had increased its holdings, as had the City of Corvallis, to include Sections 13 through 16 and 20 through 35. On the 1962 Metsker, "Corvallis Watershed Wild Animal Game Refuge" is writ large across Sections 20 through 23, 27, and 28, within the enormous Siuslaw National Forest.
Cone, Ewing, and the Flynns were not only intelligent in their use of newly available technology to spur success, but were also savvy individuals who knew how to 'use the system' to promote profitable transactions. As Madge assumes, her parents did own, according to the county records, 160 acres of timberland three miles northwest of the Hyde Creek mill camp. This quarter of Section 14, T.12S/7W was sold to a bank in a town east of Dallas named Independence, on Sept. 24, 1904. One wonders if any timber on it had been cut by the new company's woods crew, but only a year later, in November 1905, the same exact quarter section was "granted" back to the Cones by the U. S. government. It was one of President Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt's signed timber patents. Whether or not they had time to cut the good timber before 1904, this was certainly a clever use of a timber claim for Cone's personal gain, and possibly the company's future timber supply. Perhaps both B. C. L. C. and the Cones made money on timberland sold and then retrieved for free!

Though there seem to be few deeds for the sale of land in the county records for B. C. L. C., it is true that they at least bought most of the north side of Alsea Mountain. Other such timber claims, similar to that of the Cones (and of the Hodges, seen on the circa 1900 map) by local individuals may have seen the best trees cut by B. C. L. C., who must have impressed those living at the foot of Alsea Mountain as good credit risks, with their flume-to-railroad siding lumber mill operation. But later in the second decade of the 1900s, the 'system' reacted with a revenge against those who had used it to acquire cheap or free timber claims. At one time, as Madge and many others taped for this history believed, B. C. L. C. "owned that Alsea Mountain, almost.
But they had to let it go back for taxes" during the Depression (Madge F1, S.1:350).

Fig. 21. Oregon Dept. of Transportation map, 1950.

Note "Alsea Summit EL. [elevation] 1960+," the local mountain well-known locally, but rarely found on maps. Two sections north (36) is "Hide Cr." (a misspelled version of John Hyde's last name). At the confluence of Hyde Creek and "Wells Cr.," (seen just above the Alsea Summit) close to the source of "Greasy Cr." (the South Fork of Mary's River), is where the original Hyde Creek mill settlement was located. To the west in Sections 1 and 2 were the first timberland purchases, around the north side of Alsea Mountain.
Madge recalls from family conversations that her father “hung in there as long as he possibly could, and then finally had to give up everything.” Madge believes there was no money left, “not a thing” (Madge F1, S.1:353). What little money was left had already gone to Sam Ewing’s widow, Cordia Cone’s sister Martha (who would have to resume her career as a cook, in Corvallis). One small parcel however was saved for a Scout camp. “When we let everything go back for taxes, my sister [Glyde] and her husband bought forty acres. And that’s where the Boy Scout cabin is. And it’s named Schrieber Lodge. And Cone Camp- my Dad, it’s named for him” (Madge F2, S.2:179).

The demise of B. C. L. C. is shrouded in that same Oregon fog in which we began this true tale. The exact date of the corporation’s end is unknown, though the last known land deed transaction is dated April 12, 1938. It may have been simply to avoid paying taxes in a year when the Depression still held its heavy gloved hand on much of the region, and the nation’s economy, that prompted this last sale found in the Benton County records, since profit was certainly not a motive. For “One Dollar” the current owners of B. C. L. C. sold, to “the United States of America,” two quarter of a quarter sections of timberland totalling 80 acres located in "Section 2, Township 13 South, Range 7 West." These two parcels were first bought by the company as parts of larger land parcels, from two Flynn families. In December 1902, the company owner Mike and his wife Bridget Flynn sold to B. C. L. C. a quarter section for what may have been a sum chosen for its symbolic (and high) value- $1776- (representing perhaps their own revolutionary change from private landowners to lumber company owners). In February 1903, Bessie and J. M. Flynn sold a quarter of land adjoining the same property, giving the company a continuous swath of timberland spreading due west from the Hyde Creek mill site, across sections 1 and 2 in 13/7.
By 1938, the mill and lumber yard site at Flynn's had long ago been sold to another partnership new to the area, called Griswold and Grier. Any lumber inventory they owned probably went with that sale. All they still owned was timberland, and this 1938 deed is for the sale of what may have been one of the last remaining forestland parcels of that. And by 1938, both original partners were long gone. Sam was dead and Mike, probably uninterested in trying to be the businessman Sam was, might have just taken what money the creditors would allow him and tried logging and living somewhere else. The old dream of so many early mill owners, loggers, and lumbermen, to progress from rags to riches, had not panned out in exactly that fashion. The history of B. C. L. C. represents more of a roller coaster ride, with some peaks, some low, stomach-turning troughs and curves, and- ironically, right after their best year, (as near as one can tell from the ledger book), 1918- a rough, bumpy yearlong slide (during 1919) downhill. It apparently ended abruptly, after Sam Ewing died, in 1920. The roller coaster car then sat there, on its short dead-end railroad spur, (in the big millyard that had become the heart of B. C. L. C.) until revived by another lumber company, who may have simply waited for B. C. L. C. to declare bankruptcy before resuming lumber production operations at Flynn's

One can only speculate if a similar fate befell the Noon Lumber company, when they sold their rail line to the Spaulding Lumber company. Just as lumber prices rose and fell repeatedly before their final plunge during the Depression, so did the value of timberlands. After 1938, there were few buyers for timberlands whose owners could not even afford to pay the taxes, to simply retain their ownership. However, one local Philomath timberman
could afford to do that. His name was Rex Clemens. Another local man who taught Forestry at the University in Corvallis, T. J. Starker, was interested in purchasing cheap timberlands that the county offered up for bids after the taxes had been delinquent for a few years (see Appendix D). Their history is more recent than the time span which this history attempts to bring back to life. But it is certainly significant that timberlands in this study area remained in the hands of local owners, well into the twentieth century.

The sale by Rex Clemens in the early 1970s of his huge timberland holdings, in both Lincoln and Benton Counties, was the first introduction of a large corporation (Willamette Industries) into the timber business in this area. "That's the first big timber transaction that I know of," recalled Carl Bennett, (B1, S.2:033), who worked for Rex Clemens logging in the local area before starting his own lumber company. Willamette Industries is the size of a large absentee owner corporation that most historians focus on when depicting the early history of Pacific Northwest logging and lumbering as being a funnel of natural resource extraction, for markets and profits elsewhere. Within this rural study area, it was the conservation movement of the late 1800s, leading to the creation of the National Forest Service, and specifically Siuslaw National Forest in 1907, which first took control of local timberlands out of the hands of local people, or Oregon companies (such as Griswold and Grier, and Spaulding Lumber Co.) The grandsons of T. J. Starker still have vast timberland holdings, some in this study area, today. "Actually T. J. Starker and his buying timberland- is probably one of the biggest timberland holdings there is today" (Bennett B1, S.2:072).
Griswold and Grier Lumber Company seems to have been similar in size to B. C. L. C. or even a little bigger, in the 1920s when they bought the Flynn’s millsites. They owned a mill in a small Oregon town to the north, Falls City. The log trucks seen in the picture below are numbered, "6" and "7," indicating that the company owned a fleet of many log trucks.

Fig. 22. Griswold and Grier's log trucks, unloading at Flynn mill pond

Carl Bennett's father worked hauling logs to the mill pond, driving for Griswold and Grier. Carl commented on how shiny the trucks look, in the copy (seen above) of a photograph he saved. "Those trucks were new... Dodge trucks... That's the first ones made" (Bennett 4, S.1:363).
When the picture was taken, "my Dad was running a lumber truck then, from this side of the Alsea Mountain. There was a little saw mill back in there and he drove the lumber truck from that saw mill. And then there was a saw mill over on the other side of the [Alsea] Mountain. Up that little canyon. And Dad hauled lumber from there, and this side of the mountain too" (Bennett B1, S.1:075).

It is very likely that the same "Merrit C. Griswold" seen on the Metsker maps was one owner of this lumber company (though Madge is not sure, having only worked there briefly in one of her first jobs after high school). If so, then Griswold & Grier Lumber Company not only owned a fleet of new Dodge trucks, but also was the biggest forestland owner in Township 12/7, by 1929. But nearly all of their forestland on the eastern side (and to the northwest) of Mary's Peak had been sold by 1938. That is how drastic was the effect of the Depression on the local lumber industry, that such a wealthy company would have to close down the mill at Flynn's once again.

Both Carl Bennett and his wife Juanita remember that lumber company well. Carl's grandfather 'Thede' Harris, whose sons can be seen sitting to the left of Carl on the log in the picture above, "worked there 'till the mill closed down" (Bennett 4, S.1:127). Juanita recalled, "This mill was about the biggest employer in Philomath. And then it closed in the early '30s, during the Depression, when the lumber price was so low that they couldn't keep up" (Bennett 4, S.1:159). Both Juanita's father and her grandfather worked for Griswold and Grier, at the mill at Flynn's. "My father was killed in [this] mill down here, in 1929... Walter Wyatt. And my Grandfather- his father- worked at the mill also. He was a night watchman" (Bennett 4, S.1:133).
Her father worked as a "fireman" at the mill. His job was to "fire the [steam] engine... He kept the fires going... My father was killed in an industrial accident there. He got caught in the belt... I was only twelve, and I don't remember the exact details" (Bennett 4, S.1:341).

While local lumber companies, big ones like Griswold and Grier, and before them B. C. L. C. and Noon's Lumber Company, as well as many smaller ones, all competed for lumber buyers in the twentieth century, most of the profits and much of the lumber stayed in the local area. When the post World War II lumber boom hit, it was local men who built more mills in and around Philomath, who still logged the timber, and who still owned the timberland. Carl Bennett moved to Philomath in 1929, and began working "at the Junction, at the [Flynn] saw mill" at age fifteen or sixteen, as a young high school student (Bennett 5, S. 2:093). Soon after this, he began working for Rex Clemens, who had already employed his father. "I've logged all my life. Finally got my own logging operation... in 1945 I started" (Bennett 5, S.2:416).

Many local men had the skills but needed financial help to get started in their own small companies. It was his boss Rex Clemens who lent Carl Bennett the money to buy his first caterpillar (a powerful, squat tractor which can both push and drag many heavy logs, and uses a wide 'blade' on the front to push over or through often dense brush and small trees). A motorized 'cat' can clear for itself a 'logging road' in a matter of hours. Earlier loggers would have taken days or weeks to create a skid road by hand, laying down planks, over which to haul out their logs by horse or ox. With his own 'cat,' (and his experience, gained working for Rex), Carl was able to go into the lumber business for himself. He was only one of many local loggers, truckers, and
other skilled men who began their own small companies, or at least began acting as individual contractors. Often, they first learned the skills needed 'on the job' working for other local men. Rex Clemens was one local timberland and mill owner who personally helped several of his employees, like Carl Bennett, to get started on their own.

One unusual aspect of Carl's personal story is that he was able to begin his own business during World War II, when "there wasn't really a lot of people starting their own [logging] operation." His wife Juanita added, "And a lot of people were fighting in W. W. II. And machinery and cars and everything were practically impossible to get." Carl then continued with his fascinating story. "See, I had a priority to get this 'cat.' I bought this priority... The only way you could buy a tractor at that time was through a 'priority' from the government. They had to sign up for it. And it had to be approved... And they issued this [priority to another local man, who] decided that he didn't want to do it... But anyway, I gave him five hundred dollars for his privilege of buying this tractor. And then Clemens helped me buy the tractor itself. The tractors at that time was 92 or 93 hundred dollars. Today they [cost] over a hundred thousand... The 'International' tractor. [It] was an '18..' 'T-18.' ... I bought the biggest one I could buy" (Bennett 4, S.2:002).

Timber profits fueled the Philomath economy after the second World War, and made many local families rich beyond their wildest dreams. Historically, as the lumber industry has boomed and busted on its perennial cyclical changes, locally owned timber has been cut to provide a basic living for locally employed families. Rex Clemens used part of the forty million dollars paid him by Willamette Industries (for his timberlands) to create a college scholarship fund.
High school graduates from a few small towns can apply. Juanita Bennett knew all the towns. "That's not only Philomath kids... [but] Eddyville, Alsea, and Crane, a place in eastern Oregon that Rex was fond of" (Bennett 4, S.2:050).

It was during the Depression, Juanita recalled, when "an awful lot of lumbermen and loggers lost everything they had" (Bennett 4, S.1:392). Local people then did what they could to help each other, and resources still owned locally were used to fuel what economy could be preserved. Carl knew that when men working for Rex Clemens knew "he couldn't afford to pay [them], they were loyal and they'd worked for him for a long time. And they stayed with him, because they knew that he would [eventually pay them]" (Bennett 4, S.2:107). It is important, in understanding the history of the West, to realize that not all of the Pacific Northwest's resources went solely to feed Eastern capitalists. At least in this study area, local men and women became much more than 'wage slaves.' Close social bonds were often forged between local families who worked for each other. Local rural people who back in 1900 realized the potential value of a forest resource (even when lumber was cheap and wood plentiful, and despite the geographical difficulties of accessing and then transporting it out of the forest) continued working to, as Ida Horning's flume agreement stated, "stimulate and promote the lumber industry in the community."

Working 'in the woods' was a difficult and dangerous way to make a living, but it was the chosen occupation of many rural people. Melvin Hawkins told me, "1937 was the first year I ever made as much as a hundred dollars in one month," working as a logger falling timber for Rex Clemens (Melvin C1, S.2:253). Local informants warned me not to glamorize a trade that brought death to some working in the woods, and wore out the bodies of many others.
Loggers fueled mills, which employed many town and rural people. Loggers also fueled many other skilled jobs in forestry, lumbering, transportation, marketing, and retail trade, so trees could become houses, furniture, and other wood products. The lumber industry in this region spawned jobs for many, independent companies for others, and even, a century after the earliest isolated rural mills were built, turned a few local lumbermen into millionaires. Despite their hard work and, for some, a desire to continue 'working in the woods,' what became a lumber 'industry' also turned many local men into paupers, and drove others out of the woods to reluctantly seek different careers offering an assurance of long-term economic security.

The only thing lumbermen could rely on, in their work and in the market price and demand for their lumber, was that change would occur. The only prediction that held true over the long haul was to expect the unexpected. Nevertheless, riches were tantalizingly possible, and a degree of independence could be found by workers who could quit in the morning and be working for another local company in the afternoon (as one local worker in Philomath mills in the 1950s phrased it). The Benton County Lumber Company may have ended in bankruptcy, but there were some high peaks reached along their ride.

Few people living either in Philomath or in the rural foothill communities of the Coast Range in 1900 would have predicted that before the first decade of the twentieth century was done, they would be working for a successful local lumber company, at a mill site much closer to town than to the forest, a site whose railroad spur entitled it to a name of its own. The place that had been (and still would be) known as 'the Junction' would, on maps and both in the lumber trade and in local parlance take on a new name: 'Flynn's.'
Chapter 5: Flynn's

At the flume's northern end was open ground where B. C. L. C. put in a log pond, just north of Mary's River. A railroad spur came in from the east, across the northern end of this property. It was less than a half mile west of Philomath, at "the Junction."

Fig. 23. 1903 Huffman map of Benton County (in part)
After the flume had been finished, probably in late 1901 or 1902, the site was simply a lumber yard. Before it acquired the name 'Flynn's' (or just 'Flynn'), it was identified, as on the 1903 Huffman map (shown above), as the "B. C. L. C. Lumber Yard." One can see the "B. C. L. C. Flumeway" by name and traced on this pen-and-ink hand-drawn map, in dots strung from the Hyde Creek mill camp eight miles northwest to the "B. C. L. C. Lumber yard." Many words are difficult to read, so the name "B. C. L. C. mill" is encircled in the lower left corner on an enlarged crop, or smaller piece, of the first map picture.

The exact date is unknown, but the "Flumeway" was installed by 1903, when the Huffman map was printed (with an eagle bracing the date). Fluming lumber milled and cut from trees in the rural forestland where few roads existed (and those often clogged with mud in the long wet winters) was not only time- and labor-saving for the company; it was also free! B. C. L. C. was able to quickly profit from this flume's construction. Before 1909 a planing mill had
been built at the site which had by then taken on the name of that other partner who still labored in the woods, bossing crews who cut and bucked up trees which would be milled at Hyde Creek. "U. B. Church" seen in the upper right corner connects this crop with the next, 'Crop 2,' shown below.

Fig. 25. Crop 2

- The short heavy black line starting above this asterisk leads to a horizontal arrow drawn on the map copy, pointing to "B. C. L. C." A second arrow, parallel to the first and above the "O" in the block letters, points to "Flumeway," (shown on the map with dots). In the upper right, where an obvious junction of rivers, train, and roads all meet just west of "PHILOMATH" town, another location is named "B. C. L. C. Lumber yard."
The "U. B. Church" (United Brethren) seen in the lower left corner of Crop 2 was also called the Westwood Church, serving the whole Westwood community of many large families and others living there.

It seems ironic that, for having the place named after them, neither Mike Flynn nor his older brother Paddy were well-known in town. None of the local informants knew much about either of them, and Madge does not recall ever seeing either of the Flynns there when she was visiting, as she often did, to play with her cousins. One family picture of the Hyde Creek mill camp (unused for this thesis) does have a caption stating: "The station at Philomath was named Flynn for Mike and Paddy Flynn, the men who were in charge of the logging operation at the mill." Certainly Mike Flynn passed close by Philomath when he had business deeds to sign at the County Courthouse in Corvallis, but perhaps he was too busy working and not inclined much to come to either the city or even the small farm town of Philomath. This is very possible, since it certainly was true of many other ranchers, farmers, and loggers who lived in the hills southwest of town.

Reasons for shunning towns were based upon a mixture of familiarity within local communities, and practical necessities requiring people to be at home to tend to stock animals, farm and orchard maintenance, and other daily chores, necessary repairs, and occasional emergencies. Consequently, it would not be 'unusual' or 'improper' for rural folks like the Flynns to stay 'holed up' out on their homesteads, only seldom needing to make a seasonal trip to the gristmill or town, to resupply their needs. Many had neighbors who could be counted on to deliver supplies when they went to town. It was to Starr Creek where the Hawkins moved, after leaving the Hyde Creek mill settlement.
Melvin Hawkins knew, "Somebody in the community got to town, pretty regular... When we got a car, we were the ones." (Melvin 3, S.1:122). Rural life in the 1920s and 1930s was hard. It was "considerably different" than it is today, with "no welfare... If you ran out of anything, you were out." Neighbors might help, and since "we were on the receiving end, not the giving end" (Melvin 3, S.1:305), Melvin often worked at some chore (sometimes farm work) to repay the neighbors' benevolence. Rural folks did not care to leave their homesteads, where children might need attention and where they had tools and necessities close at hand.

It was easier and more practical for rural folks to socialize together with their closest neighbors, no matter whether they spoke German or belonged to a different religion or political party. Christmas programs held at community schoolhouses, and other get-togethers in local homes (to share work as well as play music) were, for many, the only entertainments known. (For a closer analysis of the American and foreign origins of Oregon pioneers, see Bowen's classic historical geography.) Even though the United Brethren had many adherents in the region and a church in the Westwood area, there was also an individuality and a freedom of choice, especially with regard to the serious personal beliefs expressed in one's choice of religions (among them the two Brethren factions), which was common among pioneer families. Rather than all walking the short distance to the United Brethren (Westwood) Church, the people who lived at the Hyde Creek mill settlement instead asked a 'circuit rider' (a travelling preacher) to come give a sermon every second Sunday, as Cordia Cone's 1905 letter states. At least some people there preferred to have their own religious services, rather than attending the United Brethren Church.
Local people I taped told me that in some families, the Oregon pioneer grandfather had always been of another religious persuasion from that of his wife, or even an atheist. This was true of Melvin Hawkins's grandparents, for example. When I asked Melvin if they belonged to the United Brethren faith, he replied, "Part of them- my grandmother. That's one reason that we came to Philomath, was because there was a United Brethren College there. When my grandfather said, well, he was going west," his wife's choice of religion "influenced him" (Melvin 6, S.2:039). Such pioneer individuality and unpredictable social behavior was not only tolerated, but in many ways cherished by, and continued to be replicated in, the local residents in the early 1900s. Many would say it continues on today, in the stubborn individualistic streak and political independence Oregonians throughout the state are still known for. So it is not as surprising as it at first seems to be, that 'Flynn's' was very seldom visited by this rail spur's namesakes, Mike or Paddy Flynn.

It may have been the railroad, or simply local people, who gave this place its very personal name. Flynn's was much more than just a rail station, as it grew to encompass more buildings by 1909, built there by B. C. L. C. What began as a place for waiting, a storage spot for lumber carried by the flume to be stacked until the next train could carry it away, within a few years became a place of great activity, noisy and colorful. Flynn itself grew literally and also in an historical sense, coming to change the economic future of what had been a slow, sleepy farm and college town, with few stores and only four families sharing each big town block. Only Will Scott's farm stood (to the north) between the town and the Flynn railroad spur with its large lumber yard, belonging to B. C. L. C.
Change would come first in the economic pursuits of many local townspeople, who found that work at Flynn's could supplement their livelihoods. This location, seen on early Benton County maps as a rail station named 'Flynn' or 'Flynn's,' was south of the road which began as Philomath's Main Street, and barely northeast of the covered bridge (built with B. C. L. C.'s wood) across Mary's River. The change began slowly, but accelerated before 1909 as B. C. L. C. added the first mill built so close to town, and next a saw mill. People who were still primarily farmers and ranchers (and were used to hard work) would find jobs on one of the many big crews working at Flynn's.

Martha Hodge married Sam Ewing, the other owner-partner with Mike Flynn, soon after she began working at the original Hyde Creek mill settlement. That may have also been when she and her brother Charley Hodge bought their timberland between Alsea Mountain and Mary's Peak, (seen on Map #1 in the last chapter). They had a daughter Lucille, born in November 1906 at the house Madge is sure had by then been built at Flynn's. Madge (Cone) Savage remembered Sam Ewing well because his daughters and her Uncle Charley Hodge's two girls were playmates (and cousins) of hers. Next to Ewing's and Hodge's houses was the "Lumber yard," their favorite place to go play. Lucille (the girl standing in the next photo) was only a few months older than Madge when this picture was taken (circa 1912).

E. A. Cone had lived with his family in Corvallis since 1909, where his position with the company entrusted him with the delivery of lumber. Much of it was milled by them, and shipped by train a short six miles to Corvallis. It was on the same train, but in a passenger car headed the opposite direction, back to Philomath, that Madge (at age five) came to play with her cousins.
The years 1909 and 1912 were eventful ones for B. C. L. C. The ledger for the company records an inventory for the "Planing Mill" account which begins with a Jan. 1, 1909 entry of $6,000. This and other clues indicate that the planer was built on the lumber yard site by 1908, or even sooner. Another account for "Planing Mill House and Buildings" begins January 1, 1909 with a modest inventory of $800. That must have included Sam Ewing's office, since a calendar open to May 1909 is pictured there. A large additional debit (or expenditure) of nearly $1500 in December 1911 may have been for the construction of a saw mill, but that is not specified in this ledger.
The buildings associated with the planer may have included sheds for drying the lumber (though much of it was stacked outside), and perhaps also places for converting the planed wood into doors, window frames, and other products sold by B. C. L. C. Their ledger records a big account for "Doors & Windows," showing regular monthly sales through December of 1919. The planer itself increased the value of rough cut lumber which, when planed on the two edges, could be sold for a higher value. It also helped reduce the time needed for the 'green' lumber (freshly cut from the log which had recently been part of a live tree trunk) to dry. This in turn saved money on shipping costs. The railroad charged by weight, and dry, planed lumber was lighter than rough cut lumber, fresh from a saw mill. The Hyde Creek camp had the original saw mill, where the lumber was first 'rough cut,' then flumed eight miles north to Flynn's. Information in the last chapter suggests that this Hyde Creek mill quit in 1912.

With a shift in logging territory, the old mill was abandoned and a new one needed. Perhaps the steam boiler was worth hauling back, since the location chosen for the next saw mill was right at Flynn's. If this second mill was not constructed by 1912, it was soon thereafter. The same ledger for B. C. L. C., a book into which earlier accounts were transferred at a later date, begins with a Jan. 1, 1916 inventory record in the "Saw Mill" account, showing over $10,000 already. That is a much higher amount than the first inventory value of the planer. Perhaps it included more equipment acquired over several years, after the saw mill was first built.
“That's the train track going in there, where they loaded the Cars... They switched off the main railroad track [onto this short spur]... And [at the Corvallis lumber yard- rail spur] my sister used to help... She loaded the lumber on the trains. And- oh, she was real young” (Madge 'First,' S.2:307).

The account for "Logs" begins with a May 1, 1916 inventory of $1,000, and climbs to a $3,400 balance by the end of November, when winter rains probably shut down logging work in the woods. The next two years, 1917 and 1918 (an especially short season with records only from May through September) were slower. They acquired only $1,500 worth of logs each year. Incomplete records for 1919 begin only in June. But logging crews had more work, with an increase of over $2,000 in July and August.
The logs would be stockpiled at Flynn's, to be cut in the saw mill first, into 'rough cut' lumber or possibly railroad ties, and then stacked outside, to 'dry.' The planer could smooth lumber and saw smaller pieces, such as thin pieces for window frames and other wood products they sold locally. Planed lumber was also cheaper to transport by the railroad, which charged by weight. Lumber planed on the edges would dry better than rough cut lumber, and therefore would be lighter. For large lumber shipments, the savings for lighter (planed) boards would add up.

Sam Ewing was in charge of operations at Flynn's, managing not only the huge crews working in the yard and at both mills, but also directing business operations with B. C. L. C.'s many customers, from his office. "Sam just managed everything. He had charge of the money. And he had all that grief of going to the lawyers and everything, trying to hold things together" (Madge 'First,' S.1:416). Ewing can be seen below, the boss of the huge crews of men and boys. Many local people, friends and acquaintances from both the rural communities and town, all found jobs there at the yard and mills at Flynn. Sam is wearing a vest, and standing in the back, top row left side, in both photos below.

Besides Sam Ewing (and Charley Hodge), there was another man working there at Flynn's who was essential, the saw filer. He remains anonymous, pictured at the top far right in the bottom photo (next page). His position and stance in these pictures, so similar to the boss, is an indication of how important a man he was. He stands opposite the boss in the picture below, top row, elbow out. He was responsible for keeping the huge circular saw sharp.
Like E. A. Cone, the saw filer is another example of a man who, though ostensibly working for Ewing there at Flynn, was probably more or less his own boss. He may have worked for B. C. L. C. for a number of years.
Fig. 29. Saw filer, in his neat 'shack'

Fig. 30. Calendar, June 1914
He even had his own office, of sorts, though it was called the 'saw filer's shack.' This particular saw filer kept his 'shack' very neat, and his tools are well-organized in the picture above, which is dated, from the wall calendar for "The Mechanical Rubber Co.," as June 1914.

Fig. 31. Inside Flynn's saw mill, Sam Ewing in middle

"Sam was managing everything that goes on" at Flynns (Madge First, S.2:230). There are six men in this photo, two in the background, barely visible between Ewing and man on right.

However, Sam certainly was 'not afraid to get dirty,' as the expression goes. Inside the mill, logs that could have the girth of old growth trees were carefully judged for how many large, wide boards of lumber they held.
Sharp saws and keen-eyed sawyers could use most of the log, leaving little scrap. But there always was plenty of that.

Fig. 32. Sam’s Office at Flynn’s.

Left to right (as Madge recalled): Rob Clark, bookkeeper. Sam Ewing.

Georgia White, secretary

The Office at Flynn in which Sam Ewing conducted business affairs (behind closed drapes in this photo) is an interesting room. One wonders why the three people are tucked into the small space along one wall, in what seems to be a large, roomy office.
Perhaps the photographer wanted them together so they could all be in view, or perhaps Sam and others used the central work table to lay out blueprints or other plans requiring the measurement of lumber needed for construction. On the table sit many scattered papers and a few "journal" books, to the right of the flowers. One "Journal" book exactly like those in this picture was found and taken to Madge, who let me study its accounts. Such journals were probably very popular with accountants. Madge knew the young bookkeeper sitting in the corner at his own desk. "Rob Clark taught my sister how to drive a car." His parents lived in Philomath, "right in the middle of the block" (Madge First, S.1:440) along the north side of Main Street. One also notices how unhealthy even at this early date Sam looks.

If Sam Ewing was a moody, often unhealthy boss, then perhaps the office personnel retreated into the corners where they kept tidy desks which sometimes isolated them from Sam's sloppy papers (as seen on the central work table) and his unpredictable moods. If Sam was subject to sudden outbursts (as the odd expression on his face suggests), they were probably triggered by the coughing fits which Madge recalls hearing when she came to play with her cousins, and which were characteristic of those who suffered from tuberculosis (or consumption, as the disease which was to kill Sam by 1920 was then called). The date on one wall calendar, showing when this photo was taken, is May 1909. By then, Sam probably directed the crew running the new planing mill, as well as personally phoning customers and directing B. C. L. C. business operations from this office.

B. C. L. C. was a strong, growing lumber company in 1909, with many resources besides Sam Ewing's business acumen on which to rely.
The Hyde Creek mill was still floating rough cut lumber up the flume (free transportation), and the planing mill at Flynn was producing many products customers in Corvallis and farther away would purchase.

Fig. 33  Railroad spurs and storage areas in southwest Corvallis, 1912

The Corvallis and "EASTERN FREIGHT DE"pot (in lower left corner) sits across 7th St. from an area where "Benton Co. Lumber Co." stored lumber, and had a small office. The street to the north was named Washin"GTON." The rail spurs and yards were at the southwest edge of city limits, in 1912. This Sanborn Fire Insurance Map is dated "April 1912," and is a portion of Sheet #20, in the series made by this company for Corvallis.
Sam Ewing (for B. C. L. C.) purchased another small lumber yard site along one Corvallis and Eastern (C. & E.) railroad spur, in 1909. This Corvallis yard was six miles closer than Philomath to the banks and to other transportation networks (both rail and road) which passed through or converged on the city where the County Courthouse had been built in 1885.

E. A. Cone moved with his family to a house in Corvallis just north of that lumber yard site, and along 6th Street. Cone's job was primarily to deliver the lumber which arrived there by rail from Flynn's, and sometimes make deliveries of other products sold since at least 1910 by B. C. L. C. (as seen in an ad pictured in the previous chapter). Cone delivered lumber using a team and a wagon, and he was often dressed smartly in a coat and derby hat, Madge remembered. "In those days quite a few people wore a derby hat... He wore it all the time, instead of an ordinary hat... He always wore a suit- a coat.

Fig. 34. Arden (E. A.) Cone, and his black stallion Abe
I just think he always dressed that way" (Madge 10, S.2:320). The picture above shows the house in which the Cone family lived (circa 1912 in Corvallis) behind Arden himself, sitting in a buggy pulled by his black stallion "Abe," ready to go. He used a large work wagon during the week, when he would team up Abe with Cordia's horse, "Meg," to pull the heavy loads. Meg was "my mother's horse. She was a brown horse; I don't know what kind." Abe was a strong black stallion. He was "a very spirited horse. My Dad let my sister ride on him, bareback. And he thought Glyde could do anything. She was just a teenager" (Madge 14, S.1:048).

Madge recalls much about life in Corvallis, and about those times of dirt roads, when many people walked everywhere. This picture was taken "before [there were] any paved roads" in Corvallis (Madge 9, S.2:031). Buggies or hacks (with a seat in the back) were used for long trips. "I remember riding with my Dad to McMinnville [forty miles to the north]- with this horse and buggy... [to visit relatives]. It was real dusty and there were big ruts where the wheels [dug in]. ... They wore those 'dusters'- those [long] white coats... And the women would have on, if they were riding, the big hats" (Madge 14, S.1:195). The barn seen to the left, behind the Cones' house, was owned by the ferryman, Mr. Fruit. "He was the one that had the ferry across the Willamette River... His youngest son... Cecil Fruit [became] a Deputy-Sheriff in the [19]40s... [The Fruits] had chickens... They had animals in there... [The barn] looks kind of like a hay barn. I don't know whether they had horses or not. They probably did- to get down to the river... They all- everybody had chickens... I don't know where we kept our cow. We must have had a barn back [there, on the alley] too, for the horses" (Madge 14, S.1:120).
Their house is bigger than it looks, since Cordia Cone fed college student boarders there. "I think she had about 6 boarders. We had a big dining room. And then she always had white linen tablecloths. She ironed napkins, and she used to feed the best meals" (Madge 14, S.1:382).

After the Cones had to move this small house pictured above, (so a new railroad line could be installed running up 6th Street), Tom Hodge and his family moved into it. He was a brother of Cordia Hodge Cone who was summoned to become the bookkeeper for this small but very profitable Corvallis business. Tom Hodge earned the highest wage of any of the half dozen men who worked there, $100 a month. He and his wife and son were well-to-do, owning a car before anyone else in the neighborhood did, and driving ten miles to Albany to do their shopping. Cars were then only beginning to be seen, among wealthier people like the Hodges. His wife served lavish meals sometimes, often wasting or discarding food that Madge recalled her mother would have been more frugal in using.

Moving back to Philomath in 1920, at age thirteen, was a change for Madge from life in the city of Corvallis. To Corvallis people, Philomath had a reputation "as kind of a rough town. It had some rough people in it. And we had to move out there because my Uncle [Sam] died and my father had to take charge of the mill out there [at Flynn's]. So we had to move" (Madge First, S.1:117). However, the Philomath College was still active, until 1929. There were also many college people living in town, as well as several members of both United Brethren churches. While in high school, Madge herself "took several classes... I don't know what made it close. But at the time I was there, they didn't think anything but what it was okay" (Madge First, S.1:100).
The 'dry' town (saloons forbidden) had wooden sidewalks raised above the dirt Main Street "high boardwalks," and it was just a small town, but one with "quite a few loggers, I suppose" seen walking down the street. They would mix with farmers, college students and staff, and local shopkeepers (Madge First, S.1:138). It contrasted sharply with the big city of Corvallis, where Madge had lived since age two, in 1909. Because ranching was so common in the area, there were also cowboys who occasionally came to town. Philomath "just had kind of a bad name. I don't know why... I guess they were okay maybe, but they had some rough ones" (Madge First, S.1:128). However, Madge also recalled that Philomath became, to her, a very friendly town (a sentiment shared by all the informants taped for this history).

Many cities and smaller towns in Oregon have local informal historians whose homes become magnets for archival material townspeople lend or give them, knowing how sincere is their interest and how specific their gathered knowledge. Only a few years ago, the Independent Lumber Company remodelled their old store in Corvallis, which was located on the lumber yard site used by B. C. L. C. (until 1919, when the site was sold for ten dollars to Bill Messer, a friend of Arden Cone's who opened up the 'Independent' lumber company). In the walls of the old store, several old 'Journal' books were found, exactly like those seen in Sam's office picture. Corvallis has had its historians, among them Kenneth Munford, who wrote weekly historical pieces for the city's newspaper. He also contributed to academic history with his work on Benton County and Oregon (some of which is quoted in this thesis). But it was to one informal Corvallis historian named Harlan Pratt that these old
'Journal' account books found their way, and he passed them on to Madge, since he recognized her father's name, E. A. Cone, identified in many entries.

The oldest book of accounts covers two years, 1916 and 1917. This business recorded lumber deliveries from not only B. C. L. C. but also other local lumber companies, including "Corvallis Lbr. Co.," the "Central Planing Mill," and "Hammons Lbr. Co." The storage yard cost B. C. L. C. "To lease of yard" fifty dollars each month, (a very high price for this time period). The yard was of course used for off-loading and stacking lumber and other products, delivered from the mills at Flynn's by train carload (early trains often being described as "Cars" by contemporary Americans). E. A. Cone, "and Team," were paid every month for the time they spent hauling deliveries, earnings which peaked in the summer months and declined when winter slowed down lumber business throughout the region. Other people were also paid for occasional "hauling" jobs, including "M. Fruit," (probably the Cones'neighbor). The Corvallis & Eastern Railroad company also charged a small fee, ($40 for four months) to "lease" possibly the spur tracks, or some building on the site.

Business was conducted here, delivering building products as well as the more frequent "lumber" and "cords" of firewood which arrived in the city by train, even through the winter. The biggest deliveries, surprisingly, are not for lumber but for "Shingles." "Two [railroad] Cars" of shingles worth over eight hundred dollars is the most expensive single entry, over the two years which this journal covers. Another delivery of shingles was worth nearly five hundred dollars, as compared to what was a large two hundred dollar delivery of B. C. L. C. lumber.
"Molding" is another frequent entry, and they also delivered "shakes," "roofing" and "lath," all common house and building materials. This small company even received railroad "cars" from B. C. L. C. loaded with cords of firewood for Corvallis customers. The back page of the journal records a long list of "Wood from" an individual (not a company) who apparently sold them many cords of firewood. Sam Ewing's small business was closely associated with B. C. L. C., who paid a monthly rental fee for yard storage and delivered lumber, cordwood, and other products, but it also bought and delivered those products and other building materials to other local lumber companies besides B. C. L. C., and other local Corvallis individuals, whose names and deliveries are noted.

It was at first mystifying to me that "Benton Co. Lbr. Co." was identified by name as a seller of lumber (often large amounts valued at nearly $200), if they were the real owners of this company. Madge believed that her father, whose monthly wages are also recorded, worked for B. C. L. C., as the owners of this Corvallis delivery and storage yard. The Sanborn map pictured several pages back identifies "Benton Co. Lumber Co." as the business located there. When I found the deed for the sale of this property to William Messer, the confusion began to clear. It was not B. C. L. C. but rather Sam and Martha Ewing who were identified as the 'grantors' selling the property. "S. S. Ewing" is also seen on cadastral maps showing lands owned both by him and by his company, B. C. L. C. The initial hunch that his money was used to start the company seems strongly reinforced. Obviously 'Sam Ewing' became synonymous with 'Benton County Lumber Company' in many peoples' minds, and property and business operations that he owned himself were so closely connected with the company that perhaps only he himself knew who really owned them.
Historians who dig into records kept for the time and place they study can often discover facts which at first seem to refute notions commonly believed to be true by those common people whose society is under scrutiny. Both sides err, however, if they claim that they alone know 'the real truth.' It is in connecting the commonplace and the very specific catalysts for change, the written and the oral histories, the public record and the private memories that a full and honest historical portrait for any time and place emerges. Most oral informants knew well that Benton County Lumber Company was a powerful historical lumber company, but no one knew all of the details. Perhaps since we tend to take the past for granted and dwell on the future, no one had really considered how influential (among so many local lumber companies this area gave birth to, saw grow, and then saw go bankrupt or just suspend business, never to resume again) this particular one was.

Nearly everyone (falsely) believed that "Hodge, Cone, and Ewing" were B. C. L. C.'s original owners. Since Mike and Paddy Flynn apparently loved life in the woods so well that they seldom even came to a small town like Philomath, few had any idea what their connection with the company was, or how 'Flynn's' came to be so named. All of the details of history can never be known, but the more one learns, the more one finds history to be like an unravelling story, full of surprises. History is a liberal art rather than a science, and understanding human motives as well as other factors (such as geography) which can influence decisions and cause change is an intellectual task which, like the daily work of Philomath rural residents, can be enjoyable but is seldom easy.

It may have been a surprise to some but not to others, when operations at Flynns ceased in 1920.
Lumbering had always been less steady than farming, and Melvin recalled that his father had advised his sons (who instead chose logging) to be farmers, not loggers. Since B. C. L. C. boomed in 1918, and continued doing business in 1919 (with a very brisk local trade in lumber, in the year's last months), it may have been a shock to some to lose their jobs. Many probably 'fell back,' for a time, on that common economic practice which most local Philomath people had 'always' known- farming and ranching. It could have been before 1925 when Griswold and Grier re-opened the lumber mills at Flynn and began delivering logs to the pond from their fleet of numbered log trucks (seen in the picture ending the last chapter).

Fig. 35. Close-up of four young men, new Dodge truck, circa 1925 (from photo figure 22, page 137)
And it was probably not until after the Depression closed Griswold and Grier, but milling operations again resumed at Flynn, that many local people began really relying on the lumber 'industry' to support themselves and their families, as a primary occupation, not just a cash-paying job.

This place called Flynn would have a great deal to do with the future not only of these four young men, but of many people living in Philomath and throughout the entire study area. Carl Bennett himself sits on the far right, a boy no more than eleven years old. He was visiting as this picture was taken, since it was 1929 when his family moved to Philomath. Carl's wife Juanita, who was born here, recalled, "We lived in one of them [those cabins] when we were first married." The cabins to the right in the background of the photo above are still there today. Next to Carl sitting on the huge log are his two uncles, Bud and George Harris, and at the far end sits a friend, Orville Edwards, who "worked for Clemens." All four 'went into' the lumber industry, Carl and Bud eventually owning their own lumber companies. "His brother George worked for Bud Harris, and then he also worked for Rex Clemens. He didn't have his own" lumber company, and neither did" Orville Edwards, but both worked for other local men who did (Bennett B1, S.1:061).

It is ironic but not at all unusual that, though B. C. L. C. had some 'boom' years (especially in 1918), nevertheless they ended in financial ruin. Given the fluctuations of the lumber market and the temptations of easier credit the bigger the company grew, and all of the other risks which plagued lumber business in particular, their demise is not surprising. But the effect B. C. L. C. had on the economic future of Philomath when they established the lumber yard, and built two mills there at Flynn's, was profound.
The story of B. C. L. C., though it ends in the early twenties, really has a sequel which began with the establishment of that first railroad spur—lumber yard so close to town. Whether it was the railroad or local folks who named the site 'Flynn's', possibly they foresaw how important to the town's future such a place at least had the potential of becoming. In the early 1950s, that potential was more than fulfilled, as other mills bloomed (and smoked, and stank) across the whole town of Philomath. Again for only a few quick decades (like the story of B. C. L. C.), they provided a good income for most of the working people living around town. Since the mill owners were local men, and the post-World War II lumber market was so strong, in the 1950s many local families grew rich beyond their wildest dreams. It was prescient to give the site such a personal name, because certainly the Flynns (along with Ewing, Cone, Hodge and others associated with B. C. L. C.) were individuals who were catalysts for economic change, not only for Philomath but for the entire rural area.

The importance of Flynn's in Philomath economic history is that the mills built there came to employ a growing number of local residents, and set an example which other local men would copy when they built mills in the town, closer to the transportation, banking and market sources than to the trees themselves. If geographic hazards kept thwarting early mills (among all of the other hazards faced), then savvy local businessmen would learn to use market trends and complex business strategies to make mills located in town do the seemingly impossible: make lumbermen rich. First as B. C. L. C. itself grew, and later as other companies took over the yard, rail spur, and mills at Flynn's, a demand for logs and labor to fuel this emerging 'industry' was created. Local residents who watched fortunes change, neighbors' lumber companies and
small mills die and others take their place, wondered if they too could try the same thing, but somehow 'make a go' of it. And later yet as mills all around Philomath were built, the lumber 'industry' had indeed completely replaced farming or ranching as a primary livelihood for, as every local informant was certain, a vast majority of the Philomath townspeople. The city of Corvallis turned from a late nineteenth-century flour and lumber mill center of commerce, and some manufacturing industries, to look to its university by the mid twentieth century to fuel the local economy. But the rural ranchers and farmers in and around Philomath came to see that lumbering would be their economic mainstay. The development of the rural region was quite different from that of the city. While geography at first determined economic choices, later it was individuals as well as technology and transportation developments that acted as catalysts for dynamic economic change in the history of the rural Philomath region.

But the economic changes began slowly, after the business at Flynn's had grown. Those town residents whose cows E. A. Cone's history for 1901 characterized as always hungry had, by 1909, a new neighbor. Only one-quarter mile west, along the railroad tracks was the big lumber and mill yard. The labors of the stubborn early mill men had finally borne fruit (or cones, perhaps a better analogy since Douglas firs do grow cones in the spring). 'Logging' had begun to take on the aspects of an 'industry' which also made possible the employment of other mill workers who could work even in the winter, now!

Mills and logging would penetrate into the farm and ranch land which had seemed to the first pioneers so much more potentially profitable than those 'pesky' old trees (as Minnie McMurtry said).
They used land which had seemed better suited for agricultural purposes. People one would have only found before in the rural forested hinterlands would come to Flynn's seeking jobs. The small farming town with her United Brethren Colleges would begin to adapt to the changes this rough but welcome neighbor would initiate, as many townspeople too sought work. Any opportunity to earn cash money was eagerly welcomed by those who lived in and around town in the early 1900s. However, though many people of all ages began working at Flynn's, those who came from farm or ranch families did not abandon those economic pursuits. They or other family members continued raising stock and crops, perhaps taking time off from their 'job' at Flynn's when seasonal farm work was heaviest. While other rural mills like Johnson's mill continued plying their craft, and rural loggers found work on B. C. L. C.'s crews, with Noon's Lumber Company, and with many smaller outfits, Philomath townspeople who knew and liked farming and raising stock also continued relying on familiar economic pursuits.

Rural people too continued ranching and farming (some planting fruit trees as well, which thrived in the local climate and soils). In the Pleasant Valley area, Andrew and Isabella Gellatly bought a big homestead from a cousin of Daniel Boone's, George Boone, around 1870. They became the third owners of property originally part of a Donation Land Claim taken by Jesse Bounds, and in time were well known for the excellent onions they grew. The local creek and the road too were named for the Gellatlys. Their grandson Raymond Gellatly told me why they chose land up in the lower foothills of the Coast Range, after having saved money earned working in a mine down in Grass Valley, California, and coming up here. "Well, my Dad always said that they
come up here to get away from the mosquitoes [which could spread malaria], like down along the flatland... And then there was always little cricks for good water, and there was a spring and everything up here... Had good water."

The Gellatlys, like most rural settlers, were self-sufficient. Most rural residents "raised cattle and ... they had sheep for wool and goats for mohair. Angora goats. And they raised lots of pigs" (R. Gellatly 1, S.2::042).

Flynn's was situated at 'The Junction,' another local name for this spot west of town, since not only both branches of Mary's River met there but two roads, one heading westward towards Wren and Kings Valley, the other south past the original B. C. L. C. millsite on over Alsea Mountain to Alsea. As Andrew Gellatly pointed out to me, this spot was 'jumping' by 1916. Not only had Flynn's grown with two mills, each putting large crews to work, but also a cattleman from Montana had arrived with his young daughter. They settled high on the hillside only a short distance northwest of Flynn's. His ranch, with a bunkhouse for his crew of cowboys, and the mill yard at Flynn's were within easy sight of each other (just as both could easily see Will Scott's farmhouse. 'Colonel' R. P. McClelland, who was knicknamed 'Mac,' brought his crew of cowboys from Montana and hired other local cowboys to help with the large cattle herd he kept grazing the oak meadowland between Wren and Philomath. He also built a large, lavish house and a barn on his 'spread.' Sitting above Flynn's and the railroad tracks, his place had a view overlooking the original College building and the town. Many accounts, both from newspapers and real estate brochures, describe Philomath as a pretty town, with the farms breaking up into vistas of the mountains around the Willamette Valley.
Chapter 6:  "If I was still ridin' I'd be okay today"

It is generally well-known today that logging has played and continues to play an important role in Philomath's history. One surprise for many interested in the history of the logging industry is that, as we saw in the first chapters, loggers, lumbermen, and mill owners had a very difficult time establishing healthy businesses in the 1800's and early 1900's. Often they had to gamble what little money or credit they could muster in an economic venture that was very risky, subject to periodic ups and downs, and could not yet provide the big potential profits of later decades. Only after the Depression offered local lumbermen the opportunity to buy up timberlands- at the cheap price of back taxes owed- were any individuals (such as Rex Clemons, and T. J. Starker) able to amass large enough land holdings to be able to cut timber on a continuous basis, nearly year-round, and over several successive years.

It was not until the 1920s that transportation, using motorized trucks on mostly dirt, and a few well-graded, county roads, could offer the speed and efficiency necessary to fill large contracts in a timely manner. Finally, the use of the chainsaw revolutionized the industry, but by most accounts that tool was not available locally until after World War II. The chainsaw made it possible for loggers to increase the speed of falling timber, and used in combination with modern yarding equipment, it caused a revolution in the ability of loggers to get timber to the mill quickly- just as the steam donkey had tried to do, a half century earlier. Steam donkeys and yarders allowed loggers to fall trees farther away from rivers, roads, and mills, but the chainsaw really sped up the logging. For the first time, it was conceivable and practical to cut more trees in a given area.
Instead of a day, it took an hour to fall a tree, and other trees besides just the best ones for lumber would be felled. The chainsaw made modern clear-cutting a possibility, even on steep slopes where the modern yarding equipment could lower the cut trunks to flatter ground, for 'bucking up' into log lengths suitable for a log truck to haul—even long distances—to the mill.

Back in the 1800's, other local resources besides timber offered pioneers and their descendants opportunities to eke out a living from the land, and to start local businesses. It is also generally well-known that local farms and orchards took advantage of the excellent Willamette Valley soils and climate to establish themselves, and prosper. One aspect of Philomath history which is neither so obvious nor so often mentioned is the big role that cattle, horses, pigs, and other stock animals played, from the first Euro-American settlement on into the early twentieth century. There were not only many local farmers, but also many cowboys living in the area. Indeed, Benton County had a "Mounted Posse," and two men who were members of this posse were kind enough to offer me some of their memories.

Bob Jones was one of two local old-time cowboys with whom one tape was made, who remembered herding cattle up the old North Trail to graze in the meadow on top of Mary's Peak. This trail passed through timbered areas too steep for loggers, before 1900, but accessible to men on horseback, driving stock. "Mary's Peak ... is often snow-capped until the month of August. Its summit is bald, devoid of timber but covered with a growth of indigineous [sic] grass better than which for pasturage is not to be found anywhere. In form the apex is crescent-shaped, ... between three and four hundred acres, owned by the veteran pioneer, William Wyatt, who uses it during the summer months as a range for horses" (Fagan 1885, 496-7).
For much of his life, Bob was a working cowboy. He was born in Amity, Oregon, in 1893. This was an eventful year for Benton County, economically. Not only did residents suffer the stifling effects of the national Panic of 1893, but locally they also lost some tax revenue when the county was split in half, the eastern part reaching to the Pacific Ocean becoming the new Lincoln County.

Bob's mother Minnie passed away when he was so young that "I never did know my mother." He shared the childhood experience of Melvin Hawkins: "I moved around quite a little." His father was often too busy working to raise his son. Whereas Melvin spent some time as a young boy in the town of Philomath, Bob often stayed with his grandparents, on their farm. They lived outside of Amity and were pioneers, having come to Oregon by wagon train. Bob's father Weldon Jones "was a livestock dealer, and I can remember just as well as could be- we lived in Monmouth; he had a butcher shop in Monmouth. And he had a butcher shop in Dallas. And he had a butcher shop in Corvallis, on 2nd St... 'Hought & Jones.'"

There were many cowboys and livestock dealers in pioneer Oregon from the 1840's, as heavy waves of immigrant settlers moved into western Oregon, either bringing cattle, horses, and other stock animals with them or seeking to buy them upon arrival (see Appendix G). Children were raised throughout Oregon acquiring skills tending and working with stock animals. Many cowboys who were born in or came to work in the rural areas south of Philomath and Corvallis travelled by horseback as a daily routine, but their part in the history of the area is usually overshadowed by the more recent logging history. In fact, cowboy drovers ranged far afield, riding towards the Coast, and at times riding down into southern Oregon. They travelled in search of horses and cattle from local ranches.
They offered to buy stock from local ranches they passed along the way. As they accumulated stock, they could either sell them down south, or herd them back (sometimes through Philomath) to sell to wholesale dealers either in Corvallis or Albany.

Andrew Gellatly remembered that his Uncle Andrew, (who was later elected Benton County Sheriff) sometimes travelled to the Coast Reservation, to buy livestock from the Indians living there. Bob Jones recalled several local cattle buyers, and several cattle drives he was on. Besides his own father, George Brown, Julian McFadden, Chancy Barkley, and John Abbey were all well-known local stock buyers. He recalled in particular that "John Abbey was quite a guy." He once heard a German lady, who said she knew Mr. Abbey, describe him as quite a good talker. She told Bob, "His teeth are so white and his mouth is wide open always."

Sometimes the stock buyer's love of dialogue and bargaining (to purchase or sell cattle or horses) got the best of him. Bob Jones recalled how George Brown got hoodwinked on one cattle buying expedition. "Well, we stopped- we had a bunch of cattle in the road. And we saw quite a little bunch in a man's pasture. We rode in there to see if he wanted to sell 'em. And George tried to buy 'em but couldn't buy 'em... He just turned it down. And then [George] said he'd bet he could outrun him [the local cattle owner] for a hundred yards. And this fellow wouldn't take his money. He said, 'No, no, I wouldn't do that.' George just kept at him, he kept at him until finally he got up to a hundred dollars. And this fellow said, 'Well, I'll just take that bet. I'll just take that bet.' And criminy sakes, he outrun George before old George even got started... I started 'em. I started the race And [hoot of laughter] George never really got started... And George said, 'Well, why didn't you take me up the first time - for fifty dollars?"
'Well,' he said, 'I knew I could make a little more money by waitin' a little bit.'"

As the twentieth century dawned, Philomath was still quite a small rural town, and dependence upon stock for many purposes was common, even in the town itself. One is reminded of the lines in E. A. Cone's brief history of his first coming through Philomath to help haul the steam boiler in, to set up the mill for the Benton County Lumber Company. His description of Philomath in 1901 portrays a very small town with large residential lots. Minnie McMurtry confirmed this, when she told me what living in Philomath was like for her, as a young girl attending the Philomath grade school, when she walked barefoot past cows grazing in neighbors' lots. Each residential lot ran from one corner halfway to the next street, encompassing a large area in which to keep stock animals. In one square block bounded by four streets, there would be only four private lots, many of them probably sharing an unfenced common pasture. Enoch Arden's humorous tale suggests that not only were farms and ranches very common in the rural areas, but also within the more populated town of Philomath itself townspeople kept stock animals for daily use.

The reliance upon a milk cow and upon horses was very great. Oxen, mules, and many different breeds of horses were used to haul wagons and buggies for both work and travel. Both adults and children came to know the personality of individual animals they owned, as portrayed in many stories from the early 1900's besides this brief history by Mr. Cone. A good horse or two, an abundant supply of pigs for butchering into bacon, ham, and pork, and cows who produced healthy milk were essential to survival for many families. Bob Jones, at age 98, was recuperating from a hip injury
when I interviewed him in 1992, on the cattle ranch south of Philomath where he and his wife May lived. His quotation is used for the title of this chapter. What may seem at first to be an exaggeration makes sense when one considers how much time cowboys spent in the saddle. Bob was quite serious when he lamented the fact that his injury had prevented him from the daily riding which had become not only a working necessity but also a healthy routine.

Bob recalled that, though he never heard where they originated, there were many wild horses down in southwest Oregon (see Appendix E). "They run in that range in there for years [into the 1920's and possibly later]... on the Siskiyou side there." Two men with whom Robert and many other working cowboys were well acquainted, who "lived mostly around Eagle Point," were Frank Wooldridge and Dick Richmond. "They was workin' for themselves. They gathered them wild horses and brought 'em in. And they'd get 'em so [break them] they could do something with them- then sell 'em. I bought two of 'em from Frank. One of 'em wasn't- never amounted to much. One was the best horse I think I ever owned. Well he was a good horse. He was as wild as a March Hare when I started him. And he turned out to be a good horse. Just a real good horse. Gentle horse, you could do anything with him. Made a cow horse from way back... Bay [in his coloring]. Weighed about eleven hundred [pounds]. He was a nice horse. Goodness sake, he was a nice horse."

Bob's favorite saddle horse was a palomino named Golden Trigger. "I won the state championship with him pole-bending [jumping] when he was 23 years old. So he was a pretty good old horse. Twenty- three years old, I run them poles in 20.3 seconds."
I won the state championship in the rescue race. I gathered the man up and back in 10 seconds flat. We run fifty yards, I gathered him up and back in just 10 seconds flat." "I won a Texas barrel-race with the bridle off of him. *He didn't need any help.*" "He was quite a horse, I'll tell you." Bob was proud of this horse, and of not only the horse's skills but also his endurance, and longevity. It wasn't until the horse was 33 years old that "I had to put him to sleep."

Local cowboys also used dogs to help herd cattle, "mostly Shepherds. McNab's Shepherds, we called 'em. They'd be pretty severe." Bob recalled how useful were these dogs, when they had to drive cattle through the town of Philomath. "We drove a hundred head of steers right down the Main Street in Philomath, with them two dogs... One on one side, on the sidewalk, and the other one on the other side. And the cattle never got out of the road, I'll tell ya'."

Bob Jones' life as a working cowboy straddled two eras, distinguished by the methods used to gather and transport live-stock. Melvin Hawkins believed, with regards to the history of logging in the rural foothills south of both Corvallis and Philomath, that the introduction of the motorized truck made a huge difference in the way things were done. Bob also believed that cowboys in the local area lived through two eras: the modern era, when trucks were used, and the previous era, when there was a real demand for cowboys to gather and deliver herds of cattle and horses, to satisfy the local needs (when travelling required a horse, to haul your buggy or wagon) and to sell to the many local dealers, who would in turn feed larger markets outside the local area.

One old wagon road, the Spencer- Alsea road seen identified on early Metsker county maps, headed south out of Philomath.
It followed the drier upper hillsides to link pioneer homesteads. It was replaced with a graded, and finally a paved highway (the same one which today is the modern state highway 34). However, it was a long, slow process to prepare the ground and grade the roadway, before it was ready for travel by motorized vehicle. Horses were used to pull large graders, an ironic use of an older technology (the horse) to 'pave the way' for the technology of the era to come (the motorized car, and truck). As networks of roadways were slowly extended throughout the state of Oregon, it became possible to use trucks to haul both logs and livestock to either local markets, or other transportation depots (railroad sidings, etc.).

For the local man involved in the logging industry, or for the local cowboy, the introduction of trucking reduced the need for men with the skills required for herding animals and hauling logs and lumber by horse and wagon, but it also introduced the possibilities of making greater profits, with the improved speed and efficiency. Rex Clemons is one local Philomath timberman who helped several men, who began working in the woods for him, to purchase their first trucks and begin their own logging businesses. This kind of assistance was emblematic of the earlier era, when both logging and livestock were labor-intensive, requiring many men with a variety of skills. With the modern era of trucking and other technological tools designed to replace human or animal power, competition increased. It became possible for many individuals who, in the earlier era might have had to labor for others all their lives as part of a work crew, to start their own small companies. With the purchase of a truck as a beginning, men would transport livestock and haul logs and equipment. Some trucked their own equipment to logging sites where their skills
learned as part of a cowboy or a logging crew could earn them more money, as individual contractors, than they had earned before in wages.

Bob Jones's favorite memories were of the cattle drives, and the stories told around the campfire, during that earlier era when cowboys were common. He recalled one cattle drive down to southern Oregon. "On that drive to Fort Klamath, we had 520 head of cattle. We stayed at Fish Lake the first night. The snow was just two foot deep... We had good trails there. The cattle stayed so much together. Built a corral of about, oh five acres out of wire, you know, just woven wire, barbed wire around. You could put the cattle in it by night. And then generally that's about the first stop you'd have to make on the trip."

Bob went on to tell a story he heard that night. This particular storyteller was the man from whom Bob later bought his two wild horses, Frank Wooldridge, who Bob at first described as "one of the boys" - one of the cowboys there. "They was settin' around the fire. They always started the fire in a pitch log, you know, somethin' to keep warm. And they got to tellin' pretty good stories..." Frank "and his partner run wild horses. They run wild horses a lot. And we all knew they did. And he said they'd been runnin' wild horses all day. And his saddle-horse gave out on him. He was quite a ways from camp yet. And he said he rode into a little grassy spot and just let his horse rest a little. Took the saddle off of him."

"And [Frank] said, 'I laid down where it was warm, and I went to sleep.' He said, 'When I woke up, the darned horse was gone.' And it was dark, plumb dark. He ... was quite a ways from camp... 'I didn't know what in the world to do.' [Just then] 'I heard a bunch of horses comin'. Wild horses comin' through a trail that he rode in on. So he said, 'I just gathered my rope right fast. Started out there in that trail and set a trap for one..."
It wasn't very long before I knew I had one in that snare... I went up there to get him and oh!' He said, 'He fought like a wildcat.' [Frank] said, 'I got him saddled finally. Got the riggin' on him. Got him all saddled up and got on and reached down and picked up my quirt [whip] and took for camp.' ... 'He never quit fightin'. He just fought all the way to camp."

Bob said that all the cowboys were listening hard "because they knew Frank done just that- that he was ropin' lots of wild horses. They got lots of wild horses." Then Frank finished his story, saying that "he kept whipping this horse. Wanted to ride him into the firelight, so he could see what kind of a horse he was ridin'. Said, 'I'll be darned if I wasn't ridin' a panther & whippin' him with a rattlesnake.' 'Course everybody knew he was lyin'. But that's the story he told, you know."

Bob was on two other cattle drives in southern Oregon, from Brookings to Grants Pass. "Drove a hundred head once. And a hundred fifteen or twenty head the next time... It took us a week. We had a chuckwagon along. And a man and his wife run the chuckwagon for us. So we always had somethin' to eat." He drove cattle right down Second Street, in Corvallis, heading them for local buyers, or for transportation down the Willamette River or even just to the ferry, to carry them across the river and then herd them on to Albany. "I drove lots of cattle down Second Street. In fact, when Nevergall [?] Meat Company first opened up, my Dad furnished them the first cattle they killed in that plant... located right out of Albany just a little ways, on the road to Salem. Swift bought him out finally."

"We used to take them [cattle] across the ferry boat at Corvallis, you know. Go down the [Willamette] River, on that [east] side."
The ferry was big enough to carry "about twenty-five or thirty" head of cattle. "But one time we was goin' across there with a bunch of pretty wild steers. And they broke the side off [the ferryboat]. Fell in. Just jumped into the river. And went down the river. Well, we were a week gatherin' 'em up." The riverside at the time, where now there is an OSU boat dock and golf course, "was all brush." So, as Bob repeated, it took "just a good week" to finally gather up all those steers. The ferry there was running into the 1930s, before a bridge was built across the Willamette. Bob recalled that Mr. Fruitt, (the Cones' neighbor when they lived in Corvallis), "run that ferryboat for years," and that there was another ferryboat just upriver, at Peoria. The Corvallis ferry carried "the first load in the morning, about 6 o'clock. And about, oh 8- it was according to the weather-8 or 8:30 at night was the last load that they'd take across."

Melvin Hawkins knew Bob Jones, and he recalled "a funny story" Bob told him. This was a true story which probably took place in the second decade of the 1900's, at a dance party held at the home of a local family. Bob Jones, who never grew to be a tall man physically, "was small, and not able to fight these big men. He took a girl to a party out here, south of Philomath. And this other fellow- big fellow- came along and took her away from him. And so, he had a scheme... He went out there to his buggy. And he pulled the tugs off of it... [Tugs] are what you hook on to, along the side of each horse, hook on the singletree we call it. [Bob] just pulled those tugs right off of there. So when he [the big man] jumped in-with his girl- and hollered, 'Ho!', why those horses took off. Just yanked him clear out into the mud on the ground." The buggy, detached from the horses, didn't move. But the driver, holding the reins, was pulled ahead
by the horses "and it also pulled the girl out too, I think. And [Bob] didn't feel bad about that at all... He said nobody ever took a girl away from him after that, though. You know he never said anything, but they all knew who did it" (Melvin B15, S.1:170).

Bob Jones revealed a side of Philomath history which seems so overshadowed by the logging history's impact on the area that today one might tend to deny that cattle or cowboys ever ranged widely here. The second cowboy resident I interviewed told me about his grandfather's use of the smokehouse, and the pigs he raised for slaughter. From many informants, I began to hear about an event which at first I myself discounted as an exaggerated legend, perhaps describing a small rodeo that occurred here in Philomath, in the second decade of the 1900s. It perhaps was not until Dean Tatom showed me a copy of a large, rectangular framed photograph of the Philomath Round-Up that I realized how grand, and how early in the century it was. That's when another side of Philomath's actually many-faceted history became clear. The next two chapters put flesh and bone on people seen in that photograph.
Chapter 7: *Northerners Liked Bacon, Too*

Melvin Hawkins introduced me to Van Smith, another working cowboy who, like Bob Jones, had become part of the Benton County Mounted Posse. His pioneer grandfather, (after whom was named Smith Loop, where Van and his wife Florence lived), finally settled down in the late 1800's in the Valley land south of Corvallis and east of Philomath where many local ranchers grazed their stock. A few also tried farming, though much of the low Valley land east of Greenberry Grange, where the grass grew so tall that "you could tie the grass together over [a horse's] back" was ideal range for grazing stock. There was little a pioneer with stock animals needed to do, besides making sure his animals did not stray too far. This plentiful grazing land enabled pioneer ranchers to prosper. Not only did stock-buyers with their cowboy crews travel through this area seeking prime stock to buy, but many ranchers who settled here were able to find other markets for their animals. T. W. B. Smith raised swine and built a smokehouse so that he could market his meat products in Corvallis.

The first large herd of cattle brought into Oregon by Americans was driven north in 1837 from California (then part of Mexico) by Ewing Young, for the Willamette Cattle Company, a group of American trappers, missionaries, and a few French Canadians (Holmes 1967, 120; 134). Unrecorded bands large and small of cattle and many other domesticated livestock found their way to Oregon, as pioneers sought to improve their breeds. One stock-buying expedition set out soon after Young's "band of Spanish cattle ... proved to be such untamable creatures that few ranchers cared to own them.." A ship builder named Joseph Gale was hired to build and sail a ship to San Francisco, (then the Spanish town Yerba Buena).
When there, he was to trade his ship for the better cattle to be found in California! They successfully built a "small sailing craft, using tools borrowed from [Jason] Lee's Mission" and sailed the 'Star of Oregon', in 1841, into the port at Yerba Buena. There they traded the vessel to a French sea-captain, for "350 head of desirable cattle. These Gale and his men grazed locally until spring [of 1842], when they herded their half-tame cattle over the mountains into the Willamette Valley" (Corning 1973, 18-19).

As the numbers of immigrants travelling into Oregon by sea and overland increased, so did the population of cattle and horses they managed to bring with them (as well as other stock animals, including hogs). The first horses were probably brought into the mid-Willamette Valley area by the Klickitat, when before this the local Kalapuyan bands had seldom or never before seen such animals. From these horses and the cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, mules, and oxen owned by the Hudson's Bay Company (see Appendix F), the variety and quality of stock animal breeds quickly increased as new Euro-American settlers arrived. One example of how new settlers introduced a few new cattle breeds can be found in the history of Kings Valley. This was a rural town which lay beyond the town of Wren, about ten miles northwest of Philomath. It was named for the man believed to be the first Euro-American settler there, Nahum King. In 1846, he arrived with "a number of short-horn cows, ... added to by James Watson in the following year. In 1859, [his son] Sol King, the present able Sheriff, with Moses Wright, imported twenty-eight head more, and still further established the reputation of Benton County as a cattle raising district. These were among the earliest introductions of improved cattle into the State" (Fagan 1885, 333).
Wild game was abundant, but early Euro-American settlers also desired to satisfy tastes they had acquired back in the 'States.' Southerners especially had a reputation for enjoying bacon with breakfast. So pigs were transported to Oregon and raised here, to supply bacon and other choice meat dishes. The market for cattle to supply milk and meat also grew. The population of cattle grew so fast that by 1866 a 'road' from the Willamette Valley had been opened heading east, across the Cascade Mountains as far as the Deschutes River, so that stockmen could trail cattle and other animals into central and eastern Oregon. (see Appendix G) Horses, oxen, and other animals pioneer families had learned to use and become dependent upon were all trailed here overland. There was a need for cowboys wherever there were cattle or horses to be raised and used in labor-intensive work or transported to market.

While local Philomath cowboys, working for stock buyers, travelled the state buying and trailing primarily cattle and horses back to this area, cowboys from other parts of Oregon passed through here, engaged in the same work. The same company who Bob Jones remembered buying out the Albany slaughterhouse to which his Dad delivered cattle also sent cowboys through this area, earlier in the 1800s. "T. W. B. (Tyra Washington Brave) Smith came to this country in the early 1840s, and landed in Portland. And got a job workin' for Swift & Company. And he bought stock for him. He would ride- take his gold money and saddlehorse. And he would ride up the Valley [southwards, through the Corvallis-Philomath area] to Roseburg, buying stock on the way. Then he would hire a crew and they would drive that stock back to Portland" (Van 1, S.1:068).

"On these trips, in this area there was a McBee family. They lived on now what's known as the north end of the 'McBee Lake.'"
'McBee Lake' is the local name for one of a chain of small lakes or sloughs lying within the braided channels of the Willamette River. "And he married a McBee girl, and they settled out in the Roseburg area [in southern Oregon]... But he didn't like that country. Then he came back here and he went down on the River and he settled there... And that's the reason that this is called Smith Loop, because the descendants of the T. W. B. Smith family are still living there." Fagan's 1885 History (527) gives a brief biography of Tyra W. B. Smith, who "In 1865 ... returned to Benton County and purchased his present large estate of seven hundred acres, eight miles south of Corvallis, where he is engaged in farming and stock raising..." Fagan characterizes Smith as "one of Benton county's most prosperous farmers."

Van Smith lived with his wife Florence in a large house whose interior was panelled with straight-grain old growth fir. Even though it was a hot summer day when we recorded the historical tapes, the house stayed cool. Florence proudly pointed out that there was not a single knothole in any of the fir boards. Smith Loop lies nearly ten miles south of Corvallis, barely south of the Willamette Community and Grange Hall (commonly called 'Greenberry Grange') and heads east from present-day Highway 99. Van Smith mentioned at the beginning that he was a 32nd cousin (giving the reader some notion of how close and well-known were family relations, to the early Euro-American population) "of the Greenberry Smith tribe," a different family of Smiths descended from another pioneer unrelated to Van's grandfather.

"People did not settle this country when they came here." Van reminded us why, in the 1840's, many of the first Euro-American settlers chose land farther from this area of the Willamette flood plain.
Many settled on the upper hillsides to the west "... Where they came from, they had malaria close to the rivers. And they settled the foothills. They went way back in the foothills to cabins- all along the foothills where people settled." (see Appendix H) Van's historical knowledge is based on a personal oral history which "was handed down" (Van 1, S.1:284) in his family. For the region to the south of Corvallis, (the local city originally on Joseph Avery's Donation Land Claim- of a mile north and south of the mouth of Mary's River) where it enters the Willamette- his physical description of the marshy land and braided, oft-flooded River floodplain is supported in written history. (see Appendix I)

"This was just pasture for a long time," when local ranchers would seasonally herd their livestock into the long grass meadowland, or perhaps passing herds, which cowboys trailed into the area, would stop to enjoy the grass and water. Until a settler chose to make a claim on land, it remained open for public use by all. Only the choicest sites (often along the upper hillsides) were claimed by the earliest settlers, for a homestead which was well-watered but also wooded (to supply water, firewood, and possibly building material). Good dry land for planting was also highly favored, so many settlers chose sites west of the low, marshy land along the Willamette River. However, some did choose to stake claims on land close to the River, intending to establish either a good townsite or river landing with future commercial potential.

With the growing population in the Willamette Valley, previously unclaimed lands, such as the meadowlands open for free public use as pasture, also were claimed or purchased and converted to private purposes. As for the flat Valley land south of Corvallis, "It was eventually bought up in small tracts, hundreds- and two-hundred acre pieces."
And then it would have a fence around it. And maybe if there was a high spot, they would put a building on it, and drill a well. And pump water. And maybe run livestock there. Some of this pasture here- now we have a hundred and thirty acres across the railroad tracks [to the west, a quarter of a mile], and we put the first plow through it... I rented part of this old Porter ranch down here, for years. And I plowed that- the first time it ever had a plow in it" (Van 1, S.1:294). Van's wife Florence noted that this particular parcel, just south of the Greenberry Service Station and the Grange, wasn't plowed until after they were married, in 1935.

I asked Van for a description of that pastureland, before he plowed it for the first time. He recalled that there were few deer (ironically, more deer range across this land now). "Well, it was- the stock runnin' over that south ground, in the wintertime made tracks... But that ground was so rough, [in the summer] if you would start across that with a car, when it was dry it would just 'bump, bump, bump'. You could hardly drive a car across it, it was so rough, because the stock had tromped it in the wintertime." Crops of "corn and beans and wheat" would thrive on the higher ridges, but much of what is called "white land," low ground west of the flood plain, was only good for pasture or for hay. Both the Smiths and Melvin Hawkins recalled that ".. they didn't do much of anything with the white land over there from Greenberry on north. They just pastured it, and raised some hay" (Van 1, S.1:136). Stock was grazed here, primarily.

Before the growth of the residential section of Corvallis south of the Mary's River, stock-grazing, ranching, and farming of the richer bottomland had all become quite common. Van recalled how densely overgrown with 'brush' were some areas close to the Willamette River and south of town. Today, the west bank of the Willamette is still wooded.
There still exists a long stretch of wooded land heavily overgrown with several varieties of berries and other bushes, and interwoven with footpaths, leading south to Willamette Park (one of the many city parks maintained by Corvallis). Before this park was set aside, it was owned by a descendant of the city's founder, Joseph Avery, as a small portion of his original Donation Land Claim.

Besides footpaths, there was quite a variety of practical transportation networks linking the rural land claims of settlers, with river landings, with towns, and with each other. All were made with few tools and perhaps only horse- and oxen-power to add to the raw human labor required. Most will never be recorded. An example of one such pioneer creation was a ferry that Van Smith remembers: "Used to be a ferry on to Kiger Island. But it was further up the road from where the bridge is now" (Van 2, S.1:105). Some geographical locations, apparently named for Euro-American pioneers, have actually taken the names of more recent land owners. (see Appendix J) Van's wife Florence added, "Just like Wagner Butte up here. Was first Irvin Butte. And then Wagner Butte. And then Jensen's. And now that there's a new man up there [someone who has recently bought land on the Butte], I suppose it'll be [given] his name" (Van 2, S.1:115).

The earliest transportation in the Oregon country relied on trails made by game and Indian peoples, the network of rivers and streams (especially heavy in western Oregon), and wagon 'roads' which often followed these first pathways. Very crude, rough tracks over which horses and oxen pulled often heavily-loaded wagons would, over time and with an increase in population, become wagon 'roads.'
Even these 'roads' were often impassable in the winter, when the rain made the mud too deep for a wagon to pass through. Van recalled one of the first of these 'roads' in his area, a stage road which, with regular usage by both the stage and other private wagons, wore deep tracks in the ground.

"In the early days the first stage road from Portland to Frisco [San Francisco] came up [southwards, heading upriver as the Willamette River flows north] on the west side of the River. [It] came into Corvallis on 9th St. [It] came down to the Mary's River, ferried across the Mary's River and come out [just barely east of the present-day bridge]... [The stage road] went back to Crystal Lake Cemetery. [It] followed the flood plain south, around the bank on the River. The first stage stop was on the north leg of [today's] Smith Loop road, where they changed horses. Put on a different team and come on up the same route. When they got to the Buttes- the Wagner Buttes, (Irving Buttes) [just southeast of Hwy. 99, from Smith Loop]... [they] came around them. And the next stage stop was up at the Bruce Store, now called Bruce Lane. And there's a [historical] mark there... And then the next stop was at Spring Hill, at Monroe, where they changed horses again, and went on south..." (Van 2, S.1:129).

The stage to which Van is referring must have been owned by the California & Oregon Stage Company, also mentioned briefly in Willamette Landings. "That portion of the 'big road' known as Chase's line, ran from Marysville (Corvallis), to Eugene and Oakland [further south, in Oregon]." This stage line must have been heavily used before the 'head of passage' for riverboats on the Willamette went as far upriver as Eugene, and before any railroad line was extended into southern Oregon. It was "referred to by valley residents as the 'through trace stage'" (Corning 1973, 159).
"Years later, my Father had that farm rented, right close to the first stage stop. We plowed across that old road; it was across pasture at that time. Father was plowing with six horses on a two-bottom plow. And I was a small boy that could reach the plow handles. And I was following, with a walking plow, with three horses. When you would come to that road, the plow would slide out of the ground, and shave the grass, and go in- thirty feet across it, on the other side- before it'd get back in the ground! When you crossed that old stage road [-the ground was that hard, from repeated travel by heavy wagon]."

"The Willamette River flooded whenever the Lord took a notion for it [to flood]." South of Corvallis, the land to the west of today's Highway 99 was marshy, with one "other road south, [heading west] over towards Philomath and ... up what they called the Belfountain- Alpine road." The flood plain of the Willamette River seems to have been wider than today, or the river had, as it still does, merely randomly filled a channel farther to the west after one particularly bad flood. (see Appendix I) Melvin Hawkins interjected, "It used to come underneath this road," (Highway 99, but before paving, when it was still a wagon road connecting the pioneer settlements to the south and west with the big city of Corvallis). "And it would go across into Muddy [Creek]." "I saw it [flood that high] once."

"Between the stage stop and Belfountain Road [to the west]", "the ground between these two places was so soft that you'd lead a horse out there in the wintertime, and you could tie the grass together over his back. And he'd be standing in the mud pretty near to his knees" (Van 1, S.2: 399). Van Smith may have been slightly exaggerating, but perhaps not; travelling to town was not something one could do easily, on the spur of the moment. Many informants who lived here in the first half of the
twentieth century recall either relying on neighbors who owned autos to bring them needed groceries, or asking relatives and neighbors if they needed anything, before heading to town themselves. Melvin Hawkins told me of some trips he made to town in his Model T Ford, driving down roads often clogged with mud. He bought the car when he was fourteen, and started driving right away. Until roadways were paved by Benton County, the normal heavy wintertime rains made travel difficult, even with automobiles.

Van went on to tell me his version (or perhaps the Smith clan's version) of how his grandfather and others who lived in the Smith Loop area designed, built, and used their smokehouses. The smokehouse was a primary tool used by early pioneers to slow cook and preserve meat for long periods of time. As Van told me, T. W. B. Smith "was a stock-buyer and he was a farmer. And I started a little story. It was 'the evolution of the smokehouse, on Smith Loop'." That Van gave this part of his recollections a title indicates how important was the smokehouse, to his family's survival and later success. The land here today continues to be often flooded, with oak groves and blackberry and rich farmland as one heads closer to the 'bottomland' of the wide Willamette River system. Van kindly took Melvin Hawkins and myself to see the early smokehouses still standing where they were built in this Smith Loop area.

"T. W. B. Smith, being a stockman, hit on the idea that he would raise pork... From the pigs you have the cut-up parts: you have hams, shoulders, and bacon. Back bone. Spare ribs. And all of these things." Minnie McMurtry told me how fond of bacon many Southerners were. Melvin Hawkins wryly reminded me that not only those pioneers from the
recently Confederate half of the country- Southerners- liked bacon, but "it was a tradition of the rest of 'em too, that came out here" (Van 1, S.2.015).

"We started this in the late 1840's." The kind of wooden smokehouses Van showed us were built back East, in the United States, long before Smiths began building them here. Certainly, the use of smokehouses can be traced back to the ancestral lands of early Asian-, Euro-, and African-Americans. When one considers that the rural areas outside of towns by only a few miles - or less- were still quite isolated, (by reason of difficulty of travelling on muddy wagon roads, or rivers, and through the notoriously wet Oregon winters), it becomes clear why having a place to prepare and preserve meat- wild game as well as pig or cow or sheep- was advantageous. To build and use a smokehouse gave one both the possibility of self-sufficiency, and also, if one chose to do so, an opportunity for trading or using the nascent cash economy linked to the American states, for either credit, or perhaps cash itself.

"When T. W. B. Smith started his smokehouse, he would need some pork to put in it. So, he built a big, long pigpen. It was built out of logs, and there was pens on two sides with a drive-way through the center. Small pens, to keep the pigs in, and they could be fed in troughs along from the center line. Then he would need water there, so he drove a pipe in the ground, and put a pump on it, and a big building over the top of that. It was, oh, thirty-foot square or bigger. And high enough that he could keep his steam engine and his grinder for his grain, that he would feed the hogs.

"Then there was about five acres, south of the lower road that belonged to him. And he would run the pigs out there. That was so rooted up that he could hardly get over it..."
The pigs would go out there and root and rough it up. Then he had a spot there where he would kill these pigs, when he got ready to butcher. He had a scalding vat, with a platform alongside of it. He would kill a pig, and stick him, and drag him over there, and lay two ropes across this vat. It had a metal bottom, and you could build a fire under that. You'd put the wood in from one end and then smoke would go out the other [top], through the smokestack. And there was a flat board on the side. After the pig was scalded, you rode him out on that, with these ropes, and scrape him. When you got him scraped off clean, you would then" begin to cut open the pig's body. "Most of the old-timers didn't bother to save any more of that product"- after removing the hind hocks, tendons, the intestines, the heart and the liver- "but some people did" (Van 1, S.1:397).

"After they had the pig cleaned like that, you hung it until morning to cool. And the next morning they took him around behind the house, to a building they had there with a big table on one side. And the pig was laid on that. And he was cut up into hams, and shoulders, and bacons, backbones- and all different things... When you got that all done, it was put down in salt brine... for a certain length of time. And after that was salted, then it was cleaned and strings were [inserted] and it was taken to the smokehouse..." (Van.1, S.1:440).

T. W. B. Smith's smokehouse, Van believed, was the first one built in this area. "His [smokehouse] building was some twenty foot square, and thirty feet high. And there was racks and racks of meat, about four feet apart- platforms in there, to hang this meat on. And this building had a dirt floor, so that the fire, a little fire could be built on the floor without running out and burning the building. And they used vine maple and hardwoods- to [make] just a little smuggish fire.
And after [the meat] was smoked, then it was taken to Corvallis and sold, from the wagons. And the fresh pork, like ...the ribs and the back bones-they were hauled to town and sold fresh. That was just one of the things [Van's father] did, to make money. He farmed four hundred acres, too" (Van 1, S.1:454). (see Appendix K)

The house in which Van Smith and his wife Florence lived was originally built by McCauley Porter. His donation land claim property is partially in the Smith Loop area and he built the second smokehouse in this area. Fagan's History also gives a brief biography of him, since by 1885 he had added to his Donation Land Claim, owning 1500 acres used for "general farming and stock raising." Born in 1829 in Kentucky, Porter headed to Oregon in 1848, "in company with his brothers ... and their families ... with ox teams ..., being chiefly engaged in route in driving sheep .... In the spring of 1849 he proceeded to the California gold mines, where he remained three years, returning to Oregon in the fall of 1852, and the following spring took up his present farm as a donation claim" (Fagan 1885, 524).

Van Smith found this early smokehouse still standing, when he first moved into his house. "The second smokehouse in the early day was [built] out on the highway, on the McCauley Porter place [right here, where Van's house sits, on the south end of Smith Loop and Hwy. 99]. (Van's wife Florence interrupted to say, "The smokehouse set about fifty feet north of the kitchen.") It "had a little round meat block in the corner of it, and a dirt floor... Well I had no use for it, because I didn't do that [smoke meat, like his grandfather and father had] anymore... " (Van 1, S.2:08).

The third smokehouse in the area was built by Van's father, W. W. Smith (William Walter Smith). "He raised a few pigs [just] for his own use, and he did not need as big a smokehouse."
But the entire procedure of killing and preparing the pig for smoking was
done in the same way- scalding, then gutting and drying the pig, cutting it
up, salting it and finally taking the prepared parts into the smokehouse,
for slow curing of the meat from the heat and smoke of the low fire in the
enclosed building. Since W. W. only smoked enough meat for his own
family to eat, "he had a smokehouse there [on his property, east of this
place owned by Porter by only a mile or two] that was only about eight
foot square and about twelve feet high." In the later 1800s and early
1900s, smokehouses were generally built smaller, probably because by
that time, other food, including a variety of meats, was more readily avail-
able. Melvin Hawkins, born a year later than Van Smith in 1908, recalled,
"That's the kind [of small smokehouse] I've seen" (Van.1, S.2:050).

The fourth and last smokehouse built in the Smith Loop area was
constructed next to a round concrete base, and was erected in the late
1940's or early 1950's, by another Smith descendant. "He built his fire
outside, on the concrete, and he piped the smoke in and let it come up
inside the building. And at the top, instead of having boards or a platform
up there, he had the rake wheel, [an old farming implement]. And you
could use the spokes of the rake to hang your meat on" (Van.1, S.2:105).

Van Smith's father, W. W. Smith "was a stockman, just like" my other
cowboy informant, Bob Jones. Mr. Smith dealt in hogs as well as other
stock animals, including sheep and cattle. (Though Bob was fourteen years
older than Van, they knew each other.) "And he bought hogs over in Lob-
ster Valley and Alsea and through that country... and drove them on foot
over the Alsea Mountain, to Corvallis... That was a big job" (Van.1,
S.2:125). Van's wife Florence recalled that W. W. also drove cattle he pur-
chased, back to his own ranch south of Corvallis or extra pastureland.
Sometimes he needed to rent more pastureland to feed all of his stock. "He would buy stock and drive them, in those days. And when he came out of the fence line in the [Willamette] Valley, just to the foot of the [Alsea] Mountain, he met the County Commissioner, comin' home, with his automobile. So he ran through the stock, and spooked 'em. And [W. W.] spent another [long time] before he could get [the cattle] all together ... That happened to him" (Van 1, S.2:136).

W. W. Smith also "farmed all over the county. He rented- he didn't have much land of his own. And he rented" land encompassing a large swath of this area, encompassing today's Park, north to today's Crystal Lake Cemetery, and "clear out to the highway" (Van.1,S.2:430). "One year we had three or four hundred head of sheep down there, on that ground. And they were Father's. We lost a hundred head. Couldn't find them- in the summer. And when the rains come in the fall, they all come out of the brush down there... They were there all the time.

"And I went down there one time horseback ... a-huntin' sheep, and lookin' the country over." Van came riding along a trail, close to the river, where probably Kalapuyan and pioneer folks have long been accustomed to going swimming (as people still do today). "Well I rode up there very nonchalantly, you know. And I just pretty near 'drownded' a dozen girls. They were skinny-dippin' in that water. Well, when they saw me a-comin', they went down to the bottom ... I had to get out of there, or I'd have 'drownded' 'em all!" Florence, Van's wife, exclaimed, "Can't you just imagine how much fun he had?" (Van 1, S.2:440) She added that this incident occurred before 1935, when she and Van were married.

There were quite a number of wild feats and amusing exploits in which local cowboys and cowgirls found themselves involved.
The strenuous labor T. W. B. Smith and the Smith family descendants needed to perform, to survive and prosper on the Valley land west of the Willamette River, was offset by the playful music and fun they also engaged in, with each other. Though Philomath had been platted as a 'dry' town, in which the property deeds forbid "any Theatre, Grog Shop, Tippling House, Gambling Saloon, Spirituous or Malt Liquor Vending Establishment" (Benton County property Deeds Oct. 29, 1913, Book 59, p. 148), there was a rough air of playful energy and highjinks shared between those loggers and cowboys who came to town on errands, and the townspeople themselves.

People had to work hard, to accomplish feats for which technology had not yet 'saved' the labor that humans and animals provided. They not only worked hard, but played hard, too. One wealthy Englishman from Montana came to Philomath about 1913, probably attracted by the opportunities for a cattle baron that the Willamette Valley grazing land offered. For the same ten dollar price, he purchased several large parcels of land west of Philomath, towards Wren. On this land, he grazed his cattle. Unlike T. W. B. Smith, he did not live there for long, never returning to the Willamette Valley after a brief span of only a half dozen years or so living here. He never established a family nor left any descendants in this area. However, this Montana stockman brought an entertainment event to Philomath that no one alive today who witnessed it will ever forget.
Chapter 8: Philomath Round-Up, Rodeos, and Apparent Rivalries

During a few summers in the early 1900s, there was a grand rodeo called a Round-Up held in Philomath. It came to rival even Oregon's famous Pendleton Round-Up, at least one year before America entered World War I. At the time, the Corvallis & Eastern Railroad regularly carried passengers westward toward the Pacific Coast, (a favorite vacationing spot then, as it is now). With poor roads and few cars yet in the general population, the railroad was a popular way to travel. The children's rate to ride from Corvallis to Philomath was ten cents, Madge Savage told me (though she often was allowed free rides from the friendly conductor). Many people were able to attend the Philomath Round-Up by riding to the town on the train from Corvallis or from towns further along the Southern Pacific train route. Since it was such a huge event, "they called it the Round-Up. Like the Pendleton Round-Up. That's the way I remember it" (Madge C1, S.1:018). The crowd at the rodeo was huge.

Several old-timers from the Philomath area recall that this particular Round-Up gained a momentary spotlight of fame for the town, which usually found itself in the shadow of Corvallis's achievements and status as the primary city in Benton County. "That's one time Philomath had the upper hand. Most always we were in the doghouse," Melvin chuckled over his memories, as a local politician who was elected by the rural Philomath voters to School Boards and finally as a Benton County Commissioner. As a man who had lived and worked outside of the city of Corvallis, he shared the rural needs and desires of Benton County people who often resisted the plans and laws Corvallis politicians proposed. "One time, they had ten thousand people at the rodeo..."
They had a big write-up about it in the Gazette-Times, a few years ago. And they had a special train running out from Corvallis” (Melvin 2, S.1:198). (See Appendix L for newspaper coverage.) Madge Savage rode on one of those special trains that day, coming from Corvallis with her parents to see this Round-Up. "And then they had the excursion- the Southern Pacific trains [coming into Corvallis, for the connection to Philomath] had excursions from all over, coming to Philomath. And that's the way we came from Corvallis." Because so many people were travelling by train to come see the Philomath Round-Up, "extra cars" were added on to the regular passenger trains (Madge C1, S.1:022).

It was quite a Round-Up. Kalapuyans, Alsea, and other bands perhaps were among the Indians who traveled from the Siletz Reservation to attend this rodeo. Some brought tepees to sleep in along with their whole families. Madge Savage particularly remarked at how astonishing to her, as a young girl only about ten years old, it was to see the Indian people there. "They had those Indians, with all their horses," Madge recalled, when making her first tape with us at Melvin Hawkins’s home (Melvin D19:457). Nearby the rodeo grounds, "... their tepees and everything were all set up, just like they [did] at the Pendleton Round-Up." (Madge C1, S.1:077) In the Round-Up picture in Appendix M are Indian men and women who put on a show for the crowd. They are the last nine men horseback in the review line (right side), in front of the Grandstand and huge crowd of people standing. Many of the white rodeo cowboy contestants came from even further away. Clifford Gee told one local informant, Dean Tatom, about attending this rodeo. "Cliff told me about goin' out there, as a kid. And the cowboys were sittin' around the fire. And he said there was some of them had ridden like,
for two or three weeks, on horseback, just to get here and compete" (Tatom 1, S.1:300).

Bob Jones, who became a Captain in the Benton County Mounted Posse in 1949, was one of the two cowboys I interviewed. Born in 1893, he told me that he was "in the first rodeo they had there... I was probably twenty years old, maybe a little older than that... And they had- a fellow by the name of Smallwood won the saddle there. Bronc rider. He won the saddle... He come in to this- brought his horse in. And, luck would have it, drewed his own horse. When they drewed to see what horses they would ride, you know, he drewed his own horse. And won the saddle on him. Boy, he was a buckin' son of a gun, I'll tell you now. God Almighty he was a buckin' horse! And he won that saddle on him. And then when he went in to get the saddle, he just led him in there with a halter rope on him. And throwed the saddle on him and got on him and rode him out.

"He said that old horse wouldn't buck or jump unless you snubbed him up and blindfolded him... He says, 'I ride him all the time at home.' He says, 'All you have to do to make him buck is just blindfold him, snub him up.'" In the early rodeos, that is exactly what they had to do, to hold the broncs stationary, for the riders to jump on their backs. "They always did then. That's the only way they saddled 'em, you know... Just snub 'em up and saddle 'em right out in the open... You never had a chute to saddle 'em in.

"You had to have a pretty good snubbin' horse, I'll tell ya. He wouldn't stand the abuse that he took. Boy! He took a lot of abuse. The old snubbin' horse- he took a lot of abuse. They would fight, you know. And everything else. But some poor boy ridin' [on the snubbing horse would] - snub one down tight."
And then [he would] get a hold of his ear [the bronc's ear] with his teeth, and just chew the devil out of his ear. Get him down on his side, 'till they'd get a saddle on, you know. And they'd turn him [the bronc] loose." "Oh, there was generally three or four [cowboys] gettin' the saddle on that bronc. Sometimes they didn't get it on...

Van Smith, the second local cowboy informant, recalled "a cowboy singer, and his name was Tracy Lane. And he sang a song, 'Take Me Back to Old Montana", which Van knows and could sing, laughingly, but only "if I was full o' beer". Other famous cowboy names Van recalled are: "Buffalo Vernon-he was a bull-dogger ... and Dell Blanchett" (Van 2, S.1:143). (See 1917 newspaper ad, p. 231, featuring both these famous cowboys, among several others described as "THE BEST TALENT IN THE U. S."). References to both Tracy Lane (as a cowboy who became a Hollywood stunt man and horse trainer) and Buffalo Vernon can be found in one famous cowboy's 1979 autobiography. "Bulldogging was still a new rodeo event in 1914. It was first introduced by that great Texas cowboy, Bill Pickett, who starred in the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show in 1903. He would ride into the field after a running steer and dive from his horse, Straddler, onto the steer's head. He'd grab the animal's horns, twist his neck, and throw him to the ground. With the steer flat on his side, Pickett would sink his teeth tight into the animal's lip, holding him down, and throw his hands up in a victory salute. Pickett named the event 'bulldogging'. Buffalo Vernon was the first man to repeat the act at the Pendleton Roundup in 1911" (Canutt 1979, 37-8; 117-8).

Though they were just children at the time, several local informants have sharp memories of attending this famous event.
"It was larger than the Pendleton Round-Up, they said. In the paper... I was running around there loose, you know. Nobody watching me [as a young boy, when his father was too busy working 'in the woods' every day, to raise Melvin himself]. I was in the crowd. And I wasn't at all interested in the horses. I'd seen all the horses I wanted to see. " To which Madge replied, "My whole family was crazy about horses. We always had horses" (Melvin D19:453). Her father especially loved seeing this Round-up "because he was a real horseman. He always had horses" (Madge C1, S.2:035). Corvallis "every year ... had a Parade, it seemed like. And my Dad- in the ... Centennial Parade [of 1959]... He was 85 years old, and he rode his horse in that. And ... with all the bands playing, [his horse] got pretty feisty. And my sister ... wanted him to quit riding it anyway. It was awful hard for him to give it up" (Madge C1, S.2:337).

Van Smith, born 1907, still could recall the Parade held, announcing the rodeo. "I rode in the Parade. I was only a ten year-old boy about that time" (Smith 2, S.1:168). He immediately remembered the name of the horse he rode, (which belonged to his Father), 'Mack.' "He was a big bay, saddle horse. I don't know what his breeding was."

Van continued, "I might tell you, too- (just for braggin'). This old horse would buck a little bit- at times. And when I was around ten, eleven years old, why, ... I took him out of the barn one time, saddled him up, and was gonna go for a ride up on Witham Hill [in north Corvallis]. Well when I got out of the barn I got on this old horse, and my mother wasn't too far away. She heard me say, "Now buck, you old devil!" And he just went off, didn't buck. So I rode him [along, until] I put him into a canter, and he bucked me off. And I got back on him, kept on going.." Then, his voice getting lower and more serious, Van added the cowboy moral:
"And to this day there's never been another horse bucked me out of the saddle. Look!" Van pointed to the crutches he was now using, until his hip should regain strength. "I fell off. But I never was bucked out of the saddle, on a buckin' horse. And I rode all kinds of horses. And broke 'em to ride, and everything. You can see my saddle right there" (Van 2, S.1:207).

Van also told a story of another fall from a horse he took (not a buck, just a fall), while driving horses to Philomath, from their pasture near the Greenberry Grange. "Anyway, we drove those horses over there. We had cows and horses... and there was an old man that did quite a bit of ridin'- his name was Childers. Monroe Childers. He would ride for the cowboys and stockmen, and drive stock. Now it was his and my job to drive these horses and cattle over from here to Philomath... So ... we went out Grange Hall Lane, turned the corner, on to Bel-fountain Road... the horses broke down that road towards Decker Road [the wrong way]. [The road was recently graded or] fresh, and there was a nice ditch down here [alongside the road]. Well I got my old horse down in that ditch, and I whipped him over and under. Boy we got ahead of them horses, right quick! And this old horse- he'd headed stock before. So he went out, and headed 'em, and I went down the ditch, end over end... And the horse went over and headed 'em off. Then I got out of the ditch and got a-hold of the horse and went on, brought 'em on out [to Philomath]. That was the only thing that happened on that trip" (Van 2, S.1:243).

"It started out- R. P. McClelland was a kind of a prominent politician and so forth. And there used to be a big barn sitting up on the hill..."
It was a hip-roofed beam, see. And [written across] the top was 'R. P.' and then across the next slope of it, he had 'McClelland'. And you could see that- ten miles if you could see it [at all]... as quick as you got over the hill.

Both Van and Melvin agreed that it was a very rare thing, an unusual and unnecessary boast, to paint your name across the roof of your barn. It was a Philomath landmark. Melvin added that McClelland's claim to have been a Colonel seemed, at least to some in the community, doubtful: "I don't know whether he was from Kentucky or not but any kind of a colonel that isn't a Colonel [had no real military appointment or experience], we called him 'a Kentucky colonel" (Van 2, S.1:176). Van's reference to McClelland as a "politician" is probably inaccurate, but as a wealthy local character, he was certainly well-known to the small town of Philomath.

Melvin, as a young boy, remembers seeing McClelland at the rodeo. "McClelland had a red roadster. And he drove that out there. And he roped a steer off the engine hood. And I thought, well now, that's really something! ... I was about eight years old" (Melvin D19:463).

R. P. McClelland, the rodeo promoter for the earliest known Philomath rodeo, built the house now owned by Carl and Juanita Bennett, in 1913 they believed (Bennett 4, S.1:210). Dean Tatom thinks that could have been the year when he first came to Oregon. The house sits on a hillside just west of town, and is bordered by oak groves and hilly grassland, perfect grazing land for McClelland's large herds of cattle. "He ran the rodeo, I'm sure... [He] had all this pastureland here to run his cattle on, [and] he built this house. And this barn." Carl believes that McClelland "made a little money on [the rodeo], yes" (Bennett 1, S.2:188). "This place at one time- I have no idea how many acres...
lots of area" (Bennett 4, S.1:264). "McClelland was an old cattle baron in Benton County. And he had lots of cattle." A guess of the acreage of grazing land he used was "about 1500 acres" (Bennett 1, S.2:150). Dean Tatom confirms the local belief that McClelland "owned all the land west of Philomath out to Wren. And clear back across Mary's River" (Tatom 1, S.1:153).

A search for deeds recorded at the Benton County Courthouse with R. P. McClelland as a buyer or seller shows that he did indeed make his first land purchases in 1913. Ten dollars was the price for each of his first five acquisitions here. A quick scan of other deeds for property purchases in the years 1913 and 1914 revealed many for the same price, so perhaps ten dollars was a common asking price, for unimproved land as well as lots in town. Nevertheless, it seems amazing that he was able to make so many purchases of land, each for the same ten dollar price. They included: one town lot in Philomath, 100 acres north of "the County Road leading .. to Wren", 199 acres north of "the center of the channel of Mary's River," 288 acres, and, in February 1914, 69 acres. The last two also lay just north of the north fork of Mary's River, and all were for land lying west of Philomath and east of Wren. This is exactly where both Carl Bennett and Dean Tatom believed McClelland grazed his large herds of cattle. Just as astounding, and proof of McClelland's reputed wealth, are the prices he paid for the only other two purchases recorded in his name, both in late 1913. He paid five hundred dollars for a single town lot in Philomath, and, only fifteen days later, four thousand dollars for two lots in Corvallis! A 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map for Corvallis identifies these lots. On the map, they had only a house and barn on the property.
One wonders why such an astounding price was paid.

Today, the house now owned by the Bennetts is larger, since more rooms have been added onto the original, a spacious living room encompassing what was McClelland's large dining room. The water fountain Madge found so amusing as a young girl, when the Cone family lived there briefly, remains where it was first installed. "This was the dining room, where the water fountain is. And their dining room table sat next to the water fountain. And R. P. McClelland sat next to the water fountain, so he could open the valve, get a glass of water, with his meals. That's why that was put there... John Rickard, that we bought the place from, told me all about this" (Bennett 5, S.2:017). As Carl added, "You can see it was well-built." The original beams in the ceiling, and the lights, attest to the fact that the house was fairly fancy, for the time. The beams are recessed about six inches below the ceiling, and set in the intersections where the beams cross are beautiful cut glass lights. Carl believes that "R. P. McClelland's name is out on the walk out here" leading into the yard (Bennett 5, S.2:073), and other sources recall his name painted on the side of the barn.

McClelland reminds one of other wealthy turn of the century Americans, who built themselves mansions to proudly display their wealth, installing such odd luxuries as a water fountain in the house. "And the house was- they had... oh, full-length mirrors in the bathrooms and the doors. And the bedroom doors all had full-length, bevel-edged mirrors... And the hardwood floors, even in the kitchen" (Madge C1, S.2:153). To the small town of Philomath, with its college, its student boarders who rented rooms in town homes, and its small native population of townspeople who worked in lumbering trades, farming and ranching, and in various town
businesses, the 'Colonel' (as McClelland reputedly dubbed himself) must have seemed quite strange.

McClelland also hired cowboys, (whose names were carved in the bunkhouse walls, before the Bennetts tore it down), to take care of his large herd. Dean Tatom asserts that McClelland originally brought some cowboys from Montana, to work for him. One local man, "John Daniels" was McClelland's partner in promoting the rodeo. "And he ran the Feed Store." The building still stands today on 13th Street in Philomath, with its fading sign high on the south side of the building. "One block behind the Bank [which stood on Main Street] was the Feed Store. And that's John Daniels. The Feed Store is still there [today]" (Tatom 1, S.1:161). McClelland even had a loading chute built alongside the Railroad tracks, to load and unload stock. "They had the chutes down here [just below the house] where they could unload the cattle or load them back up on the train, whatever they wanted to [do]" Bennett 1, S.2:173). His cattle business must have been large, and perhaps he also marketed horses and other animals.

Fig. 36 Daniels, cowboy crew (presumably) and McClelland, circa 1915
Dean Tatom provided a photo, reproduced above, of nine men horseback at a spot very close to this railroad loading chute, there at the Junction. R. P. McClelland is the small man seated on the small horse on the far right, and to the far left is John Daniels. From the position of the two men, with Daniels to one side and apart from the rest, and McClelland on the other side of the group, it does appear that the two men were partners.

The other men between the two in this photo may have all worked for McClelland, but it is certain that at least three of them did. From left to right, after John Daniels, the next man is unidentified, (but he holds his lariat in a long loop, as if about to lasso a horse or a cow). Ed Merrick, a local Philomath cowboy, is third, and then there are the three Montana cowboys who certainly worked for McClelland, but remain nameless. Next are two more Philomath men, named Lee Mann and Sam Wyatt. Between Sam Wyatt and McClelland, sitting on the fence, is Will Scott. His farmhouse-east of both the mill yard at Flynn's (south of the road) and McClelland's loading chute- can be seen in the distance, near the center of the photo, just to the left of the elbow of the cowboy on the white horse. This photo was taken within a year or two of 1915, though the exact date is unknown.

These identifications were established by Dean Tatom (with the help of a local friend older than he, who knew most of the men's names except for the Montana cowboys- recalled only by their nicknames and thus unidentified). But Madge Savage also recalled a few things about the Philomath cowboys, when I showed her Dean's photo. "This Leo Mann, and Wyatt... I remember all those. They always had horses... And Ed Merrick" (Madge C1, S.1:139). Andrew Gellatly, who was born in 1925, recalled that Ed Merrick "used to live down the road [Gellatly Way] here. I knew Ed.
Big, tall- they called him 'Brick'. He was a big, red-headed guy... He had this ranch down here. He milked cows... Bob Jones lived on the same place... It was known as the 'Merrick place'... They had a big red barn with white batting... And then later Bob Jones lived there, for quite a few years. On the Merrick place. Bob bought cattle, and he rented the place. I mean he run his cattle operation out of it. And he kept horses. And he used to ride up and down the road all the time, Bob and his wife. Before they went over [to] ... Beaver Creek" (A. Gellatly 3, S.2:167).

The extensive grazing land owned by McClelland reminds one of the pioneer William Wyatt, who had accumulated huge land holdings in this area north of town by 1885. That is the year Fagan published his History of Benton County, in which is a brief biography of William Wyatt. As "one of the early pioneers of Benton County, as well as among his most prominent citizens, [he] was born in Buckinghamshire, England [in] 1816... Entering the [Oregon] territory by the Applegate route, Mr. Wyatt arrived in what is now Benton, November 1, 1847, and passed the first winter on the farm of the late Hon. Wayman St. Clair, on which since has arisen the neat little town of Philomath. Until the month of November, 1850, our subject was a simple lessor of land, but at that time he took up the donation claim on which he still resides, situated one mile to the north of the town just named, to which he has added from time to time until his landed possessions now aggregate three thousand seven hundred acres... " (Fagan 1885, 581).

"Well, I remember Bill Wyatt. He always came to town on weekends. And he was always on a horse, with a cowboy hat. And chaps and boots and everything. He didn't always wear chaps, but he did at times. And we had- the Campfire Girls always had a 'cooked food' sale on Saturdays.
And Bill Wyatt would come in and buy a cake, every time. He liked the good food. He'd ride in on horseback" (Madge C1, S.1:151). Bill Wyatt was "probably a son of William. He seemed like- he must have been in his thirties or forties when we had [bake sales]. " It is interesting that Sam Wyatt's name appears as a witness on two deeds for land McClelland bought, both dated March 25, 1913. He must have accompanied McClelland to Corvallis, where the deeds were recorded; one wonders if he came as an associate or as an employee (or both).

Leo Mann "was a brother or cousin of all the other Manns that lived here in Philomath" (Madge C1, S.1:213). Madge attended school with Ladd Daniels, the son of John Daniels, and so is one generation younger than the cowboys pictured here. Andrew Gellatly, in another generation younger yet than Madge, also knew "Laddie" Daniels, who "used to live out by Greenberry" (A. Gellatly 3, S.2:157). William Scott, the man sitting on the fence in this photo, was possibly himself a pioneer, or so both Madge and Andrew believed. Scott's house, visible in the background, "was really a nice, big house," as Madge knew. To Andrew also, it is "the Scott place" that stands out in his memory. Will Scott owned "the big house that's still there" (A. Gellatly 3, S.2:235). The white house can be seen, north of the highway and barely west of town, today.

Besides his Montana cowboys, it is highly probable that some local men and boys worked for McClelland, as they did for many other local stock-owners who did not have herds as large as McClelland's. Nevertheless, many local ranchers needed help managing their animals. Whether such work characterized a local person as a real "cowboy" or not seems questionable, though. Like Dean Tatom, Carl Bennett didn't know many cowboys when he moved to Philomath in 1929. "No, not really."
All loggers" (Bennett 5, S.1, L.417). But he agrees when I ask him, that cowboys were around. "Oh, yes." And he reminds me of McClelland's bunkhouse cowboy roster. Juanita too says she has "no memory" of many cowboys among local Philomath males. "Of course, they came in for that rodeo" (Bennett 5, S.1:447). Cowboys often were born on rural ranches, not seeing much of towns until older, and part of the 'entertainment' value of rodeos was, simply, that they were held in towns, places where one mixed with crowds of people. For local Philomath town residents, most of whom, as Carl Bennett noted, all "knew everybody in town" (Bennett 1, S.1:100), the crowd at this rodeo was what made it history. As Madge put it, "And so many people. The crowds were thick." (Madge C1, S.2:015).

Though Carl Bennett was not born in Philomath, his wife Juanita was. She recalled one of the last rodeos McClelland promoted, before they were suspended, as America entered World War I. (President Woodrow Wilson signed the declaration of war by which America reluctantly entered World War I on April 6, 1917.) "The last rodeo was in 1917, as I remember. My Grandfather had a team of workhorses that he always entered in the rodeo. And usually, they won. They were wonderful horses..." "I think they were Belgian, ... big workhorses." The number of large workhorses, as big as a Morgan horse, kept by local residents for work tasks was "many more then in those days... Everybody had their horses. They had to plow, and" help in many labor-intensive tasks too difficult for human power alone (Bennett 4, S.1:029). The rodeo contest for workhorses would involve "pulling. They would add weight to a... sled that they pulled behind the horses, and keep adding weight until they couldn't pull it anymore."

After this year (possibly 1917), “they didn't have the rodeo anymore” for reasons unknown to Juanita.
My suggestion that perhaps local cowboys enlisted in the Army "could have had something to do with it" (Bennett 4, S.1:065). Why this rodeo stopped being held is a mystery to many local sources, who can only recall that McClelland just disappeared from town. Dean Tatom is more definite: "...McClelland left and went back to Montana. My cousin Dorvil Bevins knew McClelland real well. Dorvil has told me some about this, too. He told me how McClelland was here as a remittance man from England. He got a thousand dollars a month to stay out of England. And he came down from Montana" (Tatom 1, S.1:134). Presumably McClelland found he preferred Montana over Philomath, for 'cow country.' (See Appendix M.)

The assertion by Mr. Tatom, (which he bases on second-hand accounts from family members who were there, at this rodeo), of a short span of only two or three years, before McClelland and his partner mysteriously gave up promoting a local rodeo, is strong. After this perhaps John Daniels tried to hold it just one more year, and quit. Daniels probably first got involved in the rodeo with McClelland not because he himself was a cowboy or bossed a crew of cowboys (as did McClelland) but because "he had money. And he had the Feed Store. The two kind of go together- the Feed Store and the rodeo (Tatom 1, S.1:334). Perhaps it was simply not profit-able for Daniels to continue promoting the rodeo with the "Philomath Round-Up Association," especially after McClelland, along with his financial backing, left town. If Carl Bennett is correct in his supposition that McClelland used his railroad loading chute to have rodeo animals (such as famous broncos and bulls) delivered, then this may have been an additional financial burden for Daniels to try to keep up. "I think a lot of his rodeo material was shipped in by rail."
That was the easiest way to transport his cattle [and other animals] at that time- [before] trucks, like they do today" (Bennett.4,S.1:245).

"I heard that name when I was a child, on the River. My father used to talk about Yakima Canutt" (Van .2, S.1:028). Van Smith's wife Florence recalled the name of this famous stunt-riding cowboy who gained notoriety working for Hollywood. As an older man who became a professional stunt crew director, he was in charge of the horses and the chariot- racing scenes in Charlton Heston's famous movie, 'Ben Hur.' This white cowboy, from a rural ranch in the Snake River Hills of Washington, not only competed (and won many prizes) in the famous Pendleton Roundup, but also participated in one of the first local rodeos held in Philomath. Carl Bennett saw this cowboy's name carved in the wall of the bunkhouse near the barns and main house of McClelland's when he bought the property. Whether Canutt himself carved the name, or perhaps one of the cowboys working for McClelland did- one who'd seen and admired Yakima in action on a bucking bronco- will never be known. Dean Tatom believes that he had seen a photograph taken of Canutt, "in relation to the [Philomath] rodeo." Though to a star cowboy like Canutt, "it wasn't a big deal for him maybe" to compete in Philomath, "I don't think there's any question" that he was indeed here (Tatom 1, S.1:203).

Canutt does not specifically mention Philomath in his autobiography, *Stunt Man*. Born in 1895, Yakima began riding the wildest broncos in his home community when still a young boy. He began rodeoing at sixteen, and it is certain he came down across the Columbia River to try his hand at some Oregon rodeos. He mentions winning, in 1915, a 2nd prize at Pendleton "and firsts in a great many small shows."
ROUND-UP

Cowmen's Carnival
at PHILOMATH, ORE.,
June 22, 23 and 24, 1916
Cut'er Loose
Let 'em Ramble
THREE BIG DAYS
Of Guaranteed Sensations
Big Horse Sale, Steer Bull-dogging
Steer Riding, Bucking Contest
Marverick, Relay and Potato Races

Many other special features: Wild horses from Eastern Oregon and Northern Nevada. Fine grandstand, new this year, seating capacity of 10,000 people.

BUFFALO VERNON, Noted Bull-Dogger and Steer Roper
BRONCHO BOB, THE NOTED TRICK RIDER
LOW ROUND-TRIP FARES from Klamath Falls north
$2,500 IN CASH PRIZES AND TWO SADDLES WORTH $500
FREE ATTRACTIONS
Balloon Ascension every day, Dance every night, Carnival Attractions.

THE BIG WILD WEST SHOW OF WESTERN OREGON
Come and camp for three days. Plenty grass, good water, and a real old rawhide time. Accommodations here and trains home every night if you prefer.

GENERAL ADMISSION 50c
GRAND STAND 75c and $1.00, BOX SEATS $1.50

For any and all information, apply to
SECRETARY PHILOMATH ROUND-UP ASSOCIATION

Fig. 37. Corvallis "Daily Gazette-Times" ad, 1916 Round-Up
My name was becoming better known and I started receiving letters from rodeo promoters" (Canutt 1979, 46). Newspaper accounts identify 1916 as the second, and climax year for this event. It began in 1915, as the Philomath horse show. The brief span of years during which McClelland promoted the rodeo, according to newspaper accounts, is 1915 through 1916. His partner John Daniels may have "tried to run it another year, and didn't have the- whatever- to keep going", after "McClelland left" town (Tatom 1, S.1:211). (See Appendix M.) Apparently McClelland was one of those rodeo promoters who offered enough prize money to entice famous rodeo cowboys and cowgirls to come on up into the Willamette Valley.

Yakima Canutt was and is, to many cowboys and other Americans still alive today, a legendary figure. The story that Van Smith told me only adds to his legend. Van, as a young boy, had a dramatic meeting with this famous cowboy during one Philomath rodeo. Canutt "got hurt. He roped steers. Got pulled over the racetrack [enclosure]. Got his leg mashed. He gave me fifty cents to ride downtown and get him a bottle of linament, to put on his leg" (Van 2, S.1:013). It would be fitting that such a young, famous rodeo cowboy should attend an event that, in Philomath history, is also legendary (though perhaps little known, today). It symbolizes a side of Philomath history nearly ignored by the great success of local men such as Rex Clemons and T. J. Starker, with their timberland acquisitions, profits, and sales.

The successes of many other Philomath men and families, like Carl Bennett, were all derived from the lumber industry which grew there. One other side of Philomath history is the overwhelming numbers of both town and rural residents who farmed or ranched, at least part-time.
Many, perhaps most, have had to practice several skills to make a living. The local rodeos, and particularly this legendary Round-Up, all pay tribute to ranchers, farmers, and the multiple skills and struggles of many early Philomath settlers.

Yakima Canutt did compete in the 1917 Round-Up, winning "the $350 saddle big prize," while "Bertha Blancett won out in the bucking bronc contest," as reported in a very brief front page account for the Daily Gazette, on Sat., June 23, 1917. Surprisingly, it was Buffalo Vernon who was, at least to the newspapers, the biggest draw in both 1916 and 1917. He was the "champion roper and bull dogger" in the 1917 Round-Up and the lead name in the 1916 advertisements for the event, "Buffalo Vernon, Noted Bull-Dogger and Steer Roper."

Carl Bennett was involved in logging, working for Rex Clemens before Rex helped him start his own company, but he enjoyed attending rodeos, as they came and went on through the 1940's. He was born in 1914, in Falls City, and did not move to Philomath until 1929, but he liked visiting his Grandfather Theodore ('Thede') Harris, who lived in Philomath (and also worked at Griswold and Grier's Mill). It was during one such visit that his Grandfather took him, as "just a little snot-nosed kid", to see the big rodeo held north of the town's train depot (Bennett 1, S.2:269) "I forget what year that was, they had their last rodeo. But that was Rodeo in there ... [from] back in the early 1900's... And it was a pretty good size rodeo. At that time" (Bennett 1, S.2:055). That rodeo quit long before Carl's family moved to Philomath, in 1929, when he began attending high school and working at the mill owned by Griswold and Greer. Perhaps this was one of the last rodeos McClelland's partner Daniels tried to hold, before 1920.
Carl does not recall any rodeos in the Philomath of the 1930s, (during the Depression), nor many local cowboys.

While the number of local cowboys was few, and men working in one aspect or another of the lumber industry steadily increased, still the rodeos regained their local popularity, in the 1940s. "Oh, sure. You bet. That was the big attraction." Carl recalled himself attending a popular rodeo operated by "Lyle Winney, who had that rodeo going! ... In fact, Lyle had a saw mill out on the west side of town here, for several years. And then he finally got into the rodeo business. And they kept that going for- oh golly, I don't know. Several years, [beginning] around 1940-around there sometime. It was a real nice rodeo. Lyle had a grandstand built. And it was a nice rodeo ground" (Bennett 1, S.2:110). Without any carnival rides or other added entertainment, "it was all rodeo. And lots of people come. Lots of horses. They put on a pretty good little rodeo," with bull-riding and other typical rodeo contests. It was located about halfway between Philomath and Corvallis, north of the highway, across from where Country Club Drive meets Highway 20. Dean Tatom believes that Winney's rodeo actually had a short-lived history, being held only for a few years, in the late 1940s. Juanita Bennett also recalls Winney's rodeo as happening in "the late '40s" (Bennett 4, S.1:097).

Madge Savage also recalled a local group who named themselves the 'Trail-riders,' in the 1940s. This group not only enjoyed riding together up nearby forest trails on overland trips, but were also participants in Lyle Winney's rodeo. "People in the 'Trail-riders- my daughter and her husband both went to- They all had horses and belonged to the 'Trail-riders'... And then they all were active in the rodeo" (Madge C1, S.2:129). Winney's rodeo was not as grand as the famous Round-up had been.
Being smaller, it was one of many such "rodeos they called 'em- the smaller ones. And then our kids competed in those." (Madge C1, S.2:140) Another cowboy named Jack Corwin who lived and continues to live, off and on, in the Philomath area, recalled driving with his partner to compete in many such small rodeos held throughout Oregon in the 1950s.

The 'Trail-riders' were "just a group of people pursuing things, for fun. They'd go up Mary's Peak" (Madge C1, S.2:221). In Winney's rodeo, Madge's son-in-law "used to... [compete in the] bulldogging, ... too. He would [have been] in his late teens, [I guess]" (Madge C1, S.2:203).

Madge confirmed that Winney's rodeo was not only very popular with local folks, but many local cowboys and cowgirls were participants. "It attracted a lot of people. And so many people took part in it; you have as many as they did, doing all different tricks." Though a more modern rodeo than those held in the early 1900s, still it did not have carnival rides or other entertainment there. "No, they didn't need that" (Madge C1, S.2:193).

Madge recalled one specific trick performed by two local men. "They would do things like- with the bullwhip tryin' to get the cigarette... Leon Gray was [from the pioneer family of Grays, who settled in the foothills south of Philomath close to what later became the Gellatly's property], and he married my niece. He was the one that held the cigarette in his mouth. And my son-in-law snapped it with the bullwhip ... out of his mouth" (Madge C1, S.2:052).

So apparently rodeos in Philomath have been repeatedly organized and promoted, only to be discontinued for one reason or another after several annual events, but then resurrected once again.
This hypothesis was confirmed by Dean Tatom, when I first interviewed him in 1997, and also by Madge Savage. She recalled, "They had about two years of that, too. [Winney] had a rodeo for about two different years" (Madge C1, S.2:129). In the summer of 1997, the Philomath Frolic and Rodeo was held (as one in a series of rodeos held by the Northwest Professional Rodeo Association) at a location south of town. As the forty-fourth annual rodeo held here, it continues to draw local people as both audience and rodeo contestants (among the cowboy and cowgirl contestants from other towns and states as well).

"It wasn't really a rodeo. It was a horse show. When the Philomath Frolic started, there was a riding group called the Philomath Buckaroos. And Clarence and Inez Marstall started it... And out at the end of 12th Street, on past where [the first] rodeo was at, they had land and a little arena out there. And little stands for maybe a hundred people. And a clubhouse. And they started the Philomath Frolic. And then it was successful enough that they'd have a little horse show out there. A little barrel-racing ..." (Tatom 1, S.2:080).

Dean was unsure what year this began, but since the forty-fourth annual Frolic and Rodeo was held in 1997, it must have been in the early 1950s, after Lyle Winney's rodeo quit. As it grew quite popular, the Marstalls "asked our Lions Club to assist them, because it was too much for ... one little group to do. So the Lions Club and the Buckaroos put on the Frolic for about ten or twelve or fifteen years. And then it kind of died out. And then it got rejuvenated and became what it is today" (Tatom 1, S.2:127). This historical pattern of repeated rodeos, many very short-lived, has caused "a lot of confusion" among local residents.
"There's a lot of people who think when you talk about the first rodeo, you're talking about the one in 1946... That was Lyle Winney's" (Tatom 1, S.1:184) Actually, "it wasn't [the first]. This [current] rodeo is actually the fourth rodeo or horse show for Philomath" (Tatom 1, S.2:137).

The historical roots of the rodeo, for Philomath, derive from the earliest Euro-American pioneer settlers in the area. There was widespread ranching, marketing in stock animals, and reliance on horses (among other animals) for both transportation and work. While farmers and ranchers easily outnumbered cowboys, it does not appear that skilled cowboys rivalled in numbers the young men who learned to work "in the woods" or in a mill, especially after the introduction of motorized transportation vehicles in the 1920s. Eastern Oregon is where the real widespread cattle and stock ranching took off. It was Philomath's proximity to the natural resource of wood that guided this town's future, especially after the first few decades of the 1900s. It may have been a natural choice for a young Philomath boy, brought up quite likely in a farming or ranching family owning at least one horse for travelling purposes (and probably other stock animals as well), to become a cowboy. But 'cowboying' seems to have been more of an entertainment than a real part of local life, especially after World War I, with the slow growth of jobs and greater opportunities in the many aspects of the lumber industry. That is where many local residents, young and old, found work.

One can assume that, especially in the years before World War I, local boys and girls, young and old, would gather in impromptu groups to race each other on horseback. This kind of activity would be common in a small town where, even much later in the 1940s, informal groups such as the 'Trail-riders' would enjoy outings together. It would be a natural thing
to do, when all the roads were dirt, horses were the primary mode of travel, and local communities were tight-knit, everybody knowing each other. Perhaps Bob Jones recalled one such local spot where people often had fun racing their horses against each other, when they had to go to town and so came to meet each other. "It was held right behind- well, about where the Bank is... the Citizen's Bank, in Philomath... Moses had a store [before the Bank was built there] right on the corner, and it was in behind that [on the southeast corner of Main and 13th Streets]." However, at the time he recalled this, I mistakenly believed Bob was referring to McClelland and Daniels' famous Philomath Round-Up.

Even before settlement began in Benton County in 1845, there were cattle in the area, and some of them were wild, most perhaps strays from Spanish cattle trailed up into Oregon country from the California herds. Those cattle "were especially well suited to the Oregon frontier. Their willingness and ability to fend for themselves was particularly useful to men who had many other obligations to contend with. Not the least of their advantages were their long, sharp horns and aggressive spirit... Moreover, when pastured on the fine grasslands of the Willamette Valley, they attained moderate weight and made excellent beef." These were the "black cattle" who "roamed at will... [and] ran half wild, a terror to anyone afoot. Once or twice a year riders brought all the animals of a neighborhood together for branding" (Bowen 1978, 80). It is unknown if such roundups occurred in the Philomath area, though they may have.

Madge told me a funny story (which might not have seemed so amusing, at the time, to her and her mother), involving cattle presumably belonging to McClelland, still on his property after he had left town, and the Cones lived in his house. "There used to be wild blackberries.
They grew] behind the house. And we'd pick 'em and can 'em by the pint, you know- thick. And one time when we were picking, one of the cows- a Holstein cow- started chasing us. And we ran and ran, my mother and I. And finally got to the fence and got over it before it got there. [Laughter]" (Madge R1, S.1:329).

Details concerning the location where the earliest Round-Up was actually held, one half-mile north of Main Street, and further north where the first Buckaroos' horse shows were held also tell much about the community's historical roots in stock raising. The earliest Round-Up grandstand and track (seen in two pictures in Appendices L and M) was located "to the right of 12th Street, up to Hauser Lane. Melvin told me that the track was still there, in his property" (Tatom 1, S.1:175; 075). Ironically, it was situated on property Melvin Hawkins purchased many decades after this legendary pre-World War I Round-Up was held there. "The Wyatts homesteaded here way back," in this area on the north side of town. Wyatt "drove cattle up there every year," to the meadow atop Mary's Peak. Of the hilly oak and meadowland north of Philomath, "he owned all this land ... clear on out to Wren, practically, all the hills back here... And then he divided it up with his kids. So when I was a kid this was the John Wyatt place. And there was the Springer place on the other end, which was his daughter" (Tatom 1, S.1:338). Dean Tatom's father told him about the pioneer, Wyatt. "He would run his cattle up there on top of the Peak in the summer time, and then bring them back in the fall. One of his daughters got killed on that drive. Thrown from her horse and hung up in the stirrup, and dragged to death" (Tatom 1, S.1:353).

It is important to recall that Philomath, while close to the upland forest of Mary's Peak and Alsea Mountain, actually lies within the Valley.
It was the hilly grassland dotted with oak openings that McClelland purchased, apparently when he first arrived, in 1913. Here he could find pasture for his cattle, just as Wyatt and others presumably did before him. From the very first, pioneers praised the good grazing land of the Valley, where all kinds of stock, including sheep, could find pasture. It was on through the 1930s (and after World War II) that Dean Tatom would see large flocks of sheep passing by the farm where he was born in 1925, just north of Philomath. This farm was located on the second of the only two 'old roads' connecting Philomath and Corvallis, (before the paving of Highway 20/34, now the primary thoroughfare cutting a straight line of only six miles between the town, and the much larger city of Corvallis).

West Hills Road, continuing down 9th Street into the west side of Philomath, was the old, winding and hilly northern route, used by all manner of wagons, buggies, people horseback, and pedestrians. Sheepherders also used it, in the 1930s. "In the spring of the year the flocks of sheep would come through. They'd have- oh several hundred sheep- fill the road from side to - fence to fence. And there'd be a sheepherder, and his two dogs. We'd have to run get the gates closed, so they didn't get into our field. The dogs'd run on top of the sheep, and herd 'em, you know. Then in the fall, they'd come back. I don't know where they went for the winter." "They brought them down to Philomath. And where they went from there, I don't know." The sheep were headed north of Philomath in the spring, presumably to graze nearby (where even today stock animals are pastured). Dean's wife, who was born and raised on a farm southwest of Corvallis, also "remembers sheep (flocks coming by) down there too" [Tatom 2, S.2:029).
Even if there weren't many cowboys around, in the Philomath of the 1930s, farms and ranches were still very common. "Everybody raised grain" and kept stock, even those families with a son or father who 'worked in the woods', or some other lumbering job (Tatom.2, S.1:059). Dean Tatom, like many other local sources, asserts that work in the lumber industry of Philomath was the #1 source of local employment. Merely riding a horse or raising stock would not be considered being a "cowboy" to him, and so he does not recall knowing many cowboys when growing up in Philomath. Though many people rode and used horses for many tasks, the kind of feats real "cowboys" performed at rodeos were a rare sight. To his friends and himself, "there wasn't much entertainment. Anything, I mean any entertainment was- was a pretty big deal. You bet. The Fourth of July, when they'd have the greased pole climb, for the kids... Maybe win a small pig. Climb a pole, (chuckling), covered with lard, you know? And there'd always be a parade and there'd be horses and buggies and a hay ride and wagons, oh, with crepe paper all over 'em. Like [in] this picture. Anything was a big deal" (Tatom.2, S.1:070). In a day before television or widespread ownership of radios, rodeo cowboys were an amazing sight in town. "Although I don't think the citizens around here looked up to the rodeo cowboys, they were kind of like a carnival" (Tatom 2, S.1:089).

The notoriety McClelland's Round-Up brought to Philomath put the town in an unusual spotlight. There was an interesting apparent rivalry between Philomath, as a rural and primarily working-class town and Corvallis, as a city with a self-image of being modern, progressive, and full of the boosterism business spirit which reached into many American cities,
especially in the decade after World War I. Melvin Hawkins alluded to this rivalry several times over the course of three years. Not an intense problem, it seemed more like a predictable worry, that the city and the country here would often have different points of view, leading to disagreements. It is ironic that Philomath, originally and up until 1929 still a town centered around its Philomath College, was upstaged in this regard by Corvallis. In 1868, a professor from the Southern Methodist College in Corvallis named William W. Moreland, who was also "Clerk of the [Oregon] House of Representatives ... helped Corvallis College be selected to receive the benefits of the Morrill (College Land-Grant) Act of 1862." The state "took over full control of Corvallis College in 1885" (Munford n.d., 6;9). And thus Oregon Agricultural College (O.A.C.) was born. This in turn grew into the huge Oregon State University (O.S.U.) around which the city of Corvallis evolved. While the College in Corvallis was growing, attracting noted professors and state backing, the Colleges in Philomath remained small, private ones, struggling for funding. Finally, in 1929, Philomath College closed her doors.

Despite the creation of its College with the original platting of the town by the United Brethren religious faith, Philomath remained a very rural, small town well past the mid-20th century. Even today, in 1998, Philomath is a "town" despite the fact that the recent rapid growth in Corvallis population has begun to 'spill over' into Philomath. That apparent rivalry, between city and nearby town, can be seen in the reportage of the Corvallis newspaper, the "Daily Gazette-Times," describing the actual Philomath Round-Up events as well as the plans made by local Philomath people in organization and promotion (the business part essential to all such roundups and rodeos).
The pompous attitude of Corvallis city residents towards 'mere working-class' Philomath settlers is evident in the Corvallis newspaper reportage. The title of one front page article in the "Daily Gazette-Times," for Saturday, June 16, 1917 is: "Philomath All Swelled Up Over Coming Rodeo." Also evident is how far removed from the dirty, down-to-earth lives of husky cowboys did the city feel itself to be, at least through the eyes of Corvallis reporters.

The news article speaks for itself: "This little city, with its normal population of some five or six hundred, is swelling itself proudly in gay anticipation of the big crowds that are certain to come next week. To be host to a crowd of from eight to ten thousand people every day during the three days of the roundup will be no small task; but Philomath is getting ready to do her best... Already, some of the advanced forces have begun to arrive. Cowboys and cowgirls, in their broad-brimmed sombreros, gay-colored chaps and fancy trappings, are making their appearance in growing numbers. Sunday morning Dell Blanchett, with the 25 expert members of his daring crew, the pick and cream of bunch-grass land, will arrive here from Pendleton. He will bring two [railroad] carloads of horses and cowpunchers' paraphernalia. After him, will come John Spain and his bunch from Eastern Oregon. Buffalo Vernon, the world's champion bulldogger, will be here... These, with Ella Merryfield, Katherine Wilken, Lee Caldwell, Josephine Sherry and Jackson Sundown will form a galaxy of ropers, riders, bulldoggers and trick performers ... which are seen only at such real roundups as Pendleton and Philomath."

This Corvallis reporter continues with his sincere-sounding hyperbole, (which must have gotten quite a laugh around the evening campfires near the Philomath rodeo grounds): "The three days' show will be the old
West, with its romance, its bright colors, its glory, its daring, its courage, skill and bravery brought down to date. It will be a happy blending of the old and the new. And in all Oregon there is no better place to stage such a show than Philomath. Here, with the green carpet of the valley for a floor and the fir-clad hills of the Coast Range for a background, is a setting fit only for such men and women of red blood and courage as will participate."

Fig. 38. This ad for the 1917 show appeared in the Corvallis paper.
Then the article reassures those city residents of Corvallis that not only will the roundup be safe (and civilized) but also that it is being organized by sound, sensible businessmen such as can be found in any good, upstanding 'city' in America: "No Rough Stuff. And the show will be clean. Booze is taboo. Ditto, rough stuff of any force, shape or fashion. The men who manage the affairs of the Philomath roundup are men of conscience. They are not in the association to make money... It is to be an ever-growing institution, standing for bigger and bigger things as the years pass. -So these men feel they have a reputation at stake. They are in this thing because of their love for red-blooded sport- sport that calls for nerve, that demands clean blood, clear eyes and steady hands. They want to stage a show that anybody can visit, without compunction."

Philomath was not then, and has never become a 'city' with the same pace and intensity of Corvallis. The Round-Up did become a successful event rivalling the Round-Ups held annually since 1910 in Pendleton, but it began very modestly. In May of 1915 a two-day 'Horse Show' was held, with a livestock auction, parade, and a baseball game between Corvallis firemen and local Philomath boys. There were rodeo sports including "races, roping, ... snubbing, bull-dogging, ... riding steers and bucking horses, pulling teams" and "several stunts at the main building at Philomath College" performed for the crowd by the Corvallis firemen ("Daily Gazette-Times," Sat. May 22, 1915, p. 1). To transform this event into the Philomath Round-Up of the next year required energy, planning, and money, but not the kind Corvallis reporters expected (characteristic of the newly emerging
progressive business spirit of the time) described in the 1916 Corvallis paper.

Fig. 39. This ad appeared in the “Daily Gazette-Times” for the first (1915) show.
Reports of an enormous crowd of "12,000 to 15,000 persons, all worked up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm over the thrilling sports" were especially amazing for a town "the size of Philomath, or [even a town] twice its size."

"It takes something besides money to turn a trick like that. It takes brains, energy, determination, and that something we dominate [sic] as 'pep' and 'zip'. Philomath seems to have all these things in a remarkable degree. No better wild west show was ever given anywhere. No better events have ever been pulled off at Pendleton, and Pendleton's second annual performance was not in the same class with the Philomath affair."

It would have been unthinkable, absurd to plan such a Round-Up in the city of Corvallis, and it was equally absurd to characterize Philomath as a town full of modern, sophisticated business boosters, full of "'pep' and 'zip'." Philomath was a likely place for such a Round-Up with its rural setting, its many ranchers and working cowboys (and cowgirls) who could be expected to enjoy seeing their rodeo counterparts and might possibly even enter some of the contests themselves. That so many Corvallis people attended could have surprised the Philomath men who organized this event (though they did declare a special 'Corvallis day' each year). But if to Philomath people the rodeo sports were "kind of like a carnival" as Dean Tatom believed, then the city reporters saw "the great arena ... filled with bucking broncs, wild and ferocious mustangs fresh from mountain fastnesses, and cattle as vicious as tigers." In Corvallis, "all the stores of the city will close at noon" so that everyone could attend the second day's events, after Wednesday June 20, 1917, when the "Philomath Roundup opened up with a whoop this morning ... this magnificent fantasmagoria was begun."
While many local residents, both those who rode horses or raised stock and those who did not, enjoyed seeing rodeo cowboys in action, it is vital not to discount the real dangers involved in the serious competitions. Perhaps it was the danger which limited the number of those who actually got involved in travelling the circuit of small rodeos held in many small towns, the size of Philomath. They were probably held throughout the Pacific Northwest, but that history may not yet have been gathered and written. For many towns, working cowhands, as well as young boys and girls who knew how to ride and learned to tend stock animals of many kinds, were a common sight. But those who might become rodeo cowboys and cowgirls were few in number.

Jack Corwin today lives nearby Philomath, and “in Philomath I’ve lived off and on through all these years, when I was ridin’ the bulls” (Corwin, 186). He became a rodeo cowboy after learning to capture wild horses in eastern Oregon, which he sold at auctions in Salem after ‘green-breaking’ them. It was around 1955 that he began rodeoing. “I was between 18 and 20 years old, when I started in rodeoin’ “ (Corwin, 147). He began doing this after being asked to join, as a partner, with another local cowboy. They began travelling to compete in many small rodeos. “I ran into Larry Mahan... He had been into rodeoing and he wanted me to go in ... with him. So that’s when we started... I started ridin’- I rode bareback. And then we rode the steers. And then I eventually worked myself up to big bulls. And then we went to, gosh, I can’t remember all the names [of the rodeo towns where they went, to compete]” (Corwin, 134). But Mr. Corwin quit rodeoing after two years, (only to begin again in the 1970s, competing in the ‘pinning’ events). “Like I said, I went to [rodeos] two years. I was gainin’ up my points on the bulls.
And then [his partner] wanted me to go on with that. So one day I just happened to see this one [bull rider], and he was just, you know, he was in a heck of a mess from it [injured badly]. And that just kind of threwed me the other way. I just kind of got out of rodeoing” (Corwin, 175).

Despite the danger involved, rodeo competition offered those cowboys who chose to try it a chance to travel and to win prize money. When Jack Corwin began rodeoing, it was due to the persuasion of a cowboy who knew the rodeo life and needed a partner. For the next two years, life was very exciting for the young Corwin. The cowboy who talked him into trying rodeoing “was about the same age... He was a rodeo cowboy man. And I started to join in with him, and tried to be with the rodeo, you know... We travelled together... We just took the car... We just travelled with our own equipment. And we didn’t even have any horses or nothin’. You know, we just got in and we just had... a certain time when this rodeo [for example] was supposed to be open. Then we just went... to that rodeo. You know, because we had to practice, we had to score up our points, to go into the big times. See, that’s the way it worked out. And when you gained those points, you know- like, with so many winnings and stuff like this, then that’s when... you brought yourself into bigger money... And that’s the way... you had to go, and all the way we made our loot” (Corwin, 153). Corwin was one of the lucky rodeo cowboys who had fun and won money, never being seriously injured.

Madge Savage knew about one of the unlucky ones. “My daughter had a friend who was married to a cowboy that was in the rodeo. And he was the clown. And he got hurt so many times, she finally left him. He was just continually broken up, his bones were broken up (Madge C1, S.2:296).
For most youngsters who loved riding horses and using their skills with stock, it was enough to become working cowhands, and perhaps compete in one or two rodeo events in one's home town. To start travelling the rodeo circuit was exciting but dangerous, and to many men and women ranchers rodeo contestants seemed, as Dean Tatom believes, to be daredevils, a rare type of human being.

Before the twentieth century, it seems that working cowhands could expect to be paid wages in cash (since so many were travelling as part of an expedition to buy and sell stock- using cash- with local ranchers). They could also look forward to seeing new regions, and would have learned the skills needed as youngsters on the family ranch. In contrast with this, work in the lumbering trades often meant long waits to be paid, low wages when and if one was actually paid, and hard, dangerous work in the woods. There were all the uncertainties associated with frequent mill fires, weather conditions, poor and rough transportation networks, and generally low prices on the fluctuating local, state, and regional lumber markets. So it is possible that more boys grew up, like Bob Jones and Van Smith, to be cowboys than in later years, especially after the Depression, when the lumber industry prospered.

Perhaps it is a mistake borne of the modern proclivity for an individual to practice one specialized, professional skill that one tries to pigeonhole late nineteenth and early twentieth century Philomath people as either cowhands or loggers. In fact, many were both, and even learned to use other skills as well. Many farmers and ranchers logged trees themselves in order to clear their own land for farming, planting fruit orchards, building homes, barns, and sheds, etc.
Many loggers, mill workers, and lumber crew people also worked for farmers and ranchers, when it was common to hire neighbors to help with numerous tasks. What may seem to have been a rivalry between distinct groups of working people should probably be viewed as a diversity of skills and occupations found not only in this one town but also often as part of the knowledge of many individual people, who learned many practical survival skills. While rodeos provided a well-earned entertainment, and highly competitive rodeo cowboys and cowgirls were a rare sight, raising, riding, and laboring with horses and other stock animals were a part of everyday life for many local families.
Chapter 9: Conclusion

History begins with people, and it isn’t surprising that here in America, as in most countries and societies, people have a lot of history to relate. People know their own history, with regard to personal adventures, relatives, various personal triumphs and defeats. But in the Philomath, Oregon area, many share a deep history reaching back several generations, in families still living where their founding pioneer grandparents chose Donation Land Claims. Indeed, their history is very rich. They share it through this muse, this attempt to piece it together. I have described dramatic individuals and events, and common subsistence and income-earning skills which ‘pop up’ in the history of this one very small, relatively isolated and distinctive rural area. Together, both the common and the distinctive elements compose one picture of the many progressive changes which have marked the economic history in this small region.

Hopefully, this history has enlightened readers who find history fascinating and also academics to whom history is a serious study, capable of framing reasons why societies large and small have taken the actions and made the choices they did. The details and human portraits for this area should bring alive what continues to be very much a ‘living history’ here, and will remain so as long as pioneer descendants choose to remain living in this locale. I can offer only ‘glimpses’ of Philomath rural history, rather than a broad, all-inclusive history of the many facets of life here. However, these ‘glimpses’ have a power and a distinctive quality which should influence how we understand the geography. In this locale, the physical geography has changed since 1845 when the first pioneer settlers arrived.
But it has not yet been much obscured by the changes time has wrought. Economic development continues to be (as it always has been here) a roller coaster ride, slow in growing but awfully quick in descending, when unexpected catastrophes suddenly strike (such as Sam Ewing's illness, or a mill fire). Economic depressions (such as the Panic of 1893, or the Depression of the 1930s) can also have long term consequences.

Geography continues to present both limitations and potentials to local residents planning or engaged in various economic pursuits. Though ranching and lumbering are no longer the primary economic pursuits they once were, neither has disappeared. Farm land retains a high priority in land use decisions, and local residents continue to graze sheep, cattle, and newer species (such as llamas and emus). Local organic farms have found an expanding market as their profits soar. Local mills, loggers, lumber companies and associated retail business and trades, though diminished from their heyday of the 1950s, continue to earn many regional families a healthy income. Local society too has changed and grown since the first half of the twentieth century and before, when local oral informants remember knowing everyone they met, in town. But when we interact with each other and drive past familiar rural vistas today, it should not be difficult to resurrect a clear picture of the early pioneer society and the land they found here, only a century and a half ago.

Corvallis was the place most commerce centered on, from the first days of pioneer settlement in the area. Philomath was not platted until twenty years later, and slowly grew as a small farm town, with herds of cattle, sheep, pigs and many other animals, including strong work horses, owned by people in the town and outlying rural communities. The next towns located high in the Coast Range past Philomath westward, Wren
and Kings Valley, became logging towns while Philomath before 1910 was a slightly bigger farm town with two small United Brethren colleges and a new mill yard nearby at Flynn, in a low Willamette Valley farming and ranching district.

The higher foothill lands along the east side of the Coast Range were, in a way, resisting all efforts to "improve" them. The steepness of the Coast Range and the thick fern, salal, berries, and other brush, including alder and maple hardwood trees, often made the faller's work and the removal of bucked up logs a tricky proposition. Here in a very particular way, the impracticalities or hazards posed by the land's geography made logging difficult and even impeded the progress of logging activity into the Mary's Peak and Alsea Mountain area. The specific geographical characteristics, combined with the climate, are primary factors for the resistance of this area to the quick and massive development of lumbering seen in coastal areas of the Pacific Northwest, such as the Puget Sound, Washington and Coos Bay, Oregon regions.

There wealthy capitalists from other parts of the U. S., including California, the Midwest states of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and New England (Johansen 1957, 462; Cox 1974, 31-3) all found an easy entrance into the extraction of Pacific Northwest timber resources, primarily for their own profit. The coastal forests, and the quick and easy ocean access to larger markets sped the development of the coastal logging industry in the late nineteenth century. The history of Pacific Northwest lumber camps, peopled by mostly single men with few options other than work as wage slaves, feeding the distant timber markets and coffers of wealthy capitalists, has been well documented. The history of lumbering in the rural Philomath region is quite different.
Here, it was not until after 1900 that small companies began bringing technology such as the steam donkey and the narrow gauge logging railroad into the steep, remote Coast Range forests, still relatively virgin to the logger, and isolated from distant big markets for the logs or lumber. The specifics of the growth of the first successful lumber company here, the Benton County Lumber Company, highlights how little has the development of the lumber industry in this locale been financed or manipulated by capitalists outside the region. (That is a major point for historians who characterize the entire region’s lumber history based upon the ‘wage slave’ and economic dependence characteristics very true of those much larger timber regions, along Pacific Ocean harbors with quick and easy access to outside markets.) It may have been the geographical characteristics of those regions which enticed Eastern capitalists to invest there, just as it has been the geographical characteristics here that hindered early logging and milling efforts, and aided in the slow development of a what became a locally-owned and locally-controlled lumber industry.

It was the farms and ranches which surrounded the few general stores on Main Street which really characterized the small town of Philomath, and the entire rural study area, before 1900. Saw mill operations were few and usually far between, at first close to the earliest settlements. By 1900, more would be built in locations close to creeks, rivers, and roads, but up in the foothills of the Coast Range. The first lumber company (B. C. L. C.) to successfully link rural timber resources with modern mills, built close to town, would set a pattern for others who built planing and saw mills in both Corvallis and Philomath, later in the twentieth century.
Rural mills would also multiply, as modern trucks, caterpillars, and yarding equipment made timber on Mary's Peak and Alsea Mountain accessible. Before 1920 only Noon's Railroad and Benton County Lumber Company's steam donkeys could begin to attempt logging the steep drainages there. The tree resource had grown back after the cessation, around 1850, of fires intentionally set by the Kalapuyans, but logging crews would have been unable to transport logs from there to a mill. Today much of that land has been taken for the Siuslaw National Forest and the Corvallis Watershed, and logging is only one of multiple uses which government agencies regulate.

The strategies for success employed by B. C. L. C. led to an ongoing local lumber industry which was, according to all oral sources, the primary economic support for Philomath townspeople, especially after the Philomath College closed in 1929. While the Depression put a severe damper on this growth, the lumber industry rebounded here with a vengeance after World War II. In the 1950s, when several mills had been built in or very close to Philomath, most and perhaps all were financed by local residents. The changes since then, including the purchase of the mill yard at Flynn by the large corporation Georgia-Pacific, are a part of history more recent than the time period focused on in this thesis. It wasn't until the 1970s, with Rex Clemens's sale of his timberlands in both Benton and Lincoln Counties, that a large corporation like Willamette Industries gained a foothold on local timberlands. Today, many local timberland parcels are still owned by a company begun by a local individual named T. J. Starker, and now owned by his grandsons.

Two very important discoveries were made for this micro-region which have each led to important historical revelations. The first was a
very personal and detailed history of the first lumber company successful enough to build and supply a planing mill (and next a saw mill) located along a railroad spur within a quarter mile of the farming (and small college) town of Philomath. That was the first mill (since Matzger's Mill community before the town was even platted) built practically within the town limits, and the Flynn's mill yard site continues to employ many local individuals. The second discovery was much more surprising than the first, and initially I myself discounted the first mention I heard of a Philomath Round-Up, assuming that the logging history of this region had been as dominant since earliest pioneer immigration as it had obviously and recently been, since World War II. How wrong I was! Indeed, as I learned through more taping and reading, it was the farming and ranching economy which had first been dominant in this locale. The early loggers and mill men were far outnumbered by the ranchers and farmers. A predictable rivalry between the two groups found no basis in oral or written history, probably because so many of the first pioneers were both, having had experience working in ranching and logging, among other skills learned so as to be as self-sufficient as possible.

The prevalence of stock-raising and associated skills had been so widespread that it led to the immigration into the community, in 1913, of a cattle baron who would organize and bankroll quite possibly the most dramatic and popular single event in Philomath history. Holding a Round-Up in Philomath, and one which rivalled (with daily crowds of 10,000 people) the historically well-known Pendleton Round-Up and drew famous cowgirl and cowboy contestants, was indeed an important accomplishment for this small town community. Local oral sources were very proud and very fond of their memories of this event.
Since the Pendleton Round-Up was begun only six years earlier, in 1910, an intriguing question arises. Were there other small rural communities in the larger region of the West, like Philomath with a sizable ranching population, who organized round-ups and rodeos of their own in the first decades of the 1900s (or earlier)? They too, like Philomath, could have rivalled the well documented Pendleton Round-Up, which took several years to become the magnet for spectators and rodeo contestants it is famous for today. If so, little has as yet been recorded of their existence (or at least my research has not uncovered any written sources who have recorded specific small town rodeo events). To find the answer to this question, it would seem that local oral sources could be consulted.

If indeed other such events were held, they were certainly noteworthy to the local residents, and their existence would do much to broaden the historical perspective from which we view Western history. Instead of one widely popular annual event held in Pendleton, Oregon, which has since attained a nearly mythical reputation, there may have been many such events in towns large and small throughout the Pacific Northwest. Current historical thought seems centered on the mythical aspects of the cowboy icon, and the popularity in metropolitan and highly populated areas of Buffalo Bill Cody and the few other big promoters of travelling Wild West shows and big rodeos. If indeed rodeos and earlier round-ups were numerous and popular, then perhaps the cowboy icon represents less of a myth than a slightly exaggerated spectacle (as was the custom in cowboy humor and campfire tales), rooted in ranching skills shared by a majority of the rural regional population. Local cowboys and cowgirls may have shied away from dangerous stunts like those that rodeo contestants would attempt, but they knew daily work and care for animals. Many species of
stock animals were (and are) raised in the Willamette Valley. The history of local ranchers and their children incorporates notions of hard work, freedom, love of animals and nature, and individual and social honesty, trust, and generosity which may seem antiquated to modern Americans but were not mythical, and remain an important part of social history.

Finally, 'junctions' of all kinds are extremely important in history. They can involve meetings of geographical and transportation networks, as in the case of one spot locally-known as "the Junction," just west of town. This is a place where both rivers (the two Forks of Marys River) and roads (today's Highways 20 and 34) meet. Historical junctions can also be either specific dates or people which mark the ending of one way of life, society, or epoch, and the origins of another. Junctions bring change, which in living history is the primary action of which historians should take note. Junctions in both a literal and a broad figurative sense introduce into older, traditional societies new people, new languages and cultures, fresh ideas, and other kinds of catalysts for change. Inventions of new tools in transportation and technology (such as steam donkeys, and trucks) marked junctions, or turning points in the practice of various livelihoods in this rural region.

Junctions can also make dramatic events possible, even in remote rural regions. For Philomath, 'Colonel' R. P. McClelland used the loading chute he built along the railroad line at "the Junction" to market cattle and also to import 'outlaw' wild bronchos from Nevada and eastern Oregon, for the famous Round-Up he helped organize. Sam Ewing and Mike Flynn used the lumber-yard-rail spur called Flynns, at "the Junction," to build a planing mill and a saw mill which became the primary local employer.

To those who may see the value in this history of economic struggles and geographic hazards overcome as the lumber industry in Philomath slowly
developed, it should be the names of Mike Flynn and Sam Ewing who are the historical agents of change, just as important to this locale as are the names of much wealthier capitalists to the larger Pacific Northwest region's economic history. Alongside these two names should be added those of E. A. Cone, Charley Hodge, Martha Hodge Ewing, and Cordia Hodge Cone, since they were in charge of the company in its latter years, and since it was their skills and labor (along with that of many others in the locale) that helped the company grow, from its earliest years. That this lumber company took the time to photograph working crews shows that they had a sense of the drama involved, as they were the first in the local area to use steam donkeys, flume lumber to a rail spur, and build their mills at "the Junction" so close to Philomath (rather than out in the rural forest).

Like the history of local rodeo organizations, different companies would come to own this huge mill yard, then let it lie quiet for awhile as economic conditions and other events (such as World War I or the Depression) would interrupt their continuance, only to revive operations again at a later date. In this sense, junctions can at first mark brief occurrences or meetings (such as the three annual Philomath Round-Up events) which are then quickly suspended. Thus they are easily overlooked, from a broader historical perspective. But if they are significant, they reappear (as in the periodic resumptions of lumbering operations at Flynns and rodeos at various locations in and around Philomath), eventually coming to have dramatic influences on local and regional history.

Discoveries, made by seeking and recording information only known to local pioneer descendants here, suggest the likelihood of finding other such intriguing and historically profound details, through oral history conducted in other such micro-regions throughout the West.
Since the immigration of a new wave of Euro-American pioneer settlers did not occur in the Pacific Northwest until the nineteenth century, it may be much easier to find local oral sources here who retain a vivid picture of early history, handed down through only two or three generations and still quite detailed and accurate. The mobility of American society, and the several centuries of earlier pioneer history both may work against the availability of such oral sources in the East.

The dramatic changes found in economic practices here were instigated by individuals and also by technology, acting as catalysts making it possible to access previously impenetrable geographical areas and allowing greater industrial efficiency and new connections to distant markets. The biggest change in the logger's working routine came with the introduction of the chainsaw, soon after World War II ended. Steam donkeys began to replace oxen and horses around 1900, and improved yarding equipment using diesel or gas as fuel helped woods crews in the 1940s remove the fallen trees, after they were 'bucked up' into logs. Mill machinery, when powered by electricity rather than steam, allowed mills to use more efficient and powerful saws and other tools and techniques which the first water-powered and later steam-powered mills could not handle. The primary agent of change, after local individuals, was the evolution of transportation routes and carriers. The earliest saw mills relied on the few wagon roads in the area, limiting them to locations close to settlements and far from their primary tree resource.

The introduction of trucks marked a cusp between two distinct eras, for both loggers and cowboys, in the transportation of both logs and stock. Trucks (and soon thereafter, caterpillars) would open geographically
restricted areas to loggers, give many local men the opportunity to go into business for themselves, and render obsolete the cowboys who had roamed through the region, bidding on local ranchers' stock and trailing them back to stock dealers and other buyers. Cowboys like Bob Smith would miss the passing of an era of trail drives and campfire stories, but lumbermen like Carl Bennett would be glad that trucks and caterpillars would give them the opportunity to continue careers begun 'working in the woods' and in mills, as owners of their own lumber companies.

It is impossible for any single historian or any single individual to know and understand all the history in any region, large or small. However, using a research technique similar to the one practiced for this thesis might prove as fruitful elsewhere in the West as it has here. It is not only geography which can deceive, in the first impression one has of how historical peoples probably viewed the potentials and limits imposed by their region's physical environment. In this area, an historian might assume that the forested hills attracted loggers, when in fact most pioneers regarded trees as cheap and abundant, and wanted to plant 'better crops' on ground that could grow so many trees. The few loggers and mill men regarded the steep upper hillside forests with disdain, since the technology available before 1900 did not yet give them the ability to 'harvest trees' in such terrain. Slowly, men moved higher in elevation and farther from settlements, in locating saw mills closer to these high mountain forests. But it would be primarily the mills built in Philomath, with good transportation connections both to the rural timber resource and to markets outside the local area, which would change lumbering from a secondary job, incapable of supporting an individual or a family for very long, into a powerful and wealthy local industry.
Just as geography has the power to pose deceptive simplifications, so too can the written history of broad regions. "There's quite an effort to re-write the history... I have one Oregon history book... that I just read a little ways and I couldn't even finish reading it. It was so far off- in describing the people, what they were like- that I resented it. Because I remember some of them" (Melvin C2, S.1:202). Not only local oral informants like Melvin Hawkins, but academic historians also have noted the discrepancies between fact and texts which can arise when the history of broad regions is written from an ideological stance ignoring local details. Patricia Nelson Limerick has noted the divisiveness between "idea people and fact people," both of whom like reading and writing history. But unfortunately this "segregation of fact from significance" has led to "the two camps" facing apart. "More than most fields, western history has suffered from the segregation of fact from significance. On one side sit narrowly factual studies of mining towns, railroad lines, Indian wars, cattle trails, and agricultural settlements; on the other side- at some considerable distance- sit highbrow studies of the meaning, .... myth, and symbolism of the West" (Cronon 1992, 170-1).

Metropolitan areas which link city and country can suggest cultural and economic themes accurate for city history, but not really prevalent in nearby rural regions. The economic development of the city of Corvallis, only six miles east of Philomath, took a divergent path from that chosen by the residents in the Philomath area, after 1900. Ironies abound when comparisons between the city and country here are made. Philomath originated from the rural United Brethren settlers' desire to found a college in which their children could pursue higher education, after completing courses in the numerous one-room schoolhouses many communities built in this study area.
Corvallis was simply a place whose geography offered natural advantages as an early commercial depot, at the mouth of Mary's River and along the larger farming region's central river, the Willamette (Fagan 1885, 334). It was also high enough to avoid serious floods (such as the flood of 1861 which washed away a rival town of Orleans across from Corvallis, on the east bank). But despite her geographical suitability as a commercial transportation hub, Corvallis would assume Philomath's original goal, growing into the university town Philomath never was able to become. Philomath, though not located in a central position for the rail shipment of lumber to distant markets, was closer to the Douglas fir resource found in the Coast Range, and would become by the 1950s the primary lumber mill town in the region.

Farmers and ranchers throughout the rural Philomath region who wanted to raise surplus crops and stock for sale on the nineteenth century market either sold to stock buyers and produce merchants in the local area, or had to pass their produce through Corvallis for transshipment on steamboat and (later) via railroad, to bigger markets outside the local area. After the booming 1880s, the Panic of 1893 brought economic disaster to the entire Corvallis-Philomath area. "Every Boom must have its depression and the Corvallis Boom ended with the depression of the 1890s. When the crisis was over, we find Corvallis still a small town... possessed of no industry except a sawmill and flour mill. The town had a much expanded College, which was beginning to bring outside money into the community but very little else" (Martin 1938, Chapter 7, 13-14). In the twentieth century, Corvallis would come to rely on her state-supported college as an economic mainstay (Munford n.d., 15-16) as it grew into a university, "the state's largest educational institution, the second largest in the Pacific Northwest."
Rural Philomath continued farming and ranching, until an emerging lumber industry became the primary employer and economic choice for most rural residents.

Philomath was originally a college town in a farming region, but by 1929 her two United Brethren colleges were bankrupt, and the mill yard at Flynn's was the primary employer. The Oregon Agricultural College in Corvallis would grow into Oregon State University, as the city eventually disdained competition for lumber mills with Philomath. By 1950 many locally-owned Philomath mills provided jobs and steady income for rural residents, to whom Corvallis had become a city with a very different (college student rather than working-class) population. An "apparent rivalry" between rural residents and city dwellers has been mentioned. The differences date back at least to 1900. Melvin Hawkins emphasized this rivalry in many tapes we made, explaining how important was his influence in the 1960s and early 1970s as the sole Commissioner for Benton County who represented rural interests, which often were opposed to city goals and political plans.

Belittling attitudes of Corvallis newspaper reporters towards rough, uncultured rural Philomath people, when reporting Philomath Round-Up events, have already been pointed out. Rural residents often responded 'in kind,' as when the same Daily Gazette-Times newspaper reported (Saturday March 7, 1914, front page): "Mary's River People Secede." Rural residents then chose to detach their school district from the Corvallis school district, giving up their connections to city water, sewer, and mail service, so they could retain control of their local schools and perhaps avoid bills and city regulations associated with Corvallis. The divergence in economic practices, as well as the social rivalry briefly touched on in this
thesis, both point to the strong historical distinctions between city and country, at least in this locale.

The lower Valley land today contains a mixture of old homesteads on which live pioneer grandchildren who engage in a variety of economic pursuits, as do other Oregonians who have moved into the area, and built homes here. Some still farm and ranch, and occasionally log trees to sell on the market (now well connected to buyers from the larger region and even the 'export market,' with buyers for Japanese mills and for other nations as well). Many 'Christmas tree farms' can be seen in the area, which support a steady, annual flow of six to eight year old Douglas fir and Noble fir trees every fall. This helps provide income for the local landowners and work for Christmas tree harvesting crews. They cut, shag (carry out of the field, to piles), bundle and load the trees onto long semi-trailer trucks, for transport to retail Christmas tree lots in nearby and distant Oregon towns and cities, California, Nevada, and other states. Population growth in the area has led to the annexation of some Valley land by both Corvallis and Philomath, for housing developments in which live many people who work in Corvallis or other Oregon cities and have no direct links either with the local geography or history. Oregon State University and a giant in the computer industry, Hewlett-Packard, are both big employers for city and rural residents alike. Corvallis also has a healthy downtown retail business district, where many rural residents go to shop.

Regional histories should build upon local histories, rather than vice versa. This particular history introduces a very rural and relatively self-sufficient early rural society, undergoing economic changes stimulated by
local individuals and companies, regional and national economic milestones, and the importation of new transportation and technical tools. Research methods for this slice of local Philomath history have sometimes offered contradictory pictures of the social and economic realities found in late nineteenth and early twentieth century communities in the Pacific Northwest. Often, the oral history related by local residents offered 'leads' into local history which seemed false or surprising, when compared with regional and national historical themes found in the written sources consulted.

It would seem, at least in the larger Willamette Valley region, and especially along the fringes of the Valley where foothill farmers met early loggers and mill men, that it is reasonable to assume that other such communities with similarities to Philomath did grow in ways historically similar to both. If this is true, then there are perhaps many other rural regions where timber resources remained geographically inaccessible, and therefore unattractive to outside investment capital. Later in the twentieth century when transportation routes and logging technology had been introduced into those areas, economic realities could have changed. Perhaps other studies like this, of specific rural regions inland from the Pacific coastal areas, would uncover people like the Philomath settlers who established economies based on multiple skills learned before pioneering this area, which they then adapted to local geographical potentials and problems.

Limitations (from geography, and perhaps other factors) in other rural Pacific Northwest regions, making large distant markets difficult for them to reach during the nineteenth century, may have acted to slow down economic growth and keep land, resources, mills, and businesses locally-owned.
Their early history might be like rural Philomath's, one in which the local people settling in small communities and towns knew each other well, and often co-operated in trade, barter, and credit and cash economic transactions. Rural Philomath settlers were able to 'weather' hard times, like the Panic of 1893 and later the Great Depression, precisely because they were not dependent on wages earned from impersonal companies under the control of owners from outside the local area, but had established trust and concern between local employers and workers.

Most Philomath settlers had skills to 'fall back on' which would keep a local economy going, though in a subdued state, during tough times. (For example, Melvin Hawkins's brother Ed sold firewood to survive, during the Depression years.) Meanwhile, relatives and friends would help, and they could count on the payment of debts owed, as soon as cash flowed back into the area with the recovery of larger regional, state, and national economies. Like those who continued working for Rex Clemens during the Depression, many local workers knew they could rely on being paid when their employer, a local man like themselves, himself received payment for goods delivered on credit. If this history is similar to that of other remote rural areas in the larger region, then the facile characterization of the nineteenth century Pacific Northwest as an economic slave, dependent on Eastern capitalists who first invested and next extracted the natural resources, reaping most of the profits themselves, might need serious revision.

It can be as easy for regional historians who link city and country together to be deceived, as it has been for local oral informants to miss the significant catalysts in their own local history.
Significant events, like the Philomath Round-Up, do not occur in a vacuum; there are always motivating forces and catalytic agents of change in all histories large and small. Ignoring individuals and junctions of all kinds which act as catalysts for dramatic change in both rural and urban history, throughout America or any other geo-political region great or small, can only produce a bland and bitter history unworthy of the region, one in which real events and people are portrayed as exaggerated myths and the themes and conclusions are alien to the local long-time residents who do still know the truth of their own experiences.

This history, perhaps like many others, has been a story of "junctions" both literal and figurative, of meetings not just between transportation routes of roads, railroads, and rivers, but also between families and communities involved in lumbering and in ranching. They have been inspired by individuals and by other catalysts to take risks on challenging economic ventures, building early rural saw mills when fires and other catastrophes were more likely to happen than not. They enjoyed music, rodeos and Round-Ups, among other activities. Many persevered in trying to establish a locally-owned lumber industry which only paid off big after the post World War II housing and lumber market created record demand for their products. This has also been a story of the junctions found between geography and economic choice, as trucks and chainsaws and local individuals created new possibilities for transportation of stock animals and logs, for opening up steep, previously inaccessible areas to logging, and for broadening the local economic support for a true lumber industry, with many small, private lumber companies and mills.
In a broader sense, this is also a conjunction of oral and written history which hopes, by example, to inspire other historians to experience the pleasure and satisfaction possible in their craft. “Fact people” may not like serious thematic history which ignores local character and creation, and "idea people" may find 'folk history' boring and shallow, but blending the written and oral sources available in many communities throughout the American West can produce a highly detailed and accurate picture of any specific region. Topical events, places, and individuals that were important catalysts for historical change may only be known to local sources. Incorporating these specifics with broad themes related to geography, regional histories, and other interesting elements can only enliven and add credibility to the history of any specific town or locale.

This history seems to show that this is certainly true for Philomath, but equally important to the changing decisions and choices of local people were their contacts with the region and nation of which they were a part. In the same sense, the collection of this and other micro-histories (very specific histories of very specific, small regions) can serve to tell much about the history of larger regions, and the nation. People fascinated by the history of the Pacific Northwest, as well as that of the American West and America herself, can all draw vivid portraits and lessons from these "glimpses" of Philomath, Oregon history. It has been personally a great pleasure to have interviewed so many local pioneer descendants, with so much history to tell.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A: Methodology

This work evolved over a seven-year time span. Over those years, research involved study in both oral and written sources, among them the cited works and audio tapes listed in the bibliography. Since the focal points of this study are geography and economy, most of the maps and the questions asked of my oral informants involved those two subjects. However, a wide range of other material has also been gathered, and especially with regard to oral history methodology, I found that the fewer the questions and the more open-ended the approach to oral informants, the better and more detailed the information imparted. Three broad categories of information were found, and research methods for all three will be described. Oral history, printed and written documents, records and photographs of a wide variety, and maps have all been used in an effort to focus on the details motivating individuals and families settling here to make economic choices and changes.

The oral history in particular was found to be so rich in detail and story that a concluding call for other historians of the West and the Pacific Northwest to not ignore local oral informants, no matter how large the region of their study may be, has been voiced. Since most pioneer Euro-American settlers only arrived in what came to be the Pacific Northwest in the later half of the nineteenth century (following earlier trappers, traders, and exploring expeditions), it is not difficult to locate their family descendants, still here.

There is a human and a social story embedded in the stories and records that "our" grandfathers and grandmothers can share with us, if only we ask. It behooves Americans of all ethnic backgrounds to show older generations the same respect that native Americans reserve for their elders.
The collective memories and cultural knowledge shared by many older Americans is a unique resource, especially useful for historians. I found some informants in this study area living on roads and creeks named for their families, often on or within a few miles of land where their parents or grandparents chose to settle in the nineteenth century. The lives of those Euro-American pioneers are vividly preserved in the memories, photographs, diaries and other artifacts saved by their children and grandchildren. They have been only too willing to invite an historian into their homes, and most have encouraged me to return, making me feel "as welcome as the flowers in the month of May," as Minnie McMurtry phrased it.

There are ten oral informants and fifty tapes cited in this work. My first informant’s background as a former Benton County Commissioner serving for fifteen years, and a man devoted to and involved in preserving local historical buildings and facts, set a high standard for reliability in oral information. Melvin Hawkins was born and raised in the Philomath study area, and knew a great deal about local communities and families. His memory for details was remarkable at first, though as I met several other informants he introduced me to, I began to realize they were all part of a generation raised on family and local history, related in daily conversation. Television and other passive entertainment media were a part of the future, and their childhood and early adult lives involved a great deal of music, story, and local events in which most rural Philomath residents were active participants.

After making a few tapes with Mr. Hawkins and learning how much he knew and how interested he was in continuing our weekly taping sessions,
my oral history research with him evolved into recording 2 one-hour tapes once every week or two, during seasons over the course of two years when we both could take time from our busy schedules. Melvin took me on a road trip into the Starr Creek area where he had lived (within this study area), during which we recorded his memories and observations in the car and on periodic stops. He introduced me to other, very knowledgable informants and even accompanied me three times to their homes, to help me ask questions and gather historical material. Through these first few informants, a well-defined study area about which much information would be recorded on tape began to take shape.

Once one embarks on a serious attempt to record not just family memories, but the oral history of a region (whether large or small), it can be astonishing how many friends and acquaintances suggest people for the oral historian to "go tape." It was essential for me to restrict my sources to those people living in or with life experiences in the rural Philomath study area, because the time spent with individual informants and even, sometimes, on processing one or two tapes made in a single session, can be enormous. New informants can offer leads into topics which then involve dozens of hours spent in further research, often in state or county offices where maps, deeds, and other records are stored. Oral history gathering begins with a phone call and an introduction, usually from a person or persons well known to the prospective informant. Often the new informant has stories, memories, and documents or photos which the historian has not anticipated finding. Transcriptions of tapes made and close study of documents borrowed always necessitates a list of questions to be asked, in succeeding taping sessions.
Avenues of information which at first appear to be dead ends can open onto broad subjects or specific people, places, tools, and events. Many of these have been identified in this study as catalysts or dramatic historical junctions. Often the historian's misleading simplifications of geography or current history can, at first, obscure relevant topics. Unexpected information offered by local informants can be trivialized by historians who insist on a particular line of questioning which seems, to them, more relevant. Seemingly "obvious" geographical or historical "facts" may lead one to deny the possibility that changes could have been as quick or dramatic as they indeed were, for the oral information about an earlier era to be accurate.

Two specific examples in my research fit the category of misleading geographical and historical generalization. The first time I drove to Raymond Gellatly's homestead, to introduce myself and make our first tape, he asked me if I had brought a map of the area and insisted on driving me up into higher elevations above the family's Coast Range foothill ranch. We used his four-wheel drive vehicle to pass through Starker Forest gates (he had obtained the keys for) and through patchy snow into upland areas today forested, which were open grasslands before he was born. Mr. Gellatly was emphatic in his assertion that I disregard the current forestland (on which Douglas firs had already been once harvested and a 'second growth' planted) to 'see' the geography as it had been when he was a boy. He remembered seeing, and could name and point to places where early pioneer settlers had built houses and established farms and ranches. Those homestead sites had become overgrown after abandonment early in the 1900s, when unrestricted Douglas fir
'volunteers' (baby trees springing up from wind-blown cones taking root in the unplowed ground) had begun growing downhill, from the forest above. The native Kalapuyans, who pre-dated the first Euro-American settlers in the area, had annually used fire to restrict the spread of the forest downhill, and pioneer settlers chose homesites where open meadows, fringed by forestland, offered good opportunities for grazing and farm land. It was simple and inaccurate to assume that the forest here today had 'always' been as vast and economically important as it only later became, by the mid-twentieth century.

The second example also arose from the fact that local lumbering fortunes were notoriously well known in the late 1970s, when I myself (an East Coast, not a Pacific Northwest native) first immigrated to Corvallis. Corvallis residents sometimes gossiped about 'Philomath millionaires' who still wore dirty overalls and drove pick-ups (no exaggeration at all, as it turns out). Everyone 'knew' that they had made their fortunes in the lumber industry, and so I assumed that the 'only' history of the area involved lumbering practices. It was easy to overlook oral informants who mentioned rodeos and ranching, interrupting my planned questions concerning early logging and saw mill history. The first references by local informants to the Philomath Round-Up were consistently and stubbornly ignored, as I assumed that it was only lumbering history I would find in this region. Until I taped two of them, I did not believe cowboys or cowgirls had ever lived in this area. (The details and photographs Melvin and Madge had, of the saw mill camp where they were both born and the successful Benton County Lumber Company, were what I wanted and expected to hear more about- not some inconsequential little rodeo.) It was only after repeated references by several informants to a 'round-up' they had seen in town as
children that I began to take seriously what turned out to be the single most
dramatic three-day event in the town history of Philomath. After reflecting
upon recorded comments made by Minnie McMurtry and others, concerning the
high pioneer esteem for farm and ranch land and their low estimation of trees
and woodland, I began to realize that there really was no lumber “industry” here
before 1900. Only then did I begin to follow my informants’ leads, rather than
my own preconceived geographical and historical assumptions.

The flip side of the coin of reliability involves not the historian’s misconcep-
tions which can arise from recent geographical or historical appearances, but
the veracity of informants themselves, and methods used to validate oral infor-
mation. There are three steps which have proven practical for this study. First,
establishing the personal background of each individual oral informant can help
the historian evaluate the honesty, social responsibility, and reliability each one
brings to the taping session. For this study, Melvin Hawkins suggested many
informants who he knew to be highly reliable. Some informants were referred to
by others repeatedly, (as was Dean Tatom, for example, because he was well
known as one who knew details concerning the Round-Up history). Some in-
formants are characters who are named in stories and economic ventures, who
the historian is glad to learn are still alive so they can be directly questioned,
with regard to what others have claimed about them.

It is not always possible to choose the best informants, though for this
study Melvin Hawkins established a high reliability standard, and introduced me
to other local people as well informed about other aspects of local life, as he
was with regard to early logging and saw mill history. Some informants have
been recommended for future contact because, sadly, they are believed to be
the last people alive with direct personal experience and knowledge of important historical details unrecorded thus far in written history. For example, the small and short-lived forest community of Peak, briefly identified by Marlene McDonald and seen on the 1903 Huffman map, has only one former resident left (I am told). Some informants, like Minnie McMurtry, were recommended by many of their local neighbors, because of the interest and dedication they have publicly demonstrated to the preservation of local history. Melvin Hawkins himself illustrates this kind of background. After serving from 1959 to 1974 as a Benton County Commissioner, he was the Treasurer of the Benton County Historical Society and President of the Benton Historical Foundation. His knowledge of and public efforts to preserve accurate local history were well known, and he encouraged others to donate time and money to these goals.

As more informants were chosen and successive tapes transcribed, the second and third practical steps to establishing reliability of oral information were taken. The second step is to simply ask the same question of more than one source (after the historian has contacted and begun taping several informants each of whom has an acceptable reliability, based upon his or her background). Questions of both a qualitative and a quantitative nature can be succinctly worded, and asked of more than one informant. The more informants who give the same or similar answers (as for example, that early saw mills were anything but the source of easy and instant wealth for their owners), the more reliable the historian assumes the information to be. The third step is to check details related on tape by seeking verification in either historical texts or government records kept by the state, city or county in which the historical study is being made. Many records may seem (quite correctly) to be incomplete or
unavailable, and this can reflect a reliance on verbal agreements which today seems shocking but was (in this study area) quite common in earlier decades.

Legal documents such as land deeds can, however, help verify and clarify sketchy oral information. Deed records have been used to provide information about R. P. McClelland's first land purchases (and his probable dates of arrival and departure from Philomath), the purchase and sale of timberlands involving B. C. L. C., that company's flume agreement with one local individual, and the interesting sale and grant back of a timberland parcel owned by E. A. Cone. In two instances for this study area, these and other documents have been used to refute strongly or commonly believed oral information (asserted by one or several informants). Sam and Martha Ewing, not B. C. L. C., were the owners identified on the recorded sale deed for two lots on which the small Corvallis rail spur and delivery yard business operated. One "journal" of accounts from that business identified B. C. L. C. as customers, not the owners of the business (as both oral informants and the Sanborn Insurance map incorrectly stated).

That "Hodge, Cone, and Ewing" were the owners of B. C. L. C. many informants believed, but the deed records present a more complex picture. Hodge and Cone only became company owners in later years, after the original owners Ewing and Flynn had directed the growth of the company, and seen it suddenly fail. A big ledger account book saved by Madge Savage helped establish the date of the company's demise as 1919 to early 1920, and her oral memories helped ascertain that Sam Ewing's consumption was probably the primary cause of the company's downfall. But it was the owner Mike and his brother Paddy Flynn after whom the mill yard at "the Junction" was named. And it is Flynn and Ewing who were the real owners of B. C. L. C. at its inception.
The Hodges and Cones were company owners at the end, after Sam Ewing died and Mike Flynn surrendered his office as “Secretary” of the company to E. A. Cone, as the recorded deeds (spanning over thirty years) clearly state.

The methodology used in this study does not rely exclusively on oral sources, nor is any claim made that oral sources are 'better' than written, but merely that in many cases, oral sources may be the only ones available. And oral sources can provide primary data, with fewer generalizations than are often found in secondary sources. For an historian seeking specific, detailed information, especially regarding rural regions where few records may have been kept (a person's 'word' and a hand-shake taking the place of a written and signed document) local oral information may be the only source. It can seem petty indeed, to dispute which is accurate when oral and written records disagree. Rather than assert the reliability of one source over another, because one is oral and the other written, it is found and asserted in this study that a combination of the two is needed, to produce an accurate but also detailed history, in which local catalysts and cusps marking historical changes can be clearly identified.

Besides the long but rewarding hours spent gathering, recording, organizing and verifying oral history, I employed two other research strategies. I read and analyzed historical texts and other documents, and I used maps not only to document local geography but also to pinpoint cultural and geographic details. Those map details include the location of early saw mills and communities, the location of the flume connecting the Hyde Creek saw mill camp with Flynn's lumber yard, and the ownership of timberlands (shown on cadastral maps).
The research into written historical texts itself evolved into a two-step process. After beginning recording oral history, a curiosity about the local region was kindled. Histories written in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were found which helped to satisfy some questions, but little specific detail was found, with regard to the small rural Philomath area about which oral informants were teaching me so much. Occasional references to this area (probably because a broader region was the real focus of the historian) also sometimes seemed too vague or unrepresentative of early settlers characterized by local sources in distinct portraits from personal memory. For example, D. D. Fagan’s classic work, *History of Benton County*—though focused entirely on Benton County (an area still reaching the Pacific Ocean in 1885, when this history was published)—assumed a lofty moral tone in its attempt to proudly display and further encourage the economic growth of the young county. Thus it ignored some pioneers (loggers, for example) or made only brief mention of those people (such as early mill men) who were not involved in very prosperous economic endeavors.

More recent histories with a narrower focus, like those by Marlene McDonald and the Kings Valley Parents Club, had very useful information which did help fill in gaps and answer questions raised in oral taping sessions. Though their pages were few and the authors very humble in their characterizations of historical people and events, there were not any discernable biases, and little glamorization of local history. Rather than trying to mold local history into a pattern found in broader regional trends, these historians simply related what details they knew about local people and events. While the histories of Oregon and the Willamette Valley also provided much valuable and broadly
accurate information (within the context of national and regional history), some events and people which were locally noteworthy were ignored, possibly because it was believed that the progress and connections with the entire region and the nation were more historically important. An interesting pattern emerged, one in which older historians sought to educate readers about how local history fit into the development of the entire region and the nation, while recent short works kept their focus on local people and events.

The second step in the research into existing written histories was to explore modern histories, which are currently very influential in the field of academic history. Historians such as William Cronon, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Richard White, and Quintard Taylor offer a broader historical perspective than did the older historians of the Oregon region, addressing themes of environmental, ethnic and racial history, and social change. Specific individuals, places, and events are important to the regional themes they have found, and these historians present a more complex picture of a very diverse Western society than did the older historians, whose goal was to highlight economic progress leading, they believed, to the civilization and unification of disparate American regions. I have borrowed concepts and themes from both older and more modern historians. For this micro-history, close attention to local events and individuals has documented a history which suggests the existence of similar historical developments in other regions sharing a similar geography. If that is accurate, then a close study of other such micro-regions, primarily through oral history, could reveal a regional American history of both the Pacific Northwest and the West which is even more complex than modern historians are finding.
Most surprising and interesting to me are the specific local catalysts for economic change, just within this small region. The people and events so influential here are just as fascinating to write about as they were to the local oral informants who lived with them and told me about them. Documenting the history of B. C. L. C., about which only local oral informants had any specific knowledge, revealed how strong was the local desire for lumbering to grow into an economic choice with real industrial potential. It also led to the discovery of how self-reliant was this area, and how long were timberlands and mills in the hands of local entrepreneurs. That in turn gave this history a regional significance, since it was so atypical of Pacific Northwest lumber history, usually focused on those nineteenth century coastal logging camps and mills capitalized from outside the region, converting the Pacific Northwest into an economic slave for other parts of America. It is important to know that here, that did not happen. Since it was primarily the local geography which slowed down the development of a local industry in lumber (despite the abundant timber resource) and ‘protected’ the area from outside capital investment, there may have been other such regions within the American West where geographical similarities led to local long-term ownership and development of local resources. It so, that would indeed present a different regional history and would also alter the assumptions of dependency between the American West and the East, within the framework of a national history.

It is not only its lumber history that makes the Philomath region significant in regional and national history. The second locally noteworthy event about which not a word had been written, and only local oral informants had any direct knowledge, is the Philomath Round-Up.
While regional historians both traditional and modern in outlook have noted the importance of ranching to the history of many rural areas, towns, and city economic ventures, there seems to have been scant attention paid to local rodeos which were held outside of cities, in small towns and on rural ranches. Popular and academic historians who address questions of the mythical aspects of the American cowboy may be surprised to learn how daring and well-known were cowgirl rodeo contestants, and how popular was a round-up held only six years after the first famous Pendleton Round-Up, in a small Oregon town. If rodeos and round-ups were as numerous and popular in other rural Western American regions as they were here, then they deserve the attention of historians who choose to address cowboy myths (and realities).

It was only after a thorough reading in both older and more modern histories of this part of America that I became aware of how unique and valuable a research tool the gathering of oral history can be. For the Philomath Round-Up and the Benton County Lumber Company, besides deed records and contemporary newspaper articles, there were no historical records. Oral sources were the only ones who could inform me that either had ever existed. Without any knowledge of these two specific local entities, it would have been difficult to understand why and how local people, living on the edge of the Willamette Valley historically known as a prime farming region, engaged in other primary economic pursuits besides farming. The strategies employed by B. C. L. C. helped local people succeed in developing lumbering into a successful local economic enterprise (while avoiding becoming a ‘pawn’ of outside capitalists). The importance and popularity of skills required for ranching were celebrated by their demonstration in exaggerated and daring form by famous rodeo cowboys.
and cowgirls, who drew record numbers of outsiders to the small town of Philomath, before America entered World War I. The necessity of using local oral sources is clear. It may only be in the memories of local residents and in local newspaper reports that the historical existence of numerous noteworthy American Western people, events, and other details can ever be discovered. Some perhaps had only local significance, but others, such as local rodeos, might have much to add to the full depiction of regional and national history.

Many historical details have also been found in maps, the third source of information, besides oral history and historical texts and records. Maps can provide information about cultural details, such as schoolhouse, church, and cemetery locations and property ownership. Maps made of the same area, but dated at different times, can describe specific topography and other geographical features as well as presenting a picture of changes over time, in the landscape. The lucky discovery of early Benton County maps, some in the E. E. Wilson collection given to the Map Room of Oregon State University's Valley Library, has been used to define the study area. Maps also are used to portray economic changes, such as timberland ownership in one specific township over a forty-year time span, and the extension of lumber mills from the rural foothills of the Coast Range into the town of Philomath. Maps, like both oral and documented history, can offer names, dates, locations, and other specific details whose reliability and accuracy the historian must evaluate.

Establishing reliability begins with pinpointing the biases, intentions, and beliefs of the historical source, whether it be a map, book, photograph, or an oral informant. The purpose for which a map was made indicates which kinds of information shown are highly accurate, and which are irrelevant to the
map-maker, and therefore of questionable reliability. Mapmakers often deceive, without intending to do so. One example is the undated working map from the E. E. Wilson collection, presented because it is a depiction of timberland ownership in one township in the study area, at a time (approximately circa 1900) for which no other such cadastral maps of this area are known to exist. It is extremely useful in this study because it gives some detailed information about the same township for which a highly reputable mapmaking company, Metsker, prepared cadastral maps dated 1929 and 1938. Thus the three maps can be used together, to see changes over time in local timberland ownership, at least in this one township. Unintentional deceptions can involve vague information only included to make any map attractive or interesting in appearance, while the only truly reliable details these maps or any other map displays are those for which the mapmaker intended the map to be used. Of course, this same principle applies to historical information related in a written or oral format.

The purpose or uses for which a map, a book, or a story is intended can be difficult to determine. The repetition of a certain category of information can be a key. For example, cadastral maps are criss-crossed with section lines, which are used in land deeds to determine property boundaries. To the cadastral mapmaker, it is most important to show exactly where, within or across section lines, an individual property lies, and so section lines and section numbers are of the utmost importance, and have a high reliability. Topographical information such as rivers, mountains, and other general physical features of the land itself are very unreliable, simply because a cadastral map has a purpose simply to show land ownership.
Section lines need to be very accurate, but even Metsker cadastral maps have no need to locate topographical features with any great accuracy, since they are not intended to be used for that purpose. Adding lines to show creeks or rivers, or other symbols to show mountain peaks and other features, is done simply to add to the map's general appearance. A traveler would find himself quickly lost, were he to use a cadastral map to go hiking.

In the same sense, a student who uses a history written during an era when the progress of civilization into newly settled frontier territory was uppermost in the mind of the historian (and in the public political debates and popular literature of that time) to understand social or environmental history, will find himself with little accurate information. Allusions to social or environmental problems may be included for 'color,' just as a cadastral mapmaker might make his map more attractive by adding rivers and mountain peaks, but the accuracy and the depth of such information will be very shallow. The oral information found for this region, it is believed, has a high level of accuracy. The specific details oral informants knew, and the lack of any written history about those local people and events, was a part of the methodological process which led me to draw one conclusion with regard to that ideal we may call 'the real history of the Pacific Northwest' (or any particular region). A student hoping to learn 'the real history' can be misinformed if he relies solely on secondary written historical sources, with purposes often even obscure to the historian himself. Unless one seeks oral information from primary sources, people who knew and clearly recalled their own world, a great deal of the historical information one finds can be 'fuzzy'- indistinct because it is either based upon second and
third-hand reports or because details not matching the purpose of the work will
be generalized or trivialized, merely to add 'color.'

'Metadata' is a cartographic term used for data about data, or details which
reference when, where, who and how all of the specific map details were de-
derived. Metadata should be included in textual format, on the map itself. It be-
gins with an author and a date. But metadata is often sadly lacking, making it
very difficult to assess even the reliability of the primary map data, that informa-
tion which the map was primarily designed to convey. Many maps continue to
be produced, for example, without any date of publication stated. While the title
of a map can indicate its purpose, the individual author or authors may remain
unidentified. Many maps give no scale, no source for the cultural details, and
no date when (if ever) the map's details were 'field-checked.' That is extremely
important, when assessing map reliability. Since the physical and cultural
features on a landscape can change over time, with the effects of storms, cli-
matic changes, the destruction or decay of some buildings and new construc-
tion of others, it is most important to know when those map details which are
assumed to be the most reliable were actually visibly sighted, or 'field-checked.'

Cartographers are never satisfied that all of the information on any given
map, even if it is reliable, is entirely accurate, because of the effects of generali-
ization, which they recognize as unfortunate but necessary. In the process of
portraying reliable field data in a format the map can visibly show, jagged con-
tour lines and boundaries impossible to show clearly will be 'smoothed.'
Other information will be 'simplified' because it is impossible to draw, within the
map scale and paper size, every reference point found on the ground. When it
comes to actually portraying even the surface features on a geoid like the earth,
to do so on a two-dimensional flat surface (like a map) with absolute accuracy is impossible. The smaller the scale of the map (showing a large area, such as the Pacific Northwest or even the entire state of Oregon, on a small paper map), the greater the generalization of ground data necessary. This of course reduces accuracy.

In a similar fashion, were an historian to be asked to write a one-hundred year history of Oregon, in a thirty-five page booklet, a great deal of generalizing of details would take place, so that the most important (but not all) historical facts, trends, and changes could be included. Many maps unfortunately give no scale, or, if a basic scale is given (for example, one inch on the map corresponds to one mile on the ground), no indication is given of where, within the map's boundaries, the scale may vary or grow indefinite (due to the particular map's projection abilities or limitations, across both latitude and longitude). A 'reliability diagram' can be added, to show which areas of the map accurately match the scale given and which areas do not, but most mapmakers do not bother to take the time to prepare such metadata. As with most history, it is up to the student to construct his own 'reliability diagram.' Subjects and time-periods about which the historian seems to generalize the most should be considered as potentially inaccurately described.

Oral historians should not be surprised to find themselves 'off the map,' or 'charting new territory' when informants begin describing unexpected events or people. Extensive searches in the written history of the area, both old and new, may uncover not a single reference. The oral historian has his or her own problems, discerning where the 'scale' of information varies, grows 'fuzzy,' or is really biased, judgmental or just plain false information.
By seeking some of the grandchildren of Philomath pioneer families, known to local residents (and fellow oral informants) in the community as “the ones who really know, who’ve been out here the longest,” hopefully the scale of my information has remained accurate, across its wide range. By focusing these chapters on the two primary aspects of pioneer livelihoods about which most of the oral informants knew, and deciding to keep my focus narrow, with little gloss and as much detail as I could find, perhaps some of the problems inherent in generalization (even in the sharpest memories) have been avoided.

History, whether oral or written, has its own problems of generalized data, among them vague facts and innuendos concerning sometimes quite famous Americans, who were ‘in real life’ actually much more fallible, much more human individuals than the general reading public knows. While generalization of data is impossible to avoid, a more reliable and accurate history will choose to rely on as many primary sources as can be found. Secondary information is seldom as detailed and accurate (even if the sources are highly reliable) as primary data: journals, diaries, photographs, and oral information relating history in a first-hand manner. But the historian’s job is to ‘make sense’ of it all, to find pattern and meaning in the course of events over time, and to do so requires research in many sources (each with their own purpose, reliability, and accuracy).

During the course of research for this study, one thing has become clear. To avoid generalizations which obscure the specific catalysts and cusps in the history of small regions, the most accurate and reliable sources are those maps, books, and oral informants whose scale matches the size of the study area. A very large scale would be one-to-one, and the maps, local histories
and oral informants found which limit their scope to regions only slightly bigger than the rural Philomath area have been astoundingly informative. Just as cartographers have learned that large scale maps can be more accurate (since small scale maps necessarily generalize more data), so too those histories which encompass large regions have had little information useful for this history. One even questions how accurate can be any ‘small scale history’ (one purporting to describe the history of a large region, such as America, or the Pacific Northwest, in only a few hundred pages). A healthy skepticism towards information of all kinds is the inevitable result of any long, complex methodological process like this one in which I became involved.

However, hopefully this history is both reliable and accurate. The practicalities of keeping a large scale (studying a small area in great detail) should have resulted in fewer generalizations than would have occurred, had my scope been a larger study area. The benefits which have arisen from the three-part methodology I have employed are numerous. By recording oral informants in an open-ended approach and pursuing with follow-up questions historical leads they introduce, unexpected avenues of research have been revealed. When oral and written histories, deeds, documents, and maps are all used to verify and supplement each other, a more complete historical record is drawn than can be found in any one source alone. And most important, without supplemental reading in histories of broader regions, it is impossible to place local history in the context in which it belongs. As a thread woven into the tapestry of interplay between city and country history, local and regional, and regional and national history, the meaning and relevance of local practices and details comes clear.
Using this methodology, the rivalries both apparent and real within and between groups of people and regions are clarified. The vivid details, often related by oral informants, have highlighted cusps and junctions which motivated change, the primary agent in an ongoing and often surprising history, experienced over time by people living in this part of the Pacific Northwest.

U. S. Census statistics (from Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, Bulletin No.106, 1953) provide these dates and population figures for the town of Philomath and the nearby city of Corvallis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Philomath</th>
<th>Corvallis</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>1,128</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1,817</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>4,552</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>5,752</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>7,585</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>8,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>16,207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: United Brethren schism

Melvin Hawkins spoke about the early schism in the United Brethren faith, which had resulted in the creation of a second College in the small town of Philomath, by the splinter branch of what had been one Church before 1889. "They had to have two Colleges, when the Church split, all over the United States... Yes, they split over 'the Lodge question.' ... And the old 'brick church' were the ones who believed in having Lodges, while the new 'white church']-that's now still in existence- didn't. And they still don't... [believe in allowing church members to join] secret orders, fraternal orders" (Melvin 6, S.1:460).

The splinter group was called 'the Radicals;' they built a new ('white') church, and a new college named the College of Philomath. The 'Liberals' kept the original 'brick church' and Philomath College (which eventually closed in 1929, unable to resolve debt problems, and probably faced with an inability to reopen school doors after the Stock Market crash in late 1929, the catalytic event signalling the beginning of America's Great Depression).

Melvin Hawkins himself was teaching Sunday Bible classes in the Protestant church which the 'Radical' splinter wing of the United Brethren had evolved into by the 1990s when I met him and began this oral history tape recording project. His grandfather, the saw mill owner-operator Joseph A. Hawkins (never a member of either United Brethren branch though his wife was), had been a founding member of the Odd Fellows in Philomath. Melvin himself had attended Grange meetings ("a pretty tight-knit organization" which nevertheless had both farmers and loggers as local members, and held popular entertainment events.
There were many fiddle contests, in which Madge Cone's father Arden (E. A.) Cone often played. Melvin had personally, over the course of his life here, been a member of several local fraternal clubs or 'Lodges,' such as the Moose Lodge. "One branch of the Church didn't object to Lodges [or Lodge membership, by members of the Church]. They said, 'Let that be up to your own conscience.' ... The other ['Radical'] branch prohibited them from being a member" (Melvin 6, S.2:021).
Appendix D: Two prominent timbermen: Rex Clemens and T. J. Starker

Several oral history interviews with Thurman James Starker, "or 'T. J.,' as he was known to almost everyone" (Introduction, Lee 1984) were transcribed directly into a book published as Monograph No. 3, in the Homer Museum (O. S. U.) Oral History Program. When asked during one interview in 1978 if Rex Clemens was "a personal friend" of his, T. J. responded (Lee 1984, 33):

"Yes, he was. We worked together quite a bit. We were never partners actually. We never had any pieces of paper between us, but sometimes we split up our purchases. We had what we called '$10,000 every Tuesday,' because Lincoln County put on a county sale of timberland that was delinquent [from back taxes owed] every Tuesday. From Tuesday to Tuesday we'd go out and look at the timber, and then we'd take $10,000 over every Tuesday and bid on it. We split that up. Rex comes here and sits on the davenport and talks to me. He lives primarily over at Steens Mountain now. He only has 17,000 acres of land over there now. "Oh," he said, "I've got 700 head of cattle." (laughter) He's pretty well-off. They sold out to Willamette Industries for $40 million, and he had to pay Uncle Sam $18 million of that on taxes; that takes the joy out of life."

Local men such as these two owned local timberlands (as well as mills, logging companies, and other parts of what became the infrastructure of lumbering), after early logging and milling finally evolved into a 'timber industry' here, with the end of the Depression and the second World War.
This is when housing and construction boomed, and good lumber prices were being paid on regional and national markets easily reached by Philomath lumber producers. A key to the marked difference in the social and economic history, between the Philomath rural study area and coastal lumber communities, arises from this local ownership of timberlands and lumber production. Individuals like Rex Clemens had the resources and the motivation to be able to help other local individuals get started in their own (at first small) lumbering enterprises, such as trucking companies, lumber companies, and logging contracting companies.

This kind of help, available between local families and men who knew and often worked for and with each other, resulted in a community society quite different from that which developed in other parts of the Pacific Northwest. In coastal areas with good harbors, affording ocean transportation of logs, lumber, and other products from an early nineteenth century date, the timberlands, mills, et cetera were all financed, owned, and controlled by absentee owners, often wealthy capitalists from New England, the Midwest, and California. There was little opportunity for local men and families to compete with wealthy and large corporations, and little chance that local men would become their own bosses or ever grow wealthy themselves. Here, the picture is quite different. Two local men who kindly agreed to be oral informants for this study, Melvin Hawkins and Carl Bennett, were among several other local men who began their own lumber companies after getting a start working 'in the woods' for Rex Clemens.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the reputation Rex Clemens gained in the local community as 'a great man,' as many local informants called him.
Though not born here, Clemens spent most of his life living in and around Philomath (often out working 'in the woods' himself). He has become a legendary local figure, as has T. J. Starker. Their history postdates the time period for this study, but the geographical, economic, and transportation conditions described in this thesis made it possible for these two and other local men to become millionaires as lumbermen, beginning in the 1950s. It was probably in the 1920s that Clemens was able to build or buy his first saw mill, in the next town west of Philomath, Wren. "Rex had the mill this side of King's Valley [in Wren]. And he cut nothing but railroad ties" (Melvin B11, S.1:340).

In the next decades, Clemens bought timber and timberlands in western Benton and also in the coastal Lincoln County, cutting timber for mills in Corvallis, Toledo, and elsewhere. After much hard work and with the additional hired work of persistent woods crews falling timber both in the Siletz area (in Lincoln County, west of Benton) and in the local Alsea Mountain and Mary's Peak forestlands (where Melvin Hawkins and his father worked, sometimes together as a falling team), within another two or three decades Rex owned a mill in Philomath.

The kind of trust and loyalty which Rex Clemens inspired in men who continued working for him through the Depression years would have been unthinkable in coastal Pacific Northwestern logging communities where working men had quite different attitudes towards their jobs, their bosses, and each other. Two elements in his career contributed to Rex's reputation. First, he was simply able to survive, and prosper (a very difficult task for lumbermen). Beyond this, he had 'character.'
He was one boss who would pay his men back debts first, after waiting for payment for logs or lumber shipped to buyers during rough economic times. Clemens was able to persist in lumbering, unlike so many early loggers and saw mill men of the nineteenth century, despite the 'bust' in the lumber market which came during the Depression.

Both Clemens and Starker wisely used the slack economic times to invest in very cheap timberlands which would later reap timber profits for them both. "I worked for Rex Clemens ... after 1936. He bought a lot of parcels of timberland. And of course Starker bought a lot of land." Rex was not born in Philomath, but he "lived here for many years. But Rex Clemens did buy ... small tracts of timber because people could not pay the taxes on them... That's how he got lots of his timberland" (Bennett B1, S.1:452). Carl also mentioned Rex when describing a photo unused in this thesis. "I think that was taken out by King's Valley. Dad worked for Rex Clemens. So that was Rex Clemens's truck and logs. And Dad just was working for [being paid by] the hour... [around 1929]. Rex had a little mill over there [in Wren] and then [much later, after the Depression] he had a big mill out here [in Philomath]" (Bennett B1, S.1:207). During the Depression years, Rex kept people working "all that he could possibly do- in other words, of course the wages and salaries weren't very [good]" (Bennett B1, S.2:103). "I worked for Rex Clemens when he had the little mill up the canyon out here [in Wren]. And we'd have to wait 'till the end of the month for payday. And maybe you made $25" (Bennett B1, S.2:115).
Appendix E: Spanish origin of wild horses in Oregon

Bob Jones was unsure where the wild horses in southwest Oregon that cowboys rounded up were originally from. It is likely that their origin is the same as is the origin of wild horses in southeastern Oregon—runaways from horses introduced by Spain, and imported into California when that area belonged to Mexico. Native Americans could also have brought and traded horses introduced by the Spanish into Oregon. (In the rural Philomath study area, it is believed that the Klickitat introduced horses, which the Kalapuyan bands living here had never seen before.) In southeast Oregon, wild horses whose ancestry lies in horses introduced to the New World by Spanish colonialists continue to roam the range, in present times. U. S. Bureau of Land Management (B. L. M.) "horse experts ... noticed the unique characteristics of a herd gathered in one of the first massive wild horse roundups in 1972... [Recent] DNA tests ... from Kiger mustangs show the horses to be closely related to the Sorrala, the ancient breed used to develop most of the horses brought to the New World by the Spanish" ("Oregonian" 18 August 1997, B-2).
Appendix F: Pre-1840 stock in Oregon, Fort Vancouver (Hudson's Bay Company post)

Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Company post north of the Columbia River (later to become part of Washington Territory), had "1,000 head of neat cattle, 700 hogs, 200 sheep, 450 to 500 horses and 40 yoke of work oxen" by 1837. It is fascinating to note that in 1811 another American ship, J. J. Astor's 'Tonquin,' "landed some fifty hogs, and perhaps some goats and sheep, at the mouth of the Columbia" (Clark 1927, 198-9).
Appendix G: Explosion of stock populations in Willamette Valley, 1840 until 1866 opening of Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain Wagon Road (into eastern Oregon)

"By the early 1860s, the urge to develop a middle route into the Willamette Valley had shifted to a need to develop such a route out of the Valley and into central and eastern Oregon over which stockmen could reach grass, and a market for their surplus cattle... Cattle numbers in Oregon had increased steadily [after] Ewing Young brought 630 head from California for the settlers. Other drives from California had followed and substantial numbers were brought in from the States by the annual immigrations starting in 1842. By 1850, cattle numbers reached 41,729 and cows were no longer a luxury. Even with 8,046 horses and 15,382 sheep, at that time there was ample grass in the Valley to feed them. But in 1860 there were 154,131 cattle, 36,772 horses and 86,052 sheep. Those numbers with the continued settling of the highest grass-producing lands and the greater use of such lands for the production of crops other than grass, was exerting an increasing pressure... There was a surplus of livestock for a dwindling supply of grass. Central and eastern Oregon had grass and the developing gold mines offered a market for the surplus cattle. Beef could be transported on the hoof... " (Clark 1987, 14-15; 23).
Appendix H: Reasons for early foothill settlement

"The Willamette would flood. It used to flood... Richard Tatom [Minnie McMurtry's pioneer great-grandfather] took his Donation Land Claim out there in the hills beyond King's Valley. [His son Solomon] asked him one time why he went out there and took land, when he could have gone down the Willamette and got that nice level farmland down there. He chose the land back here in the foothills. His answer was that when he chose that land out there, the native grass was belly-high to a horse. And also, they had had all they wanted of rivers. That makes me think that they might have had cholera. Maybe some- maybe they lost a child by having it drown somewhere in a river..." (McMurtry 1, S.1:199). "I don't think [his land] was very flat, but I'm sure there was land that he could farm. But he had cattle in mind. Richard Tatom had a notion that he could take advantage of all that grass..." (McMurtry 1, S.1:224).
Appendix I: 1875 Flood of (braided, multi-channelled)

Willamette River

One excellent history of early towns along the Willamette River is Willamette Landings, written by Howard Corning and published by the Oregon Historical Society. Geography can have a great influence not only on economic choices in history, as this thesis has shown, but also on the ability of historic (and prehistoric) artifacts, buildings, and even towns to survive, over generations and centuries. Archaeologists searching for historic or prehistoric tools, settlements, and other cultural artifacts must first evaluate the likeliest geographical places for such evidence to be found. A thorough understanding of the climatic and geological history of any area in which an archaeological 'dig' is planned can avoid potentially time and money-wasting efforts 'digging' in the wrong 'spot,' where artifacts would probably not be found. Human settlements along rivers, though a choice location for both prehistoric and historic man to reside, is one example of a geographic location which, over time, can be very unstable.

The Willamette River has experienced floods which have so altered the river itself and the land along its banks that many of the earliest town locations were in places which today would seem unlikely spots for settlers to choose. One high flood in 1875 dramatically altered the future for many riverbank 'landings' and towns, including those in the area between Corvallis and today's Smith Loop, as Corning (152-6) points out.
"Prior to 1875, the main channel of the Willamette River, sweeping northward, rounded to the west of John Smith and Kiger islands. But the high waters of that year, rushing by these low marshy islands, for the first time in history poured their greater volume down the Willamette's East Channel, broadening its course... Thereafter, the former main channel, its waters flowing sluggishly northward, became known as Booneville Channel... [It] carried less water and only those boats with freight bound to or from the pioneer landing point navigated its still waters. The great volume of river traffic used the new main channel, to the eastward...

"The history of Booneville... began in 1853, when Thomas Norris platted a townsite on his donation land claim... It is reasonable to believe that commercial activity soon came to give life to the village of Booneville. Undoubtedly it became a shipping point of more than local convenience, since it was then and throughout its vague fifty-year existence the only other water-side landing point, other than the infrequent ranch wharf poorly served by any road, between Corvallis, nearly six miles to the north, and Lancaster, about twenty miles to the south. It seems to have been one of the few accessible shipping points in a wide area of moist bottomlands.

".. It may be assumed that Boonesville's life was largely one of river shipping: out-going wheat and incoming commodities. However, the particulars of that activity have been largely obscured by time... An article on 'Early Steamboating,' appearing in the Corvallis Gazette, February 12, 1894, stated that at that date Booneville was still a shipping point. But that circumstance could not have continued for many years longer, for at the time few boats traversed the stream's upper waters. With a much diminished river traffic, due to the heavy encroachments of railroad transportation, with rail lines running both east and west of the Willamette, less effort was made to keep the channel clear and passable. Also, shipments awaited the favorable seasons of high water-the winter and spring months-an unbrookable delay for impatient shippers in an era of growing competition."
The Smith Loop area is about five miles south of where Boonesville was located, and north of where Lancaster was situated, "about two and one-half miles north of present-day Junction City" and, for a time, "the head of navigation" (Corning 1973, 158). This means that commercial riverboats would not venture further upriver, (to the south, towards Eugene) for fear of low water or unnavigable, woody debris-clogged channels. However, the location of the T. W. B. Smith family land places it clearly within that range between Corvallis and Lancaster where there was a "wide area of moist bottomlands."

This supports the family history as it was handed down to Van Smith. When I asked Van where he was born, he told me, "Right in this area here. I don't know whether it was down here, or down to Booneville" (Van.2, S.1:044).
Appendix J: Origins of geographical pioneer place-names

The sources of names pioneers gave to geographical locations they found here are sometimes lost, without any known record, either written or oral. It is very controversial, among pioneer family descendants today, which Mary was the inspiration for the naming of Marysville (Corvallis, before 1853), Mary's Peak and Mary's River. The three likeliest candidates were in three of the first pioneer families to immigrate to the Corvallis-Philomath area: Mary Avery, Mary St. Clair, and Mary Stewart (Melvin 13B, S.2:298). Other names are, however, traceable. Fagan, in his 1885 History (451), states that "Greasy Creek," the local name for the South Fork of Mary's River, referred originally to the fact that "a large proportion of the lands in the vicinage of this stream is amylaceous hence the name 'Greasy' by which the South fork is popularly known."

[Amylase is an enzyme found in saliva and in plants, which presumably spreads from the plants into the water.]
Appendix K: Pioneer uses for hogs; Hog production, U. S., 1878

According to a nineteenth century livestock medical book published in several cities in America, including San Francisco, in 1878 the three leading states in hog production were Iowa, Ohio, and Illinois. The five million swine packed in Chicago represented only one-sixth of the entire swine population raised in the U. S. in that year. The popularity of swine for both early pioneers travelling overland to Oregon and resident settlers is obvious in these lines: "Next to cattle, swine are the most important to man as an article of food. In the adaptability of pork for successfully standing long voyages, either barreled or smoked, in the value of lard for various culinary, lubricating and burning purposes, its place could not easily be supplied now."

It seems that T. W. B. Smith began doing what many men in Chicago would be employed doing in the succeeding decades, but he built his own smokehouse, herded, fed, and slaughtered his own pigs (with the help of family and perhaps others as well). Van believes he even sold pork directly from the wagon himself, when he took the "fresh pork" to Corvallis.
Appendix L: Left side, Philomath Round-Up photo;  
Huge crowds for small town

Fig. L 1. Left side, Philomath Round-Up grounds

This Round-Up photo was taken with an old camera which could photograph the whole wide scene, but distorted images so that the Grandstand which appears convex in the photo was really concave. Man on high announcer’s Stand with long megaphone announced events and contestants.

Madge Savage recalled the crowd vividly, though she cannot recall much about the Round-Up itself. She and her parents came to town from Corvallis on the train, as did many strangers from other towns besides Corvallis. They shared a picnic lunch with their friends, named “Williams... And they lived right next to [the] Scotts [Roy Scott, the son of Will Scott who is the pioneer in the photo taken at the Junction]” (Madge C1, S.2:027). "I just remember sitting on the lawn there, eating our lunch, on the Main Street... But I don’t remember where we sat or anything at the Round-Up... And it was fun to watch all the people, because we could be right there on the Main Street, where all the activity was" (Madge C1, S.2:010).
Of the huge crowd in this photo, Madge commented, "Yes, look how far they go! And we ... probably didn't have tickets in the Grandstand." She does not recall, but probably they were among those who had to stand, to one side or the other of the Grandstand (Madge C1, S.1:088).

It is a very crucial point to note, that the sights and sounds of a big bustling town or city were often very dazzling to Americans, a majority of whom still lived on farms in the second decade of the twentieth century. Philomath's daily population, as a "town would just be very few" people in the early 1900s. Occasionally loggers or cowboys might come to town to buy supplies, seeming roughshod to the college students and town business proprietors, but people all knew each other, including the loggers and cowboys. On the residential lots within town, ranching and wood-cutting (for firewood) was commonplace. To a small town like Philomath, the Round-Up which rivalled Pendleton's much more famous one was an event the local people who were there will never forget. As Carl Bennett said, "It's amazing- the difference today- than it was at that time. The jobs, the atmosphere, such as that. It- it's just amazing how things have changed. When we first came to Philomath [in 1929] I knew everybody in town. Now I don't know anybody... (chuckles) And I'm probably one of the oldest ones here in Philomath" [Bennett 1, S.1:098).

Newspaper accounts of the size of the crowd varied, but apparently in the two years of the actual Philomath Round-Up, the crowds were indeed "thick". On June 21, 1917, the local Philomath newspaper, the "Benton County Review," reported: "The Round-up is on full swing. Yesterday, the opening day the crowd was not perhaps over 1500 but today, Thursday promises to be about the same as last year when 8000 people were here."
The Corvallis newspaper perhaps exaggerated their estimate of the 1916 crowd, by all accounts larger than that of 1917, to be: "6,000 people" for Thursday, June 22nd (the first day) and "a jolly crowd, the number reaching anywhere from 12,000 to 15,000 persons" on Friday, June 23rd, 1916. The front page of Friday's paper declared, in the first line, "This is the biggest day in the history of Philomath." The three day event concluded on Saturday, June 24th. In 1917, the Round-Up was again held over a three-day period, June 20-23, but the "Daily Gazette-Times" noted in its small front page story on Friday, June 22, that the crowd was smaller than anticipated. "Last year it was a continuous procession [of autos] thru the streets of the city [of Corvallis, headed for Philomath]. The falling off may be properly attributed to the war situation, the calls for men and funds, and the doubt of what may be going to happen. Also, in a measure to the Roundups near already, having taken place, and that others are coming."
Appendix M: Right side, Philomath Round-Up photo;

R. P. McClelland's daughter Lorraine as cowgirl,
and his departure from town

Fig. M 2. Right side, Philomath Round-Up grounds

Of the two girls in front of the long review line of contestants, one to right is unidentified, but the younger one to left seated "on the pinto" horse was identified by Madge Savage as Lorraine McClelland. She was "very active in riding horses and things... I think she was the only daughter. And apparently she didn't have a mother [living in Philomath] because it was always the cook that corrected her" (Madge C1, S.2:256). Madge knew Lorraine as a playmate, when she would come visit her cousins in Philomath. "She was a friend of my cousins. My cousins lived right there where the mill is, and then she lived up on the hill. She used to come down and play. And [McClelland's] cook would spank her with a skillet every time she did something wrong. I remember that. And I think she was about 7 or 8 when we used to go out there [to Philomath, on the train] (Madge C1, S.1:066). Her father, the famous wealthy promoter of this Round-Up, was identified by Dean Tatom as the cowboy seated on the horse at the far left end of the long review line of cowboys. Since the photograph of the entire Round-Up grounds was too long to copy and reproduce on one page, one must turn back to the left side, shown in figure L 1, to see McClelland, below the megaphone held out by the announcer on his Stand.
At the far right end (in the right side of the long photograph shown above) are the Indian rodeo cowboys and their women, standing to the side.

One wonders if there weren't other, more personal or financial reasons why McClelland left Philomath in what seems to have been such an abrupt manner, and after accumulating so much land, and promoting such a successful (or at least popular) Round-Up. Madge remarked that, "I just know he left after about- He was there long enough to get that all built up- the barn and all those fences, corrals, and the house..." (Madge C1, S.2:149). A search of the recorded deeds in the Benton County Courthouse for the years 1910 through 1920 revealed only 7 deeds in which R. P. McClelland's name appears, all for property sold to him. All of the deeds were signed only in a span of two years, 1913-1914. After this, the deed record is silent.

McClelland may even have left before 1917, since by 1921, when the Cones moved into the lavish house he had built, it "had changed hands once or twice after McClelland, before we lived there" (Madge C1, S.2:177). A line in one article about the 1917 Philomath Round-Up seems to support this hypothesis. The "Daily Gazette-Times" of June 16, 1917 reported that among those famous cowboys expected to attend this year's event, "our own familiar R. Porter McClellan will come down from Montana." The 1916 newspaper accounts clearly identify "Manager McClelland" as organizing the Round-Up, even going so far as to claim: "Big cash prizes have induced the best broncho busters to come and R. P. McClelland has gone onto the ranges and selected the most notorious outlaw horses and the wildest steers he could wind" ("Daily Gazette-Times," June 16, 1916).
By 1917 it is John Daniels who is identified as "Manager Daniels, the optimistic, hard-working 'head boss' of the roundup association" (in the same June 16th first page article quoted above). Perhaps the 1917 Round-Up, which failed to draw the huge crowds of the year before, was that last attempt by Daniels himself to continue holding the annual event. In that case, McClelland was indeed gone by 1917.
Appendix N: Philomath Round-Up Performers and Poetry

Here are some more words written for the Round-Up, and about 'Colonel' R. P. McClelland (with his last name misspelled) as a rodeo cowboy himself. First is the first page report of his performance in the (only two-day) 1915 Horse show, from the "Daily Gazette-Times" of May 24, 1915. Last is a poem by a local poet who Madge knew, when they both (like many Philomath townsfolk) worked for Griswold and Grier, at the millyard at Flynn's. E. L. Sharpe is the poet, who was remembered by Madge as an energetic fellow, full of pranks. His poem is also from the front page of the same Corvallis paper, for Tues., June 19, 1917.

"Riding the bucking steers was the opening feature of the round-up. R. Porter McClellan won the silver spurs in the bucking steer contest, mainly because he happened to get the wildest stag of the bunch. Yet Mac would have remained on the upper deck had the steer tossed twice as high."

Big Roundup On Tomorrow

The Puncher's [a.] they are with us, they've took the town by storm, These lads with shirts so gaudy bright, and hearts so big and warm. Dell Blanchett, with his merry smile, has come and brought his bunch With jingling spurs and leather chaps, the Puncher with a punch.?

[b.] Wilkes, and Ella Merryfield, the girls that ride 'em clean, Upon the backs of pitching bronks, in action will be seen. Oh, yes, there's music in the air, the voice of mule and steer
Is mingled with the Puncher's song, and cowgirl's merry cheer.
Today we're living o'er the days of bygone times again, [c.]
Exchanging words of friendly cheer with heroes of the plain. [d.]
We're clasping hands with Skeeter Bill, and Mrs. Skeeter, too,
Ben Dobbin, Tex, and old Dave White, and friends both old and new.
The Ray boys with their ropin' stuff, and Bob and Shorty Hall,
Joe Sherry, Yakima Canutt, the guy that rides 'em all.
And that old Prince of bulldog boys, Buff Vernon, he is here,
To hand us dope and spin his rope, and wrestle with the steer.
Friend Johnny Spain, the one-armed boy, the cleverest of boys,
He does his part with willing heart, and makes but little noise.
The dusky maids from far Siletz, and dusky warriors too,
They, too, are here to bring us cheer and give a thrill to you.
There's nothing that's been left undone, no money has been spared,
We've got the best that's in the West, we've everything prepared
To give to you a wild West show, that cannot be surpassed,
We'll give you features, thrilling new, that nowhere are outclassed.
We've got the bronks, we've got the boys, we're putting up the dough,
And money is the article that makes the old mare go.
So hit the town, tomorrow, morn and come prepared to stay,
Don't hoard your pelf, enjoy yourself, and hear the brass band play.

a. Many rodeo contestants began their 'careers' as cowpunchers, working
long, hard weeks trailing cattle to market.
b. name obscured on microfiche copy of old newspaper

c. The Round-Up was also billed as an 'old West' or (as in one later line of this poem, a 'wild West show.' Some rodeo 'sports' displayed skills that cowpunchers of yore learned, either in their work or from Mexican vaqueros.

d. Those rodeo cowgirls and cowboys from the plains of Montana, Idaho, eastern Washington and eastern Oregon, very different from the geography of valley and coastal foothills found around Philomath. Many of their names found in following lines of poem.