THE CONTINUOUS REBIRTH OF AN OREGON SPIRIT: VALUES THAT ARE MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT THE GENERATIONS OF CHILDREN FROM THE 1840'S TO THE PRESENT

by

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The initial pioneers of Oregon, who arrived in the 1840's through the early 1850's, brought with them values and ways of life from the midwest and the east. These values, in turn, formed the basis for the belief structure of the white settlers of Oregon. Throughout the subsequent generations this structure appeared again and again. Even though many of the values were altered to accommodate the changing lifestyles of Oregonians, the beliefs still remained essentially intact.

Through the process of my research, by examining primary source material and secondary readings, I have come to the conclusion that even though life has changed since the original pioneer period, there are threads that keep Oregon's history together. The climate, the physical geography, and the general tendency towards conservatism,

have all influenced the maintenance of the primary pioneer value structure.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The area now known as the State of Oregon was once a place of promise and relative mystery for the people staking claims and taking advantage of the Donation Land Act. Their children, either born on the trail to Oregon or in the early years of living in the territory between 1843 and the late 1850's, were to form the first generation of Oregonians who did not know or remember what life was like in the east, or more likely the midwest (Douglas, pg. 105). As historian Elliott West noted, "(t)o them this was no `frontier' at all; this was not a line between the well known and the unfamiliar. For the very youngest this was their first reality" (West, "Child's Play," pg. 4). They based their experiences around the climate, and physical characteristics of Oregon, along with the values and personalities of their parents --the "mental outfit of the first comers" (Eggleston, pg. 2). The climate was not as harsh as the midwest throughout the seasons, allowing for ease of living. There wasn't a constant threat of deep snow, or droughts. This ease of climate, along with bountiful harvests and ample resources the Willamette Valley provided for the majority of the settlers, aided in the development of their value systems and communities.

The generally hard working nature of their parents kept the children busy, but the rivers of the Willamette Valley, the hills and wildflowers of northeastern Oregon, the ocean and beach of the coast, and the abundance of forests provided an environment of adventure and exploration. After chores were done there might have been a chance to ride a horse through the woods or collect berries for a treat. Oregon encompassed many geographical regions in a small space. Tourists today often think of Oregon in terms of trees and the color green, but in reality it has a large area of desert type land, and mountainous areas. All these regions provided differing "playgrounds" for the youth of the 1840's and 50's.

There was a blending of the ideals from their parents' generation with the new physical geography of Oregon. The children adapted what they learned at home to the environment around them. The values that held the pioneer families together included character, independence, cooperation, and a strong work ethic. Other pioneers in other areas, along with permanent residents of the east and midwest, also shared these beliefs and can be in their entirety viewed as a generic pioneer or American spirit. However, the subject of this study is Oregon and the ways in which these values were established in the "new" territory by the initial white Oregonians who settled there.

Richard Maxwell Brown, in his article "Rainfall and History: Perspectives on the Pacific Northwest," discusses the impact of climate upon the migrating white settlers. "To the mode of regularity in the Northwest climate there is an analogue in Northwest social and political life; the analogue is consensus" (R. M. Brown, pg. 24). The pioneers were coming to an area where they could reestablish the conservative lifestyle they had been able to lead elsewhere. In Oregon: A Bicentennial History, Gordon Dodds remarked that

> although the pioneer generation was conservative, its members were not staid or unadventuresome. After all, most people in the Middle West stayed home. The pioneers were those who, when weighing the necessity to move and the desire to remain, came down on the side of change, but change for the sake of duplicating the old ways in an environment that was itself, both novel and familiar (Dodds, pg. 63).

This familiarity is discussed in depth in Peter Boag's dissertation. He emphasized the foothills --specifically of the Calapooia area-- as a good place for building a home (and the place most often chosen as a result), instead of the flat plains in the valley.

> Finding the physical environment to the Willamette Valley plains not to their liking, the settlers retreated to the periphery of the Willamette: to its foothills --among them those of the narrow Calapooia-- where they found the natural resources with which they could reproduce the subsistence life-style they had known in trans-Appalachia (Boag, pg. 5).

Consequently, the territory of Oregon provided a stable climate and a similar physical geography to the east and

midwest. Conserving old values and characteristics was therefore relatively simple. New methods of agriculture and living were not required in the Willamette Valley because the geography was similar, the climate was mild, and the soil fertile.

Not only did the initial settlers of the mid-nineteenth century and their children share these characteristics, but the subsequent generations maintained the ways of life in one form or another. In the case of one girl growing up in northeastern Oregon in the early twentieth century, she had her own mule named "Grapejuice" and taught school by riding there each day (it was fourteen miles each way) (Huff Interview). Another girl grew up in Astoria in the late 1940's through the 1950's, a time one hundred years after the initial settlers came to Oregon. She had to milk cows, tend the chickens, dig ditches, and complete other chores after the death of her father and an accident which caused her mother to become paraplegic (Zirges Interview, pg. 1). These two examples, while only representing fifty year increments from the initial settlement, do show significant ties with the past.

According to Frederick Jackson Turner:

> American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character (Turner, pgs. 2-3).

Although Turner considered that the "frontier" essentially evaporated in 1890 more recent scholarship is reevaluating Turner's thesis. In a recent article by William Cronon, entitled "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," Cronon mentions that

> For myself, the most useful elements of Turner's frontier are its focus on the history of how human beings have interacted with the American landscape; its ability to relate local and regional history to the wider history of the nation; its interdisciplinary focus; and not least, its commitment to putting ordinary people at the center of the story.
> (Cronon, pg. 171)

Cronon does not discredit Turner, but instead uses the portions of the thesis that are useful for today's study of the frontier period in American history. Cronon also remarked in his article that "(i)t may be that we continue to use Turner's vocabulary only because it is so comfortably broad that it never gets in the way of our research and never forces us to adopt a more rigorous approach" (Cronon, pg. 160). Turner encouraged his students to study "history from the bottom up" in his history seminars and provided a systematic approach for examining Western history of the frontier; this technique was also praised by Cronon because of its broad covering of the subject of the frontier.

A similarly current attack on Turner's thesis about frontier development is presented in The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West, by Patricia Nelson Limerick. Even the title suggests the dispute. Limerick

wrote that "(t)he processes of Western development . . . run continuously from past to present, from mining, cattle raising, and farming on to hydroelectric power and even into space" (Limerick, pg. 32). Limerick does not view the frontier as a "one shot deal" but rather a part of Western history in its entirety. She emphasizes the importance of minorities and how Turner's thesis refers only to the white settlers in their process of "conquering" others, not how the conquered felt (Limerick, pgs. 26-27). However, as Cronon wrote, "(f)or all the criticism his successors have directed against his work, no new synthetic paradigm for western history has yet emerged to replace Turner's" (Cronon, pg. 160).

In terms of this research, I agree with both Cronon and Limerick. On one hand, I want to use Turner's ideas about the forming of character in people living on the frontier. "Whereas sections were bounded, motionless, and particular to their moment in time, the frontier was the moving embodiment of time, and so conferred on places it touched a universality the section could never attain" (Cronon, pg. 168). On the other hand, I want to extend the frontier to encompass the twentieth century. The history of Oregon should include all of its history, including the minorities, foreigners, Native Americans, and the white settlers. Even though I am only dealing with the white settlers, that does not mean that the other groups are excluded because they are

not significant. In Abner S. Baker's dissertation, "The Oregon Pioneer Tradition in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Recollection and Self-Definition," he relates the closing remarks of the Annual Address of the Oregon Pioneer Association of 1902:

> [a] son of the soil, grown up with Oregon institutions, I am proud of our early pioneers. I do not believe that any State was founded by a grander class of men or women . . . . Plain, honest, tolerant, courageous, intelligent, they laid broad and deep the foundations of a State whose magnificent growth and development is their grandest eulogy (Baker, pg. 87).

It is these people that I am particularly interested in studying because they formed the basis of the majority of Oregon's population today.

According to the Doctrine of First Effective Settlement, as introduced by Wilbur Zelinsky in his book The Cultural Geography of the United States,

> [w]henever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been. . . . Thus, in terms of lasting impact, the activities of a few hundred, or even a few score, initial colonizers can mean much more for the cultural geography of a place than the contributions of tens of thousands of new immigrants a few generations later (Zelinsky, pgs. 13-14).

This theory can be applied to Oregon because the values of the first white Oregonians have permeated the generations up until the present. It is true that many of the characteristics of the "initial band of settlers" have

essentially disappeared or have been altered by the increasing spread of technology, urbanization and the growth of suburbs. Nonetheless even where a strong work ethic might produce paper money instead of wheat or dairy products, and even where childhood exploration is transformed by asphalt, diminishing forests, and wooded areas, examples of the pioneer values remain to be discovered. Just as an animal species is not deemed extinct until all living members are dead, so can the "Oregon Spirit" not be so easily quenched. The last vestiges remain to provide a microcosm for present historians to study the society of the past.

Lastly, to define what I mean by "frontier" I have employed the use of two definitions. They both come from Ray Allen Billington's America's Frontier Heritage. Firstly, to define the frontier as a place it can be said that it is "a geographic region adjacent to the unsettled portions of the continent in which a low man-land ratio and unusually abundant, unexploited, natural resources provide an exceptional opportunity for social and economic betterment to the small-propertied individual" (Billington, pg. 25). Secondly, to define the frontier as a process Billington wrote that it is "the process through which the socioeconomic-political experiences and standards of individuals were altered by an environment where a low man-land ratio and the presence of untapped natural resources

provided an unusual opportunity for self-advancement" (Billington, pg. 25). These forces, whether as a physical place or a process, molded the characteristics of the initial settlers in Oregon.

CHAPTER II

THE INITIAL SETTLEMENT OF OREGON

Reasons for Coming to Oregon in the 1840's and 1850's

Oregon of the 1840's and 1850's was not as well known as it is today. The Willamette Valley, as advertised in the midwest and the east by the previous settlers, such as missionaries, was a place of rich farmland and lush vegetation. Other than that small portion of the state practically nothing was known about the Oregon territory by the pioneers that started coming in droves in the mid 1840's. The drivers of those cattle, horses, and oxen came looking to stake claims and collect free land offered by the Donation Land Act enacted in 1850. They sought a good place to grow crops, but perhaps most particularly they wanted a healthy climate where the epidemics of cholera, Mountain fever, and the ague could not easily reach them. Gordon Dodds wrote that while people came for economic and health reasons, they also arrived with a sense of patriotism for their newly founded country. Oregon, in 1843, was still involved in a dispute of ownership. The British, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, were a threat to American soil, and the American way of life (Dodds, pg. 62). "And, in the course of time, if an American territory were created in Oregon following the departure of Britain, an

added bonus for the politically ambitious would be the host of offices available to aspiring statesmen" (Dodds, pg. 62).

Sarah Hunt Steeves, in her Book of Remembrance of Marion County, Pioneers 1840-1860, discussed the primary reason that families traveled to Oregon as being "the desire for land upon which to build homes, with a better opportunity for their growing sons" (Steeves, preface). I conclude from my research, however, that the paramount reason was the desire for a place free from disease. "The climate is unexcelled for the personal health of the individual, who benefits in terms of comfort and longevity" (R. M. Brown, pg. 19).

Even while passing the tempting fertile soil of the Grand Ronde Valley in northeastern Oregon, the wagons did not generally stop because the climate had not been sufficiently tested by previous settlers. The coastal area was also a mystery (except to traders, Native Americans, and those who manned forts in the northwestern area of the state), as was the southeastern area; it was a desert with less than ten inches of rainfall per year and consequently inadequate irrigation for farming, although it was later used extensively for the grazing of livestock (Geography of Oregon Course). The Willamette Valley was the favored place to settle.

There were also distinctions within the valley itself. The primary settlements were in the northern parts and the

southern tip (around present day Eugene and Springfield). The northern area centered on the French Canadian settler's French Prairie but not alongside rivers where there was dampness, and consequently an increased risk of illness. Peter Boag wrote of the pioneers "(r)etreating to the foothills in order to make a living during the early years, . . . look(ing) with wishful eyes onto the open prairies. Upon these open plains they believed a community would be created" (Boag, pg. 329). The foothills provided a fertile area away from the accumulated water in the valley. In "The Remembrances of Marianne Hunsaker D'Arcy," Marianne, a girl who crossed the plains from Indiana when she was four years old, remembered fondly her family's home on Fruit Hill (near Oregon City), which was situated on the top of a low hill with the Willamette and Clackamas rivers at some distance down the slope (D'Arcy). The settlers wanted rich land without the fear of disease that could kill their children or themselves and consequently take away a source of labor necessary on the newly founded homesteads.

The Values of the Initial Settlers

The tumult of the overland journey to Oregon created a mobile environment foreign to the settlers. On the trail people were in constant upheaval --moving from camp to camp, day after day-- instead of the stable atmosphere of a farm setting. After settling down, staking a claim, building a dwelling of some kind, and planting a first crop, the

pioneers could reestablish their traditional way of life and their value systems.

Jesse Douglas, in his article entitled "Origins of the Population of Oregon in 1850," determined that "Western migration was generally a movement of families rather than of individuals and frequently, . . . was a prolonged process accomplished in several stages" (Douglas, pg. 97). Therefore, most people came to Oregon in families, and these families had moved before.

In his book, The Plains Across, John Unruh accepted Dorothy O. Johansen's migration hypothesis regarding the decision settlers had to make about whether they would go to Oregon or California. He wrote:

> [t]he emigrants themselves seemed to think the more "respectable" of their numbers were turning off to Oregon, especially in the years before 1847, and Johansen asserts that by "respectable" they meant immigrants of the Protestant persuasion who possessed a Puritan moral outlook, emphasized thrift and education, and were conservative seekers of law and order. (Unruh, pg. 61)

However, rather than immediately establishing communities, there were more pressing demands. Billington discusses these demands by writing that "so long as fields must be cleared, prairie sod broken, homes built, fences constructed, and the earth made to yield up its fruits, there was no time for abstract thought or artistic creation (Billington, pg. 90). "The opportunity for self improvement created by this frontier world placed a premium on tasks and

values and fostered material progress, rather than cultural (Billington, pg. 90).

The men (often established fathers or soon to be) either worked on their claims or provided some service for neighboring claims or enterprises. Marianne Hunsaker D'Arcy's father, Jacob T. Hunsaker, ran a lumber mill and built the first bridge across the Clackamas river (D'Arcy, "My Birthday," pg. 2). The women, on the other hand, had duties that were relatively uniform. They tended to the household, children, sewing, cooking, washing, household garden, livestock, harvest (of the garden), canning and preserving of food, and doctoring. Some women taught school, but teaching was primarily a means of maintaining busyness before marriage (teaching stopped as soon as vows were exchanged). Girls married early and parents generally did not have any qualms about sending their fourteen year old daughters off to marry a man and to begin a family (often of ten children or more). Children, once old enough to do chores, could relieve the mother of many of her tasks and were therefore advantageous. "Home was not the quiet and cozy retreat that nineteenth-century culture envisioned, but a busy center of endless chores and economic ventures" wrote Julie Roy Jeffrey in her book Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1880. There were many things that needed to be accomplished to be a self-sufficient pioneer family. There weren't easily accessible stores for

most early settlers; they had to rely on their own production to provide for their needs (such as candles, clothing and soap).

Besides duties, the pioneer ideals are also significant. Lansford Hastings, a Californian of the time, wrote in one of his California guidebooks

> (and) I may add, that the Oregon emigrants, are, as a general thing, of a superior order to those of our people, who usually emigrate to our frontier countries. They are not the indolent, dissolute, ignorant and vicious, but they are generally, the enterprising, orderly, intelligent and viscous.
> (Unruh, pg. 61)

In Women and Men on the Overland Trail John Mack Faragher wrote that the "men and women shared the same orientation to what was important: a naturalistic aesthetic, hard work, good health, and practical economic considerations" (Faragher, pg. 15). He was referring to all westering settlers. Thomas Benson, an Oregon pioneer of 1864, described the Oregon settlers' experience aptly when he wrote that

> [t]hey had faith in the new country where they patiently hewed out homes not only for themselves but for future posterity. They smiled at disappointments and hardships and faced death with a calmness born of looking squarely at the realities of life. They were the solid timbers that went into the building of the great commonwealth of Oregon.
> (Pioneer Ladies Club, pg. 104)

In a description of Sephronia Cornelius Hills --a pioneer of 1851-- Hallie Hills Huntington remarked in her book All The Way West,

> [a]nother like her will not be along. The iron discipline with which she met the trials of primitive living, the honesty and will to "do right" which she instilled in her children and her ability to make decisions in time of crisis set her apart in the memory of those who knew her best. They found in her a trusted neighbor and a valued friend, who was never too busy to come and lend a hand when it was needed. (Huntington, pg. 38)

The women broke many nineteenth century stereotypes regarding what females should accomplish "(b)ut this did not necessarily mean that pioneer women abandoned the larger conception of women's nature or that they ceased to value female culture" (Jeffrey, pg. 62). They simply didn't have the time or the close neighbors (for social gatherings) to fulfill that desire.

Not only were the values of the men and women significant, but those of the children were as well. In Elliott West's book, Growing Up with the Country, he discusses the importance of children in the social history of western expansionism. Whereas the adults who settled the Oregon frontier had firmly established attributes that they had learned from their parents in the East or Midwest, the children did not. "Children grew up pulled between two sets of influences, their identification with the land about them and their parents' dogged efforts to instill values and traditions from another world" (West, pg. 260). Childrens' relationship with their environment was an integral factor in how they developed psychologically; "(l)ook to your parents and obey them, they were urged, even as they were

forced into situations bound to make them independent and emotionally self-reliant" (West, pg. 253).

West also describes how the action of young girls outside the home (primarily in the prairie type landscape of the midwest) made them less able to adapt to marriage and confinement within a household. He described them as spending long days out on the prairie on horseback or running errands between homesteads (West, pg. 257). This statement, however, does not appear to have been true in Oregon. Even in the Willamette Valley there was not the wide expanse of prairie that could be found in South Dakota, for example. There were generally too many heavily forested areas and too much thick underbrush to allow for such extensive exploring and independence as West describes. Parents might have feared for wild animals and the children could more easily become lost in the foothills where most of the pioneers made their homes. The experiences of the girls on the homestead or on neighboring farms, conversely, did make them more independent in the fact that they could take care of themselves, for example, by means of their farming skills or their ability to wield a gun. Even without the vast prairies "(g)rowing up in the West, girls and boys naturally acquired independent, self-motivated, confident, even brash personalities" (West, pg. 257).

> As a new region emerged, they were most of its political and business leaders, educators and ministers, skilled workers and day laborers,

> housewives and merchants, criminals and drifters. They helped build new western institutions; more than any others, perhaps, they were responsible for regional attitudes and limitations (West, pg. 260).

Specific Examples

In order to demonstrate the above values, specific examples need to be examined. One excellent source is a book put together by the Pioneer Ladies Club of Pendleton, Oregon entitled Reminiscences of Oregon Pioneers. It includes various accounts of pioneers when they were either children or adults (they had grown up in Oregon).

A good example of a kind of community spirit between fellow Oregonians is exemplified in the "Experiences of a Pioneer Woman - Ella Robbins Benson." She remembered that

> [i]n seventy-eight (1878) there were troublous times with the Indians. We pioneer women watched each cloud of dust, fearing that the Indians might be coming to burn our homes or worse. As the neighbors were far apart and our men often away from home, we women stayed at each other's homes for weeks at a time. (Pioneer Ladies Club, pg. 108)

In this way they were able to protect each other. In the "Reminiscences of Thomas Benson" we learn that

> [m]any of the friendships made during those years have endured through the passing of time. Those sturdy pioneers were a happy lot and although many of the women never possessed anything finer than a calico dress and the men wore hickory shirts, rough trousers and top boots, yet their hearts were of purest gold. They entertained the passerby and made him welcome to their humble homes (Pioneer Ladies Club, pg. 104).

Providing a helping hand was a common thread revealed in the lives of the Oregon settlers. Shannon Applegate described

this cooperative spirit in her book Skookum: An Oregon Pioneer Family's History and Lore:

> [t]hose that had it shared it. Some who didn't have much shared anyway. That was the unwritten rule of the settlements, for everyone in Oregon at one time or another found himself beholden to his neighbor. Nor was there ever talk of repayment of obligation, especially when people were up against it. It was in this spirit that the majority of settlers had rallied to assist their fellows (Applegate, pg. 78).

Perhaps more importantly, however, was the Oregon pioneers' tie with the land. This link connected life and death, work and play, family and friends. To children the land was extremely important: "(t)heir parents set them down in a different environment at just that stage of life when sensations of their immediate world meant more than they ever would again" (West, pg. 6). Cecil Muriel Brown, in her book A Right to Dream, described Klamath County in the following passage:

> [t]he enchantment of the hills is like a Presence, and throughout the years our children have been irresistibly drawn up the trail. From the crest of one high ridge, I have counted thirty-three lakes separated by small and large ridges.
>
> There were a few mountain huckleberries beside the path, and smaller varieties along the lakeshore...Miss Rose was too intent on searching for new flowing specimens, and Sadie and I just wanted to explore this new land of beauty (C.M. Brown, pg. 58).

This passage may be an image of the land seen through "rose-colored glasses" but it remains as an indicator of Brown's love of the land. Peter Boag also related that

> [c]oming to the Willamette and Calapooia Valleys from trans-Appalachia in the middle of the nineteenth century, Euro-American settlers found their new

> wilderness surroundings --which both nature and the previous Indian inhabitants had shaped-- to be of great beauty. Not fearful of the wilderness, Euro-American settlers developed a positive and intimate relationship with the landscape through their daily activities on it (Boag, pg. 4).

The land was everywhere; it was an inviting place to explore and an arduous frontier to conquer. By "conquer" I am referring to the building of "white-man" homes and communities in areas previously unsettled in this fashion. West described the desire to overcome the wilderness when he wrote:

> The work ethic was no abstraction; pioneers equated long, strenuous labor with normal living. Because some of that work required the help of others, the frontier inspired a cooperative spirit. But even more basic was the pioneer's inner directedness, a determination to achieve fueled not by the opinions of others but by the heady reward that came to those who wrestled with the environment and won.
> (West, pg. 252)

The Oregon territory brought friends and families in close contact with each other. It didn't matter if they were helping each other build homes or harvest crops. At least they were in the experience together. Hardships brought people close as well as success. Leonore Gale Barette described a Christmas in Oregon in 1853 in terms of a family getting together for the holiday after the long process of assimilation. "The road to the future looked promising and they all determined that if hard work and grit would lead to success, they would reach it" (Barette, pgs. 15-16).

In Marianne Hunsaker D'Arcy's remembrances it is revealed that she felt important in her family when she was ten, after her older sister Josephine died from "Mountain Fever" (typhoid). Marianne had the job of tending the younger ones in place of her sister; she was now in a position to provide stability and love for her siblings, instead of always seeking it herself (D'Arcy, "My Birthday," pg. 2).

Responsibility came early, as did marriage and childbearing. Some girls married when they were thirteen, but most married around the ages of fifteen and sixteen after an arrangement by the girl's parents (Lockley, pg. 181). Hester Ann Bolin Harvey married at fifteen and proceeded to have eleven children. She was born in 1845 and came to Oregon in 1853 with her brother. At age twelve she wrote: "I never got much schooling only getting to attend about six weeks at a time and sometimes not that much as he [the uncle she was living with] used to drink and I would have to go home and take care of him" (Harvey). Elizabeth Shepard Holtgrieve described her first encounter with her future husband as follows:

> [w]hen he [a friend of her father] found out I was upwards of 14 years old, he said he had a friend, named Henry Holtgrieve, who was looking for a wife. He asked Father when we would be back. He said he would arrange to have his friend there to meet me. . . We stopped at Mr. Dodd's place, . . . Mr. Holtgrieve was there and he and Father talked the matter over and said he would be up the next week to our place to marry me (Lockley, pg. 160).

Often girls did get to choose their husbands, or at least have some veto power. In the case of Bethenia Owens-Adair, as written about in Carol Kirkby McFarland's thesis entitled "Bethenia Owens-Adair: Oregon Pioneer Physician, Feminist, and Reformer," she divorced her first husband and went on to become a doctor while maintaining a relatively high standing in the pioneer community. She was born in 1840, came to Oregon with her family in 1843, and was married to Legrand Hill on May 4, 1854 at the age of fourteen (McFarland, pgs. 42-43). She had a son named George (from her marriage to Hill), who she was able to raise as a single mother in the Astoria and Roseburg areas and earn enough money to put herself and her son through medical school by teaching and owning her own seamstress shop respectively in each location. She had divorced Legrand because he neglected and beat her on numerous occasions. Her case was unusual but it exemplifies the opportunities that certain ambitious women could take advantage of after the "disgrace" of divorce in that era (McFarland).

If marriage was not desired immediately women could become teachers (until they got married). Mary Robinson Gilkey described a marriage proposal that shaped the rest of her life. "Martha's brother proposed to me . . . . I told him I didn't care to get married--that I wanted to know something, that I wanted to come and go as I pleased, and later I wanted to become a teacher" (Lockley, pg. 181). She

taught until she was thirty-four years old. Most other women of that age would probably already have had approximately eight children whereas Mary would have only had to teach them. She was truly "(wed) to (her) profession" (Lockely, pg. 181). Marilla R. Washburn Bailey, conversely, stated: "I was married at 15, and was not only a good cook and housekeeper, but I knew how to take care of babies, from having cared for my brothers and sisters. I had ten babies of my own and never had help" (Lockley, pgs. 168-9).

These large families were necessary not only for taking care of the subsistence farms, but were important in the learning and maintenance of the pioneer ideals of hardwork, cooperation, and thrift. When Catherine Thomas Morris was interviewed in 1928 about her life in Oregon in the 1850's she spoke about the differences between her childhood and the time in which she was speaking.

> In these days [1928] many families have no children and others have one child. In those days there were usually from 10 to 15 children in the family so that children had no chance to grow up spoiled and selfish. They had to learn to share their things and to help each other. Both the boys and the girls had certain duties that they had to perform, so they had very little time to get into mischief. (Lockley, pgs. 143-144)

The sheer mass of people in families maintained a sense of community in a territory of individual homesteads. Later, when population became more dense in the Willamette Valley, and other parts of Oregon, families didn't need to be so big

to create the same support networks that were necessary in the mid-nineteenth century. Closer friends and neighbors filled the niche that family had previously filled. However, many of the same values were maintained.

CHAPTER III

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

The Dissolving of the "Frontier"

The beginning of the twentieth century brought in a new era for Oregon. After officially becoming a state on February 14, 1859 Oregon began to rise in importance. Portland was becoming an important trade center because of its location on the Willamette River, and more people were choosing to live in areas other than the Willamette Valley. Urban dwellers were growing in numbers, and Oregonians had become firmly settled in soil, with as many as three generations of white settlers having been born in the state. Was there still a "frontier" to be conquered? According to Frederick Jackson Turner there was not, but in terms of Oregon's history as a whole there were still changes taking place. Of this time Dan Elbert Clark wrote, in The West in American History, that "the pioneer phase of the occupation of the land within the boundaries of the United States was finished, and the influences of that process upon the people and the nation could be studied as something that was completed" (Clark, page 623). I disagree. I think the important question is: was there still a need for cooperative, hardworking individuals who were attached to the landscape and who eked out a culture and lifestyle from

their land, in a similar manner to their ancestors, in a state where the "frontier" was historically believed to have disappeared?

The answer to that question is "yes." Even though Oregon was becoming more populated with additional settlers, immigrants, and families of established residents, there were still areas to be settled that required the strength, stamina, and spirit that the initial pioneers possessed. The new urban environments needed to be cohesively formed and areas such as northeastern Oregon, southeastern Oregon, the coast, and central Oregon needed to be more thoroughly explored by the white people. Even though the obstacles were different, in that Oregon had already started its initial settlement, and was breaking ground for further expansion, the initial values remained virtually intact with mere changes in focus.

In the thesis "Women in Jackson County, Oregon, 1875-1885: A Group Portrait," by Margaret Nan Haines, she discusses the second generation of pioneer women (the daughters of the initial pioneer mothers) in Jackson County. She remarked that "(i)t has already been suggested that life was easier and more comfortable for housewives during the 1870's and 1880's than it had been for the pioneer women thirty years earlier" (Haines, pg. 52). She then goes on to relate how their tasks may have been lessened with the introduction of improved legal status, sewing machines,

stoves (instead of cooking with a pot over an open fire), and stores that were more easily accessible in this time. However, she also included the fact that women became heavily involved in community clubs and activities that had not existed in earlier times when communities of people simply did not exist in such numbers. "They participated energetically in holiday celebrations, organizations, and entertainments, and brought to these activities considerable culinary and organizational skills" (Haines, pg. 98). These "organizations helped to rationalize and to civilize Jackson county society. This was a feminine goal, and women played an important role in its achievement" (Haines, pg. 110). This reveals how womens' roles had changed, but had maintained its work ethic in the period after the initial settlement. Ray Allen Billington noted that "(t)he traits that have eroded most rapidly in the twentieth century United States are those closely associated with rural life and thought" (Billington, pg. 230). Perhaps they had not "eroded" but simply taken form elsewhere in the needs of the community, and not only the household where the mother had previously been confined.

The importance of the climate remained significant. In the small space of decades the weather had remained mild.

> Even when the long fall-to-spring rainy season is taken into account, there are two notable compensating factors: the warm winter weather in comparison to the subfreezing temperatures and

> blizzards of the central and eastern U.S.; the delightfully dry and sunny but not excessively hot summer weather (R.M. Brown, pg. 19).

Even in Honey in the Horn, a fictional account of life in pioneer Oregon between 1906 and 1908 written by H.L. Davis, the presence of rain is a continual theme. To the main character, Clay, the rainy season "was the best time of all" --a generalized weather pattern which avoided extremes (Davis, pg. 194). "(T)his ideology of climate plays down the special factor of rainfall . . . and plays up the more general point that the words 'mild and equable' best characterize the Pacific Northwest" (R.M. Brown, pg. 19). In other words, the state and its people were relatively calm and conservative in direct comparison to the state's climate which was also relatively calm and conservative.

The Values that Remain

What were the remaining values? A belief in family and a cooperative spirit were still prevalent. The ties with nature were not as close, particularly within an urban setting, such as Portland, but because the land was yet to be polluted or paved over it still provided ample space for exploration and discovery. In the rural environment, life and death were still a natural aspect of life as revealed by Addeline Dodson Hunsaker Huff's interview where she only briefly mentioned the death of her son due to mushroom poisoning; death was more of a fact of life (Huff

Interview). There were not any official bereavement counselors other than friends and family, and any mourning could not get in the way of providing for oneself and remaining productive.

What values had disappeared? The answer to that question is difficult to ascertain. No values completely disappeared, some merely were less important. No longer was it always necessary to have a large family. One or two children could adequately provide assistance in an urban situation. The wealthier Oregonians were able to buy their supplies, hire servants and therefore didn't need to have numerous children to provide for an adequate work force. Children still felt an integral part of their families with chores that they were assigned, but no longer were a plethora of siblings needed to support the entire family in many situations. By 1860 there were changes in the occupation structures away from predominantly to diversified communities including physicians, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc. (Boag, pg. 283). There were more services provided, giving families more options for their free time which had been created when they did not have to provide for all of their needs.

Specific Examples

In order to explain the values at the turn of the twentieth century in Oregon specific examples again need to be employed. Katherine Grace Parke Palmer, Alice Mae Parke

Blair, Beverly Cleary, and Addeline Dodson Hunsaker Huff each provide excellent insights into childhood of that time period.

Addeline D. H. Huff grew up in eastern Oregon just outside of Baker. She was born in 1893. Her maternal grandfather and his family had traveled by wagon train and

> [w]hen they came to Oregon, they got to eastern Oregon and everyone was so tired; they had really started to the Willamette Valley; that was where the big advertising about Oregon settled - the Willamette Valley was about all they knew. They came to eastern Oregon and stopped there . . . (Huff Interview).

She was raised to believe in the importance of education and her grandfather housed the local teacher. "The school was a country school, . . . and they (the teachers) stayed boarding around, but my grandfather thought it was valuable to have a teacher in the house and had the best place there" (Huff Interview). In Marlene McDonald's book, When School Bells Rang, she lamented the loss of the small, one room school houses that Addeline would have encountered when she wrote,

> [t]he coziness and affection of the small group is gone, the close association between teacher and pupil, the walks through the woods in springtime picking wild flowers, or wild strawberries, and all the many joys of childhood in the country. The rural school child of the 1880's and 90's had something infinitely precious, indefinable . . . (McDonald, pgs. 5-6).

In addition to basic education Addeline was encouraged to pursue higher education by her father who considered higher learning to be important.

> His father had inspired the idea that you had to have college . . . he wanted me to study law but I wouldn't do it at that time. It was silly that I wouldn't but . . . they (both parents) were real keen about (my) being educated (Huff Interview).

This emphasis on furthering studies can be seen as a replacement for the value of hard work within the family. Whether the work ethic was extended to land or to books it didn't matter as long as there was commitment.

Addeline described herself as a "spoiled child." She said:

> I never milked a cow until once after I was about twenty-one. I had a son and there was not enough milk for him and nobody had come home. I was living on the Snake River and I went out to this old cow and two hours later I had gotten enough out of it. I didn't know you had to pull down --I was pushing up. I had enough drip to give the baby something to eat. (Huff Interview).

However, being spoiled did not seem to affect her ability to work hard as a teacher. She related:

> I went down the Snake River to teach school because Joe and I were having some financial problems. There were twenty-three children down there, all ages, all grades. I was boarding and the woman raised my board ten dollars a month and I couldn't afford it so I had fourteen miles to ride each way on a mule. I took two mules because one mule couldn't stand it. (Huff Interview).

Obviously, Addeline could "stand it."

In the early 1980's one of Addeline's former students from the Snake River area sent her a painting of herself and her mule "Grapejuice." Accompanying the picture was the following poem which encapsulated her strenuous experience:

Addeline and Grapejuice were a mighty famous pair
Who rode the hills from dawn to dusk, and could be found most everywhere,
From old Pine Town to Robbinette twas 14 miles one way,
but Addeline and Grapejuice never missed a day.
Addeline was teachin' school down next to the river's bend
where God quit work, saints left town, and Hell's Canyon just begin.
She had her spurs a tangled up and had them upside down,
But Grapejuice didn't mind a bit as she trotted into town.
All the folks they flew the flag and hauled out kegs of brew
for one of the ridenist gals around, our Pine Valley Buckaroo.
There's no one else that's rode that far to teach a pack of kids
than Addeline and Grapejuice down that lonely, slippery ridge.

Addeline was only one of two children. She had pets (a pony, cats and dogs), played games, and her only basic chore was washing the dishes occasionally and doing her school work. However, she maintained a strong work ethic. Her parents took her to San Francisco, she attended the opera, and went to school, yet she still had a firm bond with the eastern Oregon environment and the realities of life and death. She watched pigs being slaughtered and flowers blooming. Nature was all around her and she had ample opportunities to explore the area around her house (Huff Interview).

Katherine Grace Parke Palmer and Alice Mae Parke Blair provide further examples of children growing up around the turn of the century, but in the urban environment of

Portland. Katherine was born in 1910 and Alice was born two years later in 1912. They were sisters living near the Willamette River in Portland. Their father Albert Lloyd Parke was killed when they were aged eleven and nine respectively and they, in turn, helped their mother when funds ran low by saving and obtaining jobs to raise extra funds.

Their house was situated in a steep and rocky area where play took the form of climbing trees and gallivanting amongst the rocks. They had an intricate playhouse, facing the river, that had provided their father a place to hone his skills of house building for use on the family home. Alice and Katherine were close enough in age; they played together easily. Alice liked to dry dishes and Katherine liked to wash; their chores complemented each other. They enjoyed games with the neighbor children that involved a stone wall on their property. Swimming in the Willamette River was a favorite diversion, as long as they were accompanied by one or both parents. Going for a trip to the coast was a whole day endeavor in a car with hand lit headlights and both girls were used to the corduroy roads (roads made of logs placed together) used as diversions along the route.

In school Katherine was the only girl in her class of nine and she supplied the boys with the results of her cooking class either in the form of desserts or egg noodles

poured from a window onto eager, outreaching hands (Palmer Interview).

With insurance money from their father's death they were able to live adequately for many years and both girls never felt deprived. They both felt loved and safe; their mother --Mary Grace McClellan Parke-- was very protective (Palmer and Blair Interviews).

The values that are revealed in their lifestyle are different from that of the 1850's but nevertheless they exist in a similar form. The sense of cooperative spirit appeared when both girls went to work to help the family and when their mother took in extended family to care for. Mary became an excellent saleswoman for Meier and Frank Department Store, demonstrating appliances. They all worked very hard and had a strong sense of family.

This year Katherine will be celebrating the fifty-ninth anniversary of her marriage to George Frederick Stone Palmer. She has a belief in the family unit staying together. She and Alice remain in daily contact and all three of their children (Katherine had two and Alice had one) all consider each other as siblings. I feel privileged to be Katherine's granddaughter and I can still feel the close ties that traditionally have united the family (Palmer and Blair Interviews).

In the case of a more well known woman, Beverly Cleary, who writes children stories, her Oregon background is coming

to more public attention with the publication of her book, A Girl From Yamhill. She grew up in the early part of the twentieth century --an only child-- in Yamhill. She wrote:

> All through my childhood, whenever a task was difficult, my parents said, "Remember your pioneer ancestors." Life had not been easy for them; we should not expect life to be easy for us. If I cried when I fell down, Father said, "Buck up, kid. You'll pull through. Your pioneer ancestors did."
>
> I came to resent those exemplary people who were, . . . a hardy bunch . . . . I pictured them all as old, grim, plodding eternally across the plains to Oregon. As a child, I simply stopped listening. In high school, I scoffed, "Ancestor worship." Unfortunately, no one pointed out that some of those ancestors were children. If they had I might have pricked up my ears (Cleary, pg. 11).

Her interest in children at that age was natural; she was a child. She wanted to explore the lives of other children (she had no siblings) just as much as she wanted to investigate her environment. She wrote "(a)n only child on a farm, I had freedom for self-amusement, for looking, smelling, examining, exploring. No one cared if I got dirty. My parents were too hardworking to be concerned about a little dirt" (Cleary, pg. 23). Her parents instilled rules upon Beverly. She was told not to touch the stove, not to walk behind horses, to close gates, not to swear, and not to pick neighbors' flowers (Cleary, pgs. 25-35). Because she lived on a farm she saw death occur frequently but she was able to account for it in a humorous context:

> Most fun of all was tripping chickens. Father had a long pole with a hook on the end for snaring hens when

> Mother planned a chicken dinner. I tripped them, one after another, tipping them into the weeds of the barnyard, leaving them clucking indignantly over their ruffled feathers, until Mother pointed out that I was unkind to the chickens. I did not see why. I often watched Father behead chickens with an ax, a very unkind way to treat a chicken. I sometimes did not understand Mother's logic. When no one was looking, I went right on tripping chickens (Cleary, pg. 26).

Beverly also worked hard, especially after moving to Portland with her family when she was six. Her work did not involve factories or gardens, but rather the keeping up with the city's demands for a child such as school, dance lessons, friendships, and boyfriends. She learned how to read, write, and use the telephone (Cleary, pg. 88). Writing became her primary interest when her seventh grade reading teacher assigned the class an imaginative essay. Beverly wrote: "I was excited. All my life, Mother had told me to use my imagination, but I had never expected to be asked, or even allowed, to use it in school" (Cleary, pg. 145). After completing another such creative essay her teacher commented: "(w)hen Beverly grows up, she should write children's books" (Cleary, pg. 147). This encouragement provided a catalyst for her future endeavors. With the help of additional inspirational teachers and relatively supportive parents Beverly went to College at Chaffey Junior College in Ontario, California through a family connection there; she later went on to become an author of numerous children's books and her own autobiography; her hard work paid off in the end.

She was, and is, a hardworking writer who grew up in both a rural and urban setting. Her family survived from one paycheck to the next making it necessary for them to be thrifty and to hide complaints for only the most important negative occurrences. Beverly maintained high grades in order to please herself and her parents and worked hard in her writing endeavors.

All four of the past examples are not exact mirror images of the rest of society. They merely reveal that similar values to the pioneer ancestors did exist in the early 1900's in the face of a changing Oregon in terms of density of population and lifestyles. These values may not have been distinctive from other values in other times and places, yet they still remain after over sixty years of development. I am not saying that this does not happen elsewhere in the world, but rather I am showing how the values evolved in Oregon in order to understand the state's individual history. The urban environment of Portland, while not including farms where hard work of all family members was necessary for productivity, did instill similar values. Children sometimes had to find work to help supplement the family income or at least work hard in their personal endeavors. If urban children didn't have the opportunity to visit a farm they could at least explore the untamed regions of the city. Suburbs had not been born yet and the automobile was only beginning to gain national

acceptance. Nature, in an unsettled form, was therefore, still very prevalent in the state and children grew up within it.

The question is, did these same, yet slightly altered values exist in the mid-twentieth century --a time of suburbs, family cars, and the baby boom?

CHAPTER IV

THE CENTENNIAL OUTLOOK

The Disappearance of the "Frontier"

The centennial of the initial settlement of the Oregon Territory came in a time of great national change after the conclusion of the Second World War. It was a time of reunion, children, suburbs, and the family car. Highways stretched across Oregon and cities and towns were growing at a rapid pace. Portland was a developed city and all areas of the state could be reached much more easily than was possible fifty years previously. There was essentially no "frontier" if the definition given by The Random House College Dictionary as "land that forms the furthest extent of a country's settled or inhabited regions" is taken into consideration; Alaska and Hawaii became states in 1959 and were that era's "frontier" (The Random House . . ., page 531). Also, in terms of Turner's thesis, the frontier had long been dead and buried.

The only frontier that was left to be considered by my definition was the pockets of Oregon that remained lightly populated. The population in the whole state in 1950 was 1,521,341 but that number was primarily concentrated in the northwestern regions of the Willamette Valley and coastal areas (Rand McNally, pg. 147, and Geography of Oregon

Course). The key reasons for this clumping were the climate and resources. In the desert regions of southeastern Oregon, land was difficult to cultivate with the insufficient rainfall and harsh climate. In the Willamette Valley there was fertile soil and adequate water levels for agriculture. Because of the realities of the physical environment these frontiers continued to be left virtually untouched while the populated areas increased in size. Did this allow for the pioneer values of hard work, understanding the realities of life and death, exploration, thrift, responsibility, and communal assistance to emerge in the mid-twentieth century children of Oregon in the more densely populated regions?

The Dissected Value System

Once again, the answer is "yes." However, they were more difficult to find in the suburbs and heavily populated areas of the state. If children had the opportunity to get out of the city then a tie with nature could be established. If they were forced to work to help support their families then the work ethic would come into play. On the whole, however, children seemed to only exhibit pioneer virtues in bits and pieces. All the Oregon children together formed a "jigsaw puzzle" of the traditional pioneer values but individually it was difficult to find a complete example all in itself. That is, with the exception of Gloria Marie Gustafson Zirges.

Specific Examples

In the 1950's Gloria Marie Gustafson Zirges grew up in a way that in many ways mirrors the life of a pioneer child. She lived on a subsistence farm in Astoria, Oregon and had a great deal of responsibility within her family. Her father died when she was eleven and her mother was a paraplegic from Gloria's sixth year on. Her maternal grandmother helped to look after Gloria and her sister Jean, but was unable to do much of the heavier farm tasks. Gloria had to milk the cows, tend the chickens and garden, dig ditches, clean the barn and go to school and attend to various other tasks which might have ordinarily been done by her mother or father.

In her free time, Gloria and her best friend Sally Hannu explored the surrounding area. They would walk in the direction of Fort Clatsop and hunt for arrowheads and the places where there had once been old homesteads (they could find daffodils and flowering quince which provided a marker). They would also build hidden forts in the woods covering the roofs --made of branches-- with moss and needles to make them essentially invisible from the outside; sometimes they couldn't even find them if they came back to play later. Collecting tadpoles, building forts, and exploration classified her as a "tomboy" but they were much the same activities pioneer children would have done in order to explore their environment, learn about nature, and

the place in which they lived. It didn't matter if Gloria was male or female, she was expected to do family chores that required strength and responsibility. Her free time activities also reflected these values that might presently be stereotyped as actions of a boy.

As Gloria reflected on her childhood she made some generalizations:

> [G]rowing up on a farm where you see where things come from and sort of the ebb and flow of life and death, I think gives you, maybe not a totally realistic, but a very basic understanding of what is real in life and what isn't. You see when you are planting a garden, and you see kind of how one thing leads to another...You see the progress of things and the source of things (Zirges Interview).

She also added:

> I think maybe my childhood was perhaps similar to pioneer children in that I was needed, and I felt that I was needed and an important part of the family because my family needed me to do the work that I was able to do. I think that this was probably also true in pioneer families where there was a lot of physical labor that needed to be done. Everybody needed to work in order to make the household succeed, or the farm succeed. The children learned, at a young age, that they were important and could make a positive contribution to the family (Zirges Interview).

In summation, Gloria's lifestyle was very similar to that of the initial settlers in Oregon. She had to work hard to help support her family economically and she carefully explored the world around her. She even noticed the similarities within her own recollection and what she has heard about frontier life. If both of her parents had been healthy, able adults her life might have been

remarkably different. Her only concern might have been school and when to practice the piano. However, due to the need for a able-bodied individual to take over the responsibility of the Gustafson family, Gloria had to take the position into her own hands. In a time period with essentially no "frontier" to conquer Gloria had an unusual childhood --an excellent example of how the pioneer values were still in existence approximately one hundred years later (Zirges Interview).

My own mother, Nancy Lorraine Palmer Oltman, provides an urban example. She grew up in Portland in the 1950's with a fairly pampered lifestyle. Her father worked and she played with her friends. She did work hard in school and faced certain privations at home when money was low, but on the whole she never had to work to help support her family or worry overly much about anything. She loved horses but would have had difficulty maintaining one or dealing with its eventual death. Nancy was essentially shielded from the realities of life and death except for the flowers her mother grew in their backyard.

On the other hand, Nancy was also daring and creative. She would sneak out with her neighborhood friends to Sullivan's Gulch (an area of Portland that was "off limits" to her where the train tracks were located) to watch for hoboes, and play rough and tumble games with her friends.

Her neighborhood friends were mostly boys; cowboys and Indians, forts, secret clubs, and ball games were frequent diversions.

On the creative side, she practiced drawing and she is presently a professional artist specializing in the depiction of unusual flora --perhaps because she grew up playing with play horses amongst the "jungle" of her mother's flower garden. Even though this nature experience was limited, it at least formed a connection with the children of generations past. Nancy also attended summer horse camp up the Sandy River, took short vacations with friends to a small lake along the Columbia River on the Washington side, traveled with her family to the coast, and took hiking trips along the Columbia Gorge. Even though she lived in an urban setting her knowledge extended beyond into the natural world outside the city.

Nancy, therefore, represents the example of a puzzle piece. She maintained the ideals of exploration, a relationship with nature (but not death), and had no serious complaints when money was lacking. However, in terms of a work ethic and responsibility, she was lacking as compared to pioneer children. It was not until she attended the University of Oregon, got married, and helped her husband start a family from scratch that these values blossomed. She then did work hard to help build a house, manually transport water from a local park, and raise two children;

she is still working on the first and last. Even though she was not given much responsibility as a child she developed it upon reaching adulthood (Oltman Interview). In the 1850's "because frontier families were thrown often upon their own resources in struggling with the prodigious labor of new life, their children were given expanded responsibilities, and were put to work at an astonishingly wide range of tasks" (West, "Child's Play," pg. 3). The Palmers, on the other hand, were not carving out an existence on untouched soil. They lived in a well kept house in a neighborhood in the Hollywood district of northeast Portland. From her subsequent behavior --after marriage-- it can then be hypothesized that she did have those values within herself (she learned them from the example set by her parents and extended family) but it was necessary for the appropriate time to come around for her to exhibit that "pioneer spirit." Even though that belief structure had remained dormant for many years it was still able to come to the surface at the necessary moment and provide assistance in her "new" life.

As both of above examples illustrate, there was still a connection with the pioneer values of the initial settlement of Oregon in the 1840's and 50's. While climate was not a large issue in Nancy's life, it probably did have a significant impact of Gloria's everyday chores; if it rained or stormed it would make her outdoor tasks more difficult.

A change of weather for Nancy, however, might only mean the canceling of a baseball game, or a walk to the park. Climate, therefore was less of an issue in the mid-twentieth century for urban dwellers, but still significant for rural people who relied on good weather to be efficient in their duties on the farm or in the household garden.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Throughout the one hundred years covered by this thesis a pioneer spirit was born and matured. This maturation process involved a change in the facade of the structure, but the interior remained intact. It is appropriate that Oregon's state animal is the beaver. The beaver has to constantly mend and maintain his dam to prevent total destruction of his precious lake. To the population of Oregon that "precious lake" is the pioneer spirit, or what I deem to be an "Oregon Spirit," and the values which support that structure must be constantly maintained and altered so that they don't disappear all together in the changes affecting the entire state. The Doctrine of First Effective Settlement, as proposed by Zelinsky, holds true then for Oregon in that the initial values of the first white Oregonians were upheld throughout the generations.

"It is not so clear that, as a people, we have begun to recognize how largely we continue to view our problems in a new and different age with the attitudes and philosophy of the frontier area" wrote Dan Elbert Clark (Clark, pg. 624). That statement provides additional support for my hypothesis that the pioneer values were maintained in the lives of

Oregonians growing up at different times in the state's history and that they were changed when necessary to reflect the fluctuating environment. In Chapter III, when the urban area of Portland was still loosely settled, the pioneer values can be seen in one form or another in the individuals of the time. In Chapter IV a separateness occurred. Some people no longer seemed to encapsulate all the values present in the 1850's at one time, but different levels emerge throughout their life spans. However, the 1950's was approximately forty years ago and the question needs to arise again --because Oregon is reaching another fifty year increment-- what is occurring now and what will happen in the future? Is the Oregon Spirit still present in society?

Outlook on the Present and Future

The answer to those questions is "it is too soon to tell," but I believe in what Susan Piney Yeomans said to Fred Lockley in 1926.

> Time has indeed wrought wonders in the mechanics of life, but without discounting the value of all these to the human race, I am mindful that the potency of the homely virtues and moral principles of our fathers and our fathers' fathers alone remain unchanged. Friendship, truth, honesty, loyalty, reverence for God, mother love -- these are the eternal verities, and these remain unchanged, yesterday, today and forever. When we lose our grip on these, the fabric of our existence as a nation will disintegrate as a garment corrupted by moths (Lockley, pg. 188).

There are certain basic characteristics of society, as mentioned in the above passage, which will essentially never disappear. They exist throughout recorded history, and

probably throughout unrecorded history. It is the characteristics that I have focused on in this paper that I believe could change or disappear to the detriment of the state and to the nation as a whole. Values such as helping others in times of need, not complaining excessively, the work ethic, and an acceptance of the reality of life and death are standards which could disappear. Oregonians could become self-centered, whining, lazy, parasites on society, but I don't think that will happen.

The reason for my interest in the Oregon Spirit is that I see it in my friends and in myself. I grew up as a very integral part of my family. I faced relative subsistence living when young and I helped my family in the best way I could; I was obedient. C. John Sommerville wrote, in his book The Rise and Fall of Childhood that "(a)dolescents especially are looking for ideals around which they can build worthwhile lives. But many adults do not trust themselves to give this guidance or are erratic in the model they present" (Sommerville, pg. 228). I think this is true, but I also think there are many people who do provide good role models.

Oregon, as a generalization, is a relatively clean state without excessive population. It was the first state to enact a "bottle bill" whereby a deposit could be returned for glass bottles and aluminum cans: an effort to conserve energy and resources. It is also one of the last states

holding out against a state sales tax which would allow for a stable funding of the school system. There is still room to explore, learn and improve. The gang problems in Portland, the drug babies born to addicted mothers, and the other waves on the surface of the state's "precious lake" need to be examined:

> if the long frontier experience permanently impressed upon our character as a people some of the distinguishing traits developed or encouraged by life on the frontier, then we may face our future and its problems with something of the resourcefulness, co-operative goodwill, and hope that characterized the pioneers (Clark, pg. 625).

I hope so.

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