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EVERYDAY FARM LIFE IN THE MOXEE VALLEY 1915-1950: HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

A Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate Faculty

Central Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

Cultural, Environmental, Resource Management

by

Terri Ann Towner

November 2016

CENTRAL WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Graduate Studies

| We hereby approve the thesis of | |
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ABSTRACT

EVERYDAY FARM LIFE IN THE MOXEE VALLEY: 1915-1950 HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

by

Terri Ann Towner

November 2016

This study collected oral histories of those who lived or worked in the Moxee Valley, within the greater Yakima Valley of Washington State from 1915-1950. It documents and records the historical and cultural processes of farm life and its evolution for people living in this foremost hop-growing region of the United States. The larger goal is to characterize the community and social processes for use as primary source documentation to create historically accurate programs at the Gendron Hop Ranch-Living History Farm near Moxee. Nineteen participants were interviewed. Topics addressed in the study include farming in the Valley, the household, roles and work, the community and hop harvest. To date, no other study has collected this history.

Keywords: Moxee Valley, Hops, French, Dutch, hop-growing, farming, social processes,

Moxee community, Moxee social processes, Yakima Valley history, everyday farm life, Moxee history, Yakima history, oral history, cultural processes of farm life, historical processes of farm life, farm life evolution, community evolution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all those I had the privilege of interviewing and their families, thank you for sharing your homes, your knowledge, and your friendship with me. Thank you for partnering with me to preserve this knowledge of ways of life that are no longer a part of the Moxee Valley, but were part of your everyday experiences. You lived in a time that was full of change, yet also full of a kind of richness of community spirit.

Those interviewed often told me they didn't want to live in the past, thanks to all the conveniences and benefits of present day technology and medicine, yet many still long for a community that was as neighborly and connected as it was seventy years ago.

I thank Dr. Kathleen Barlow for never giving up on me, and for taking the time to guide and direct me; and to my husband, Kevin Towner, for continuing to nudge me to complete this work and providing the support I needed to finish well. I am grateful for the help of my committee, for their honest opinions and help in shaping my research.

I am indebted to Nancy Hultquist, Bev Pfaff, and Lisa Baily for their help in editing, the friends who prayed for me as I wrote, and for those who undertook transcribing portions of my interviews to enable me to move this thesis forward. I could not have done this without your help. I am truly grateful.

Photos and other archival materials were graciously provided by the participants, Rev. John J. Murtagh of Holy Rosary Church, the O.J. Gendron family, Yakima Valley Museum, Roy Farms, and Washington State Historical Society.

Thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter | Page |
|---------|--|
| I | INTRODUCTION |
| | Study Area3 |
| | The Gendron Hop Ranch – Living History Farm6 |
| | Central Washington Agricultural Museum11 |
| | ALHFAM13 |
| II | LITERATURE REVIEW |
| III | STUDY DESIGN & METHODS |
| | Sketch of Participants |
| IV | FARMING IN THE VALLEY |
| | Irrigation in the Moxee Valley40 |
| | The Fowler Ditch |
| | The Moxee and Hubbard Ditches |
| | The Selah-Moxee Ditch45 |
| | The Water Year, Ditches, and Farming46 |
| | Types and Sizes of Farms46 |
| | Farming through the Year |
| V | THE HOUSEHOLD |
| | Differences |
| | Household Commonalities85 |
| | Heating, Water, & Energy95 |
| VI | ROLES, GENDER, AND AGE IN THE HOUSEHOLD97 |
| | Head of the Household98 |
| | Second in Command – The Role of the Wife101 |
| | Young Men |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

| Chapter | | Page |
|---------|---|------|
| | Young Women | 107 |
| | Boys and Girls | |
| | Analysis | |
| VII | THE COMMUNITY | 114 |
| | Neighborhoods | 118 |
| | A Sense of Community | 119 |
| | Family, Households, and Extended Family | 120 |
| | Neighbors | 125 |
| | Church | 127 |
| | Schools | 135 |
| | The Grange | 147 |
| | Businesses and Establishments | 149 |
| | Communication | 155 |
| | Events, Diseases, Epidemics, & War | 156 |
| VIII | HOP HARVEST | 163 |
| | The French District, Kilns, and Processing Hops | 181 |
| | The Kiln – A Hops Processing Machine | |
| | Processing Hops | |
| | Drying, Cooling, and Baling | 200 |
| | Transitional Years 1940 – 1950 | |
| | Moxee Hop Festival | 231 |
| | The Royal Court | 236 |
| | Life in Hop Camps | 237 |
| IX | ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS | 247 |
| | Chapter Themes, Lessons, and Their Depiction | 250 |
| | REFERENCES | 264 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | F | Page |
|--------|--|------|
| 1 | Map of the Moxee Valley within the Yakima Valley | 5 |
| 2 | Hugh LaFramboise on horseback | 6 |
| 3 | 1922 Drainage Improvement District Map #11, August 1922 | 7 |
| 4 | O. J. Gendron's parents, Joseph and Eugenie Gendron's home | 8 |
| 5 | O. J. Gendron Ranch Hop Kiln after 1934 | 9 |
| 6 | Deering horse-drawn grain binder | 32 |
| 7 | Map of participants' homes from 1915-1950 | 37 |
| 8 | The four irrigation canals in the Moxee Valley | 41 |
| 9 | The Fowler Ditch or Union Gap Canal | 42 |
| 10 | Hubbard Ditch looking south from Bell Road | 43 |
| 11 | Empty Hubbard Ditch in March at the Gendron Hop Ranch | 44 |
| 12 | Hubbard Ditch during the mid-summer months | 44 |
| 13 | Yakima Avenue in the first years of the 20th Century | 47 |
| 14 | "Russ Almost Wrecked Valley Beet Industry," newspaper article | 50 |
| 15 | O. J. Gendron, A. with friends and sheep. B. with his horses in winter | 52 |
| 16 | O. J. Gendron Hop Kiln -1920 | 53 |
| 17 | Sheep at the O. J. Gendron Ranch | 54 |
| 18 | Dairy Farm – Moxee | 55 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|---|------|
| 19 | The Duffield's and their farm | 56 |
| 20 | Sugar Beets | 59 |
| 21 | Smudge pots in Yakima apple orchard | 60 |
| 22 | Fruit trees in bloom | 61 |
| 23 | Hen with chicks at the O. J. Gendron Ranch | 63 |
| 24 | Trellising hop yard with a wheel-less crow's nest | 64 |
| 25 | Crow's nest at the O.J. Gendron Ranch | 65 |
| 26 | Migratory fruit workers and fruit worker camp, Yakima, WA | 69 |
| 27 | Orphyre and Harry Gendron at the barn, 1916 Moxee, WA | 70 |
| 28 | Haying in the Moxee | 71 |
| 29 | Hay in the Moxee Valley | 72 |
| 30 | Hay wagon under hay hoist on barn | 73 |
| 31 | Training hops (to the wire). Yakima, WA | 75 |
| 32 | First Street, December 23, 1933 Flood, Yakima, Washington | 81 |
| 33 | Margaret Keys 1910 Comfort Home wood cook-stove | 86 |
| 34 | First Artesian Well in Moxee Valley, 1890 | 89 |
| 35 | Replica pump and sink in Margaret Key's Cabin | 91 |
| 36 | Harry Gendron in washtub | 91 |

| Figure | Page |
|--------|---|
| 37 | Outhouses |
| 38 | 1930s CCC Outhouse at the Harry Boorsma Farm |
| 39 | Chamber pots |
| 40 | Women visiting: Helen, Edna, Baby Harry, and Stella Gendron111 |
| 41 | Harry Gendron and his pony ~ 1922-1923 |
| 42 | Irene and Harry Gendron with pony and cart ~ 1925 |
| 43 | Moxee Company crew |
| 44 | David and Lucy Keys in the front yard of their farm |
| 45 | Two Card Sharks: Phil and Harry Gendron at Joseph Gendron's home 121 |
| 46 | Longevin family picnicking at Sumach Park |
| 47 | Gendron friends and relatives on vacation at Snoqualmie Falls Lodge 123 |
| 48 | All Church Picnic by the Yakima River Old Bridge |
| 49 | First Reformed Church - Sunday School Picnic |
| 50 | Ladies Aid Guild, First Reformed Church, circa 1927 |
| 51 | The Dorcas Guild, a women's missions group |
| 52 | Egon Deeringhoff driving the first school bus, 1914 |
| 53 | The Old Moxee School on Birchfield Road near Gamache-Thorp Road 136 |
| 54 | Old Moxee School |

| Figure | Page |
|--------|--|
| 55 | Riverside School |
| 56 | Artesian School #40 Moxee City |
| 57 | Artesian School #40 Moxee. Ken Duffield is on the top row |
| 58 | Artesian Baseball Team, (1911-1912) |
| 59 | (New) Moxee High School Football Squad – 1929143 |
| 60 | The French School |
| 61 | Holy Rosary School, October 17, 1915 |
| 62 | The dedication of Holy Rosary School on October 17, 1915 |
| 63 | 5th & 6th Grade Classes, Holy Rosary School, 1937-1938146 |
| 64 | Holy Rosary Baseball Team, 1938 |
| 65 | Early Moxee City with boardwalk and dirt streets |
| 66 | Arthur Champoux & Brothers General Merchandise Store151 |
| 67 | The Moxee Boulevard Grocery |
| 68 | Interior of café in old Regimbal Store, Moxee City |
| 69 | Ditter Building, Antoine's Blacksmith Shop and the Moxee Train Depot 153 |
| 70 | Putting in Moxee City water |
| 71 | Aerial Photo of Moxee City, 1950 |
| 72 | O. J. Gendron at TB Hospital near Moxee |

| Figure | Page |
|--------|---|
| 73 | The Dry Squad. Still found and confiscated during prohibition |
| 74 | Big Flood 1917 by Langevin Place, cloud burst in early Fall |
| 75 | Hop plant with mature flowers at harvest time |
| 76 | Hop elevator with slab wood in the background |
| 77 | Depiction and description of an immigrant boxcar |
| 78 | Native American hop pickers in front of Northern Pacific Railroad car. Plateau tribe. Yakama |
| 79 | Two Indian children in hop field at the Scudder Ranch |
| 80 | Moxee Hop Ranch during harvest |
| 81 | Indian tents at the Moxee Company Ranch |
| 82 | Hop campground at the Ovide Brulotte Ranch on Bell Road |
| 83 | 1916 at the Scudder Ranch. Margaret Keys (age 5) and her cousin, Verne Millican pick a nail barrel of hops |
| 84 | Pole knife and cutting down the vines for picking |
| 85 | Scudder Hop Kiln, 1905 |
| 86 | Weighing in sacks of hops & tripod weight scale |
| 87 | Early hop-pickers weighing hops with a wooden tripod & scale |
| 88 | Bringing hops in from the hop yard at the Lewis Desmarais Ranch 176 |
| 89 | Bringing in hop filled burlap bags on horse-drawn wagon |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|---|------|
| 90 | Margaret's relatives came to pick hops at the Scudder Ranch | 178 |
| 91 | Woman in hop picking garb | 178 |
| 92 | Hiscock Hop Kiln in the Riverside District | 179 |
| 93 | Moxee Company hop field and Hiscock kiln. | 180 |
| 94 | A Hop Drier for Oregon Farms, 1950 | 181 |
| 95 | Native American hop-pickers | 182 |
| 96 | Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco Newspaper Advertisement | 183 |
| 97 | 40 Years of hop prices in cents per pound (Barth, Klinke, & Schmidt, 1994, p. 17) | 184 |
| 98 | Hop pickers wanted sign, 1941 | 185 |
| 99 | Faucher Family picking hops | 186 |
| 100 | Harry and Irene Gendron picking hops | 186 |
| 101 | Ferne Heath and her father pick hops in the late 1930s | 187 |
| 102 | Genevieve Duffield and Cousin Tony Hurt pick hops into canvas bagged metal frames | 187 |
| 103 | Ovide Brulotte Ranch Kiln on Bell Road near Moxee | 189 |
| 104 | Paul Patnode Hop Kiln on Faucher Road, Moxee | 190 |
| 105 | Pete Dufault Kiln on Walters Road, Moxee | 191 |
| 106 | Lloyd L. Hughes Inc. building | 192 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|---|------|
| 107 | Drawing of the internal workings of the Gendron Hop Ranch Kiln | |
| | for National Historic Register Nomination in 2005 | 193 |
| 108 | The furnace or drying ovens are behind the sliding door | 194 |
| 109 | The funnel-shaped walls enclose the furnaces and pipes that heat and dry hops (at the Paul Patnode and Gendron Ranch Kilns) | 194 |
| 110 | Southwest view of the Paul Patnode Hop Kiln | 195 |
| 111 | O. J. and his dog, in front of his newly built, horse-powered, hop kiln | 195 |
| 112 | Bringing hops in by wagon with horses | 195 |
| 113 | Workers posing on hop kiln. Horse drawn wagon with hop bags in foreground at the Morrier Ranch | 196 |
| 114 | Horses activating hay derrick to move hops | 196 |
| 115 | Bags of green hops being loaded from 1934 Truck onto hop elevator | 197 |
| 116 | Kenneth Spooner with sacks of hops to be waiting to be dried | 198 |
| 117 | Men pushing dried hops from the kiln to the cooling rooms | 199 |
| 118 | Emptying sacks of green hops into the drying room of the kiln | 200 |
| 119 | Fixing the fire at the hop kiln | 201 |
| 120 | Scooping and sweeping hops in the drying room | 202 |
| 121 | Gendron hop kiln drying room door | 203 |
| 122 | The catwalk from the drying room through the cooling room203- | -204 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|--|------|
| 123 | William Norhup shoveling hops ready to be baled and shipped | 205 |
| 124 | The David Champoux Hop Kiln on Beauchene Road | 206 |
| 125 | The highest portion of the press at the Gendron Hop Kiln | 208 |
| 126 | Doors to the press are open on both sides in the cooling room | 208 |
| 127 | Two men filling the hop press at the Hiscock Kiln | 208 |
| 128 | Horse-drawn actuator for the press at the O. J. Gendron Ranch | 209 |
| 129 | Electric winch system actuates the press at the Paul Patnode Kiln | 209 |
| 130 | Hop Press in the O. J. Gendron baling room. | 210 |
| 131 | Man sewing bale of hops at the Hiscock Ranch | 210 |
| 132 | Hop press inside the Paul Patnode Kiln | 211 |
| 133 | Pete Dufualt Hop Press | 212 |
| 134 | "Hop press," North Yakima. Lloyd Bragg and Claude Newton, rest after Pressing and sewing a hop bale. | 212 |
| 135 | Baled hops. Yakima County, Washington. | 213 |
| 136 | Lindeman Hop Harvester working in hop yard (mid-1940s) | 215 |
| 137 | Lindeman Power Equipment Company, Mack Trucks, and Holt Caterpillar Tractor Company of Yakima, WA | 216 |
| 138 | Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Toppenish, WA | 217 |
| 139 | Kiln at Chief Hop Ranch, Yakima County, Washington | 218 |
| 140 | Hop kiln at Yakima Chief Hop ranch. | 218 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|---|------|
| 141 | Portable-type mechanical hop picker. Yakima County, Washington | 219 |
| 142 | Hops coming from portable-type mechanical picker | 219 |
| 143 | Hop vines going in stationary-type mechanical picker | 220 |
| 144 | Feeding hop vines into stationary-type mechanical picker | 220 |
| 145 | Machinery used in stationary-type mechanical hop picker | 221 |
| 146 | Men who work on mechanical hop picking machines have lunch at the company restaurant, Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Yakima County, Washington | 221 |
| 147 | Roy Farms Evolution from the 1950s to 2010 | 222 |
| 148 | Kiln, sacked green hops in foreground | 223 |
| 149 | Tents of hop-pickers, kiln in background. | 224 |
| 150 | Teepees set up right next to hop kiln | 224 |
| 151 | Hop pickers. Yakima County, Washington | 225 |
| 152 | Hop pickers in Yakima County, Washington | 225 |
| 153 | Hop pickers. Yakima County, Washington. These are local people | 226 |
| 154 | Re-pickers, who pick over the hops after original picking by portable-type mechanical picker | 226 |
| 155 | Baled hops waiting to go to the buyer. Date 1940s-1950s | 227 |
| 156 | The Fontaine stationary picking machine was the first to be built | 227 |
| 157 | Ovide Brulotte standing by his wagon loaded with hop bales | 228 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|---|-------|
| 158 | Mechanical hop picker at Moxee | .228 |
| 159 | First portable hop picking machine brought to the Yakima Valley by Wi Gamache | |
| 160 | Painting of hop harvest in the 1940s-1950s using a Lindeman tractor and harvester by Robert Benny | - |
| 161 | Local jokesters having fun. First Moxee Hop Festival, August 1947 | .232 |
| 162 | The Royal Court: Darlene Gamache, Lou Ellen Balm, Elise Beaulaurier, First Moxee Float, Moxee Warehouse, W.E. Rivard, 1947. | . 233 |
| 163 | Guys having a spoof of the Queen & Court | .233 |
| 164 | First Moxee Hop Festival, 1947 Buick | .234 |
| 165 | W. E. Rivard on his Palomino horse | . 234 |
| 166 | Princess Estelle Champoux in 1947 Chrysler | .235 |
| 167 | Queen Marie Bergevin | . 235 |
| 168 | First Moxee Hop Festival Queen and Court in dress | .236 |
| 169 | Auditorium where the Queen and Court were chosen | .236 |
| 170 | Little grocery store set up at a hop camp during hop harvest | .237 |
| 171 | Hop camp at the Morrier Ranch | .238 |
| 172 | Hop camp at a Moxee Valley hop ranch | .238 |
| 173 | Hop camp, possibly at the Gendron Ranch or Ovide Brulotte Ranch | .239 |

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|--|------|
| 174 | Hop camp at a Moxee Valley hop ranch #2 | 239 |
| 175 | The George Desmarais hop camp jail | 241 |
| 176 | The ancient stick and bone game persists whenever Indians gather | 242 |
| 177 | Indian horse tethered to hop pole during hop harvest | 242 |
| 178 | A group of Indian women picking hops, Yakima Valley | 243 |
| 179 | Indians picking hops | 243 |
| 180 | Indian Chief Snake River's teepee on B.D. McKehleer's ranch | 244 |
| 181 | Indian encampment during hop picking season, Washington | 244 |
| 182 | Hop camp in the Moxee Valley. Young O. J. and Stella are in this picture. Date is before 1916 | |
| 183 | Housing for hop pickers and workers, Yakima County, Washington | 245 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Moxee Valley in Washington State became the hops capital of the world in 1930, and has retained that title to the present day. Poised to become one of the nation's richest agricultural treasures, the Moxee Valley offers a real-life example of how the phrase, "if you build it, they will come" works, because the shrub-steppe desert soil needed only irrigation and laborers to blossom. In 1884, the Northern Pacific Railroad rolled into Yakima (Union Gap), bringing with it Eastern entrepreneurs who (along with the railroad itself), cleverly marketed the Valley as the "Land of Milk and Honey" to the residents in some of the coldest U.S. States. The Moxee Company, a 6,400-acre experimental irrigation station, was built. And come they did. Beginning in the late 1890s, two major ethnic groups settled the Valley, the French and the Dutch.

During the thirty-five year period between 1915-1950, several major shifts occurred as much of the land was taken out of sagebrush and put into production, first to irrigated subsistence farming, and then to intensive cash crops, not only for hops, but for all contracted crops. Farming transitioned from primitive methods using draft animals to tractors. Life changed socially as hop harvest went from hand picking to complete mechanization. This was the period of greatest change both socially and in work related to farming.

Primary participants for this project were among the oldest in the community.

With their passing, the knowledge of the history that shaped this area will be

irretrievable. Criteria for participation in the study was that a person had to have lived or worked in the Valley anywhere between 1915 and 1950.

Ethnography is a qualitative research method whose intent is to provide a detailed, in-depth description of everyday life and practice, focusing on a particular population, place, and time. An historical ethnography attempts to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, and to realize his vision of his world (Malinowski, 1922).

Preserving history in this way enables future generations to understand how the past shaped what they physically see there today. The Moxee Valley was and still is a major hop farming community. When people who reside in the Valley, know the history and stories of those who came before them, it helps to instill a sense of pride in the community, and who they are today.

This thesis contributes an account of everyday farm life in the Moxee Valley to the history of agricultural development in the Western U.S. It will also be used to create living history programs for the O.J. Gendron Hop Ranch, a National Historic and Cultural Heritage Site near Moxee City. In "Simulating Everyday Life in Living Museums," Anderson (1982, p. 290), states that "living history has found greater expression in museums, research projects, and folk festivals than in scholarly articles." This orientation may explain the lack of information concerning the study topic. Anderson feels that "living history can be defined as an attempt by people to simulate life in another time." It is my goal to collect, study, preserve, and interpret the cultural story of everyday farm life of ordinary people within the Moxee Valley. One day this knowledge will allow Ranch

visitors to experience everyday farm life, on an ordinary 1920s hop farm, portrayed by costumed interpreters, showcasing the historical significance of Moxee Valley's cultural story. The following describes the study area, the Gendron Hop Ranch National Historic Site and the process of its creation to date, along with the research process of this and the literature review.

Study Area

Currently, the Moxee Valley is the chief location in the U.S. for growing hops. Its deep volcanic soils and warm, dry, sunny weather, along with plentiful water for irrigation, provide ideal growing conditions for this crop. The climate has four distinct seasons and was touted to new settlers as being extremely "healthful." The Moxee Valley in South-Central Washington State (see Figure 1), is located in the N.E. portion of the greater Yakima Valley, and lies in the rain-shadow of the Cascade Mountains.

This Valley defines a regional microclimate conducive to growing hops and produce. The area is part of a geological formation named the Yakima Fold Belt in the Southwest region of the Columbia Plateau. This formation dictates the topography and underground water availability (SCS, 1985).

The geological units in the Valley include Yakima Basalt, Ellensburg Formation, and Cemented Basalt Gravel (SCS, 1985). The Moxee area lies about 1,000 feet above sea level, and is bounded on the North by Yakima Ridge and on the South by Rattlesnake Ridge. The Valley receives approximately eight to twelve inches of rainfall each year. It

features a mild and dry climate, free from extreme weather conditions (Daubenmire, 1993).

The 1985 Yakima County Soil Survey (SCS, 1985), lists the region as semi-arid, noting that it is influenced by the rain-shadow effect from the Cascades, which limits the annual precipitation in the area. No rainfall is often recorded for the months of July or August (SCS, 1985).

The climate in the Valley is marked by a gradual increase in temperature from early spring to the middle of summer (Freeman, 1936), and is shielded from easterly Arctic winter winds by the Rockies and protected from fronts to the west by the Cascades (SCS, 1985). Winter temperatures range between 0° F and 32° F with summer temperatures ranging from 68° F to over 100° F (SCS, 1985).

The dominant vegetative cover of both the Yakima and Rattlesnake Ridges includes sagebrush and bunch grass. The vegetation of the Moxee Valley floor at present is predominantly hop fields, intermixed with fields of alfalfa, grass and fruit orchards (SCS, 1985).

Soil depths range from a few feet to over 60 feet deep with gravel underneath. In most places in the Valley, the depth to the bedrock, basalt, is considerable. Moxee Valley soils are predominantly composed of well-drained, non-saline sandy loam and fine sandy loam with moderate water carrying capacity (SCS, 1985). In the opinion of many, the Moxee Valley forms the best growing conditions for intensive hop farming (Freeman, 1936). Washington growers in the Yakima Valley continue to be the largest producers of

hops within the United States, producing 75% of the nation's total production and producing 20% of the world's hops (USDA, 2015).

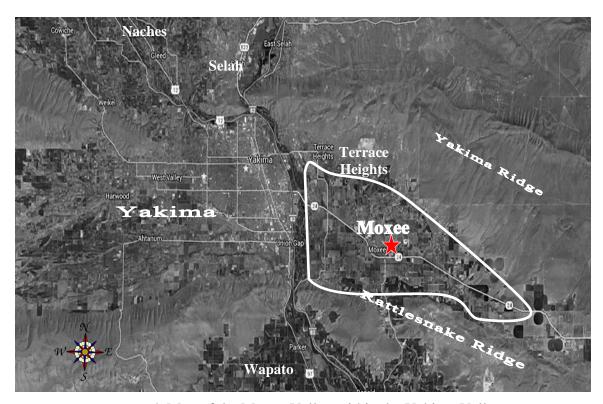


Figure 1. Map of the Moxee Valley within the Yakima Valley.

The Gendron Hop Ranch – Living History Farm

History of the property

Originally, the 40-acre O. J. Gendron Ranch had been part of the family 120-acre hop ranch. Joseph Gendron, O. J.'s father, purchased 40 acres, and his mother, Eugenie LaFramboise, purchased 40 acres. Later, O. J. purchased the adjoining 40 acres from his uncle Hugh LaFramboise, (see Figure 2) in 1920. O. J. and Stella had lived there since before 1916. Hugh had purchased the farm from his brother, Joseph, who had purchased it from his brother, Antoine, who had purchased it from the Moxee Company in 1904; the year the house was built.



Figure 2. Hugh LaFramboise on horseback, date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

When O.J. retired, the family's hop yards (see Figure 3) were sold to hop farmer, Lester Roy. Only the two farmsteads remained in the family (see Figure 4).

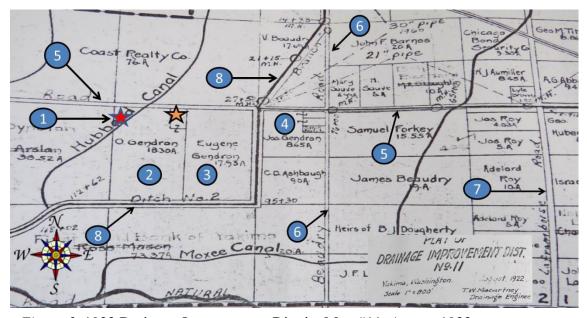


Figure 3. 1922 Drainage Improvement District Map #11, August 1922.
1) O.J. Gendron's Farmstead. 2) O.J. Gendron's 40 acres. 3) Eugene Gendron's 40 acres. 4) Joseph Gendron's 20 acres at this time. At one time, he owned 40 acres. 5) Bell Rd. 6) Beaudry Road 7) LaFramboise Road 8) Moxee Drainage Ditch. Orange star designates Joseph Gendron's Farmstead.

Not much has changed, as far as care of the hops, since the early days, but harvest methods have changed dramatically. I am a participant observer of the mechanized era of harvest. Instead of hand-picking or using a portable picker, hop trucks gather the hop-laden vines and take them back to a stationary picking-machine. Now, only tractors, trucks, and five or six workers are out in the field compared to hop harvest in the pre-mechanization era, when there were two hundred pickers per acre, with teams of horses pulling wooden wagons bringing in the harvest.



Figure 4. O. J. Gendron's parents, Joseph and Eugenie Gendron's home sits at the east end of the hop field adjacent to O. J.'s farmstead. O. J's youngest grandson, Joe Gendron, and his wife moved in to live with and help his mother after his brother, Bennett, passed away in 1989. Joe recently passed away at the age of 67. The barn and outbuildings not shown in this picture. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, 2015)

I came to the Valley nearly forty years too late to witness everyday farm life in the era before mechanization. Now, roads are paved, school buses roar by and children are not let out of school to help with harvest. In fact, most children are no longer part of harvest.

The Gendron property has minimal electrification, utilizing pull string lighting in the house with knob and tube wiring. Back in the day, workers used horse-drawn power to bring hay into the barn and to activate the press of the kiln. The wood-fired hop kiln (see Figure 5) was the last building constructed on the property in 1920, which was built by Orypher Gendron and his father, Joseph. The kiln was retired in 1953.



Figure 5. O. J. Gendron Ranch Hop Kiln after 1934. Putting bags of hops up the elevator to the deck and entrance to the drying floor of the Kiln. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.).

When my husband and I purchased the farmstead in 1984, Bennett Gendron, the family historian, took me around to each building and the property lines of the farm and began my education concerning the history of the Moxee Valley. The property had been in their family for 83 years.

Placing the farmstead on State and National Historic Registers

In the fall of 2004, I began to write the Ranch's successful nomination to the Washington State Heritage Register and the National Register of Historic Places. In June of 2005, the Ranch was accepted to the Washington State Register and then accepted to the National Register in September of that year. Normally, single buildings are placed on the register, but in this case, I wrote the nomination to include the entire two-acre

farmstead, which includes eight buildings, as well as, the portion of the Hubbard Irrigation Ditch that runs along the east side of the property. The ranch is a prime example of an everyday farm from the early years of hop farming.

Washington State Heritage Barn Grant, Thesis, and ALHFAM

After the ranch acquired status as a national historic site, the question my husband and I asked next was how we could generate income to preserve and maintain the property so the public could see the farm in all its glory. I was finishing my B.S. degree at the time. In 2008, while writing for entrance into graduate school, I wrote a successful proposal for the first Washington State Heritage Barn Grant, which provided matching funds for the restoration of agricultural buildings. The farm received a match of \$32,500, for a total amount of \$65,000 worth of work to be done. The grant covered nine major projects on five buildings, and started what became a three-year project for my husband and me.

That winter I began to research my thesis, and found the Association for Living History, Farm, and Agricultural Museums (ALHFAM). We knew then, that the farm could best serve the public by becoming a living history site. My husband, Kevin Towner, and I immediately began to attend Regional and National ALHFAM Conferences, which serve as training opportunities for those in the industry on "how to do" living history. Our first conference was a Western Regions Conference held at Fort

Nisqually located in Point Defiance Park in Tacoma, Washington. We attended classes for three days, which included a full day of travel to other area museums.

Unfortunately, living history venues in the Pacific Northwest are scarce. Fort Nisqually is the only site in Washington State. The Ohop Pioneer Farm in Eatonville, Washington, provides a form of living history by utilizing farm animals and hands-on activities. Ohop also offers fully period-furnished old buildings—including a schoolhouse—, which people can tour with a guide. We hope to offer these kinds of programs and more at the Gendron Ranch.

Central Washington Agricultural Museum

I began to collect oral histories from my informants in the fall of 2009. My oldest informant, Margaret Keys, invited me to attend the Central Washington Agricultural Museum (CWAM) monthly women's luncheon with her. At that meeting, the president of the Museum asked me to fill out an application for the position of Administrator. It was to be a part-time position. I felt I could finish my thesis during this last quarter of coursework while working one day a week at the Museum. CWAM is a fifteen acre, open-air museum with many small buildings and agricultural displays.

Being a self-starter and an avid researcher, I joined the Association for State and Local History (AASLH), and several other museum organizations. I read widely, studied marketing techniques, and attended many webinars to try to fulfill the needs of the

Museum. I also traveled to all living history style museums in Washington and Oregon, and spent hours with the professionals who operated their programs.

My two years with the Museum provided me with many learning experiences in a variety of areas. My greatest success was hosting Selah Farm Days at the Museum. Over 1,600 local public school students (not including parents, teachers, and siblings), came to the CWAM over a two-day period for tours, programs, a petting zoo, and games. The event well, and all the work that had been put into organizing, training staff and scheduling paid off.

Responsibilities in my position, also included making decisions about computer systems and programs, purchasing and setting up those programs and systems, and teaching volunteers how to use the new system. Other responsibilities included writing content for websites and creating websites, creating marketing materials for programs, new volunteer recruitment and training, and publishing press releases.

With our small budget, we found ways of obtaining help from sources to which regular businesses do not have access. A good example of a resource we used was the "fifty-five and up" program through Goodwill. It provides additional training and hands-on experience to older workers, by offering part-time work opportunities at local non-profits. These part-time employees cost the non-profit nothing, making the arrangement beneficial to both the employee and the nonprofit.

As a paid staff member, I was also responsible for giving tours, talking with potential donors and members, driving tractors in parades, writing grants, grants

management and working with the Education Committee to develop programs for school age children. My time with CWAM, gave me nonprofit management skills and the experience needed for the nonprofit Gendron Hop Ranch to operate successfully.

ALHFAM

My experience with the ALHFAM, on the other hand, has provided me with mentors who are very skilled at interpretation, as well as, program creation and management. I am only a phone call or email away from these resources. Most of these people work at established sites, but several people have started sites from scratch and offer a world of insight that will help me avoid pitfalls.

Like most "museum people," I no longer look at a museum or living history site naively. From the moment I see a sign on the highway, I notice the way the entrance to the site is constructed, the signage, the atmosphere, the message being conveyed and how it impacts the visitor. All of these aspects are taken in and considered in relation to planning for the Gendron Ranch.

Currently, there is a Founder's Board in place for the Gendron Hop Ranch. It is our vision that the Gendron Hop Ranch will become a respected living history site that enriches the community and the Central Washington Region on many different levels. We want to accurately preserve and portray the Gendron Ranch, the history of the Moxee Valley, create local jobs, and provide our community with educational programs and classes.

We look to partnering with local colleges and universities to create opportunities for students to intern with the Ranch for credit in their field of expertise. We also hope to partner with other area nonprofits, bringing in consultants who can help us take the Ranch to the next level, helping us train our interns, docents, staff and volunteers. For these reasons, oral histories and pictures were collected, as they provide unique primary sources from which to build the Ranch's programs and characters.

This thesis will contribute to current research by expanding the knowledge base of already recorded history, and of everyday farm life within the Moxee Valley. It will be available online, and printed copies will be given to thesis participants or their families, the Yakima Valley Library, the Yakima Valley Museum, and the American Hop Museum in Toppenish.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review covers existing literature about the Moxee Valley and the people who lived there before 1950. Topics covered include churches, irrigation, crops, community events, historic places, firsts and how things began. It also covers hop growing and processing, as it is the major cash crop of the Valley.

There are few books on the history of the area and no published literature concerning the everyday farm life of the Moxee Valley from 1915 to 1950, when hops became the main cash crop of the area. Today, the history of the Moxee Valley can be found on road signs that bear the names of pioneer families like Beauchene and Beaudry. Occasionally, an original farmhouse still stands. The Gendron Hop Ranch is an excellent example and its history can be read online. ¹

Local literature includes church books that chronicle the history of Holy Rosary Catholic Church and the Dutch Reformed Church, their parishes and parishioners. A research project was completed in 1974 by long-time Moxee resident, Alice M. Toupin, and published as *Mook-See, Moxie, Moxee: The Enchanting Moxee Valley, Its History and Development.* Toupin begins her story with the Treaty of 1859 and the missionaries

¹ O.J. Gendron Hop Ranch National Register Nomination can be found online at http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/05001062.pdf

who found their way westward in 1847. It is a story of explorers, wagon trains, farmers, and area residents.

She chronicles all the firsts of Moxee and describes bringing irrigation to the Valley in a story that tells how the French were digging an irrigation ditch from one direction and the Dutch were digging it from the other end, and when they came to the middle, they celebrated. This information is valuable in that it provides background from which to build a history of the community.

The most recent book on Moxee is *Hops Then and Now, A Brief Photographic History of Hop Growing in the Yakima Valley from the 1940s until 2014*, by former Moxee resident, G. Hellums, in 2015. Hellums was raised in the Moxee Valley and now lives in Florida. He and his wife often visit family and friends in the Valley before hop harvest begins. Sometimes the stay through harvest, allowing Gary to be part of the it. His primary objective in writing his book was to photo document the process of growing, harvesting and processing hops, focusing on the time period after tractors and mechanization became commonplace in the 1950s. The time-period of my study comes before these advancements in mechanization occurred.

Another local book series was published by Gary Jackson in 1981, *Remembering Yakima*, and in 1996, *Remembering the Yakima Valley*. Most of the articles compiled in these books were originally published in the *Yakima Sun* Newspaper. The stories from that series I found interesting, are vignettes about a person who lived in the area or whose family farmed hops.

Area history was also recorded in several topical books, such as the 1907 book titled *Irrigation in the Yakima Valley* by S. O. Jayne, p. 27, which includes a paragraph or two on Moxee irrigation ditches. The book, *An Illustrated History of Klickitat, Yakima, and Kittitas Counties* (1904, The Interstate Publishing Company), contains an entire chapter on the Yakama Indian War. This chapter details a war between what is now the Yakama Nation, confederated tribes and the military. It lasted nearly four years and in September of 1858, the tribes were removed to reservations, leaving the area open for settlers to settle the land. Another authoritative books on the area, *The History of the Yakima Valley, Washington, Vol I & II* (Lyman,1919), chronicle many things, including Artesian well drilling in the Moxee Valley and the life of Mortimer F. Thorp, the first settler to Moxee. These books are available in digital form, accessible via Google Books. Other literature concerning the Moxee Valley, in general, is more recent and geared toward those who drink or brew beer, or those who grow hops.

In 2008, P. J. King completed a Master's thesis at Washington State University titled "Labor and Mechanization: The Hop Industry in Yakima Valley, 1866 – 1950." King begins with Ezra Meeker in the Puyallup Valley of Western Washington, and attempts to tie in Western Washington hop production with hops in the Yakima Valley. At the time, the west side's hop production was in sharp decline caused by powdery mildew, while the east side hops growers we able to rapidly increased their acreage of hops. King discusses the history of hop farming across the U.S., but focuses on breweries. He does not mention, "hop gardens" or "home hops and medicinal uses." He

says that "taste and aroma" are the reason hops were used without acknowledging that hops were used to preserve ale for their antimicrobial properties. King does not discuss labor or mechanization. He reiterates much of what had already been written by Ezra Meeker.

In the 1930s, several journal articles were written that pertained to aspects of hop growing and harvesting in the Moxee Valley. The first, "Hop Industry of the Pacific Coast" (Freeman ,1936), contains incredibly detailed information on growing, harvesting, and curing hops, along with information on the migrant labor force that picked hops in Washington, Oregon, and California. Freeman's paper deals closely with the study area and the study time-period, and a careful reader of his materials could knowledgeably run a 1930s hop operation. His pictures provide excellent examples of the different hop kiln types. One picture in particular, showcases a near-replica of the kiln on the Gendron Ranch. Two other comprehensive journal articles written in 1938-1939, offer information about migratory farm labor and the social and economic challenges of having twenty-to thirty-thousand workers arriving all at once for one month's work during the long harvest. However, none of the articles included information on local hop workers and pickers. To verify and qualify my research of the Moxee Valley, literature with a broader focus was needed. This next article deals with Native American hop-pickers in Puget Sound and the literature that follows, discusses farm life throughout the country in a general way.

In a 2006 journal article of *Labor*, "The Practice of Everyday Colonialism: Indigenous Women at Work in the Hop Fields and Tourist Industry of Puget Sound," Paige Raibmon writes about Native American women who picked hops in the Puget Sound area of Western Washington, but not here in the Valley. Despite the difference in location, Raibmon's information validates the information I have recorded concerning Native American people and hop harvest. In 2004 – 2005, The Yakima Herald-Republic published several articles on the history of Moxee and hops. Yet, articles on the topic were sparse until 2010, when the newspaper published booklets and articles that included hop harvest and other stories about the Yakima Valley in a limited way.

M.A.Tomlan's book, *Tinged with Gold: Hop Culture in the United States*, was written in 1992. Tomlan's book provides information on hop structures, cultivation and processing throughout the United States, but is not comprehensive for the Moxee or Yakima Valleys or everyday farm life. In spite of these considerations, Tomlan's book covers important facts about many aspects of hops from infrastructure to farmers.

The focus of this study is everyday farm life and the events that brought change to farming families. The United States Department of Agriculture maintains a website and school program (www.agclassroom.org/gan/index.htm), which comprehensively details those changes. Major topics covered on this site include policy enactments and inventions, along with policy termination in sub-topic areas of the economic cycle, farm economy, farmers and the land, farm machinery and technology, crops and livestock, transportation and life on the farm. The information in the historical timeline covers all of

the U.S. It is quite useful and briefly documents changes, such as: "[In] 1930, 13% of all farms have electricity and in 1936, the Rural Electrification Act (REA) greatly improves quality of rural life." The drawback to this site is that the dates of change may not accurately reflect farm life for the Moxee study area. Change in farm life occurred slowly across the United States in an east to west direction, and from urban to rural areas. Farming families in the west were often some of the last to experience modern inventions.

The gap in data concerning everyday farm life may be caused by oversight as commonplace studies are often omitted from science and museums because they are considered ordinary or unimportant. Science attempts to answer a question, and the modern museum is tasked with collecting, preserving, interpreting and displaying items of artistic, cultural, or scientific significance.

The elements of everyday life have more often been preserved through the medium of living history. Jay Anderson explained in his 1982 article, "Living History: Simulating Everyday Life in Living Museums," that "Living History is well known by lay historians and Museum interpreters, but seldom heard of in academia." He states, "the primary functions of the Living History Museum are research, interpretation, and play" (Anderson, 1982, p. 290-291). He believes that people are drawn to living history demonstrations and the simulation of everyday life in the past or folklife. As we will see, the faith and values of both the French and the Dutch, along with farming practices, influenced everything from social life to school calendars.

CHAPTER III

STUDY DESIGN & METHODS

The research design for this study applied an oral history approach to exploring the historical and cultural stories of farm life and its evolution for people living in the Moxee Valley from 1915-1950. The ethnographic techniques used to record and document these histories included in-the-field interviews, sequential and group interviews, and the use of personal artifacts and photographs. The study included eight months of field research and one year of transcription and analysis.

The histories recorded are not whole life histories, but topical remembrances that focus on aspects of a person's life relating to everyday life in the Moxee Valley, mainly between 1915 and 1950. The intended tone of the interviews was of a "conversational narrative," to facilitate a dialogue in which concepts, terminology and categories of the participant's experience could be set out in their own words (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 4).

Participants were between the ages of seventy-five and one hundred years of age. Initially, eleven individuals belonging to farm families of the period were identified as possible participants and eventually nineteen people participated in the study.

All participants gave permission for interviews to be recorded and videotaped.

This was done to capture the uniqueness of each person's voice and experience.

Participants were encouraged to share artifacts (special objects and photos). All those who had photos, allowed me to photocopy and return the originals to them. Because people attach significance to the material objects around them, these artifacts aided in

prompting participants to recall and explore complex memories. This allowed them to express deep feelings, which bound together otherwise seemingly fragmented experiences within those memories (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 12-13).

Originally, focus groups were to be utilized as an initial step to identify themes and as a way of moving beyond singular narratives (Angrosino, 2006, p. 116-118). They would have provided opportunities to bridge gaps between each participant's narrative, as a process of 'relaying' would have occurred among them. Alternative narratives could have been articulated and debated, offering different perspectives and recollections during focus group interviews. Topics scheduled for group discussions on farming were to include processing, curing, and baling of hops using a wooden hop kiln, workhorses, crops, hay derricks, and animal husbandry. Other focus groups were to include women sharing everyday activities that included both joyous and arduous activities. Yet, because of participants' ages and mobility issues, focus groups were not practical. Participants were interviewed in their own homes with comfortable surroundings where their needs could be met. The interviews with the two Duffield couples and one daughter (age 63), was as close to a group or focus group interview as was possible. Having all of them together discussing things, did shed light on how people see or remember things differently, or how one person remembers one thing and another remembers another thing. It helped to create a much more accurate picture of topics that were discussed.

Interviews were conducted sequentially with each participant and in-the-field interviews whenever possible, in order to stimulate recollections. Interviews conducted in

the field created the opportunity for informants to recall more memories and stories than if the discussion had taken place elsewhere (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 3, 4, 14). In addition, participant narratives were furthered by being able to illustrate stories *in situ*, drawing upon multi-sensory experience. Familiar locations enabled participants to recall important details about day-to-day living during the course of the study period (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 11). To illustrate this, Margaret Keys and I went for a drive around the area. She pointed out places, named people and spoke of different memories she had, most of them funny or factual. Pete Dufault and I went to his farmstead, where his kiln still stands. He and his wife retired and sold the farm a few years back, and moved into Moxee's first housing development. He told me about the press and how the hops were distributed on the kiln floor by a moving elevator. Also, he showed me the picking machine building that no longer holds the machinery to pick the hops from the vines.

Conducting sequential interviews also strengthened the accuracy of recall. This type of interviewing technique involves revisiting and reinterviewing participants. From a practical standpoint, all the participants of this study were over the age of 70 years.

Sequential interviewing methods removed the need for extended and tiring interview sessions, but it also gave participants more time to discuss major issues that could not be covered during one session.

Second, sequential interviews allowed rapport to develop between me and the participants. Building relationships has been touted as "the key to the art of interviewing" (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 14). Sequential interviewing also allowed time for artifacts to

be located and stories told about them. For example, photos were often not immediately available but stored, and artifacts such as a quilt made by Margaret Key's mother were packed away for safekeeping. Often, time constraints or failing daylight prohibited taking a walk out to a field to look at a homemade carrot topper or drive to a farm to tour a barn or kiln that informants once owned. In essence, artifacts and landscapes were used as "vehicles of memory" to aid participants' recollection (Riley & Harvey, 2007, p. 19).

Optimally, analysis of the data collected would have begun at the conclusion of an interview session and entail the following steps: 1) listen to audio recordings and watch video recordings; 2) transcribe all field notes; 3) compare ideas expressed between individual narratives and group ideas; 4) identify the ideas and position of ideas; 5) sum up each of the different positions; 6) pull out quotations that best represented each position; 7) identify constant threads or patterns that emerged about each topic; 8) reread the summary notes and transactions; 9) compare and expand upon the basic themes with comments on how they relate; 10) prepare a global synthesis of findings that focused on the study's objectives, summarize the key findings and discuss their implications for action (Angrosino, 2006, p. 124).

Angrosino describes the ideal situation. Almost no one gets to implement research in just that way. Reality must take into account practical considerations, as most experience introduced delays, breaks, and re-starting the project several times. Such was my experience. Time was of the essence in completing the interviews because of the age and health of the participants. Therefore, collecting the interviews was my first priority.

Later, transcription would take place. The video and audio recordings allowed me to conduct research in this manner. Three hours of interview took approximately thirty-six to forty hours to transcribe. If more than one person participated in the interview, transcription took much longer.

This thesis summarizes and synthesizes the results that were found. One day, may be possible to edit the video segments of the interviews to allow documentary creations to be shown within several buildings of the Gendron Ranch Living History Museum, with the intent of engaging those who tour and participate in farming activities. Once this thesis is completed, all materials collected from the informants will be returned to them or to their families, if the informant has passed away. This includes copies of interview video footage, written transcripts and audio recordings.

Sketch of Participants

Nineteen participants were interviewed: Walt and Ferne Heath, Don Champoux, Larry Gamache, Shirley (Gamache) St.Mary, Margaret Keys, Dan Harvey, Ken & Genevieve Duffield, Russ & Helen Duffield, Harry Borsma, Caren Sauve Benny, Mary Mozingo, Bob and Joanne Deccio, Gene Assink, Isabelle Patnode and Pete Dufault. Their place in family and community is described briefly here. To date, six participants, aged 84 to 105, have passed away.

Walt Heath ran the wood-fired kiln ovens at the Gendron Ranch, somewhere between 1945 and when the kiln was retired in 1953. He moved to the area in 1944 and

married his wife, Ferne, the same year. Ferne moved to the Moxee area when she was fourteen years old, picking and training hops with her family. After marrying Walt in 1944, the couple continued to live and raise their family there until Walt's death in 2012, when he was 93. They lived on Bell Road, across from Harry Gendron's home, while their children were growing up. After several moves, they ended up owning a home on Beaudry Road. After Walt's death, Ferne and her daughter, Diane, bought a home in Yakima where she still resides.

Don Champoux is a grandson of Gideon Champoux, who brought his French-Canadian family from the Crookston area of Minnesota to the Moxee Valley in 1897. The Champoux and Brother General Merchandise Store opened in Moxee around 1900. His parents, David and Cecelia (Desmarais) Champoux, had six children, three boys, and three girls. Don, born in 1939, was their youngest child. All the children grew up farming hops on the family ranch. As family retired, they sold off their hop yards, and today the Champoux no longer farm hops. Don continues to work on mechanical equipment for another hop farmer when he is not too busy being retired.

Larry Gamache and Shirley (Gamache) St. Mary are brother and sister in a family of eighteen children. Shirley is the eldest child, and Larry is the ninth child in the family and one of only four boys (there were fourteen sisters). Their father, Jeffrey J. Gamache, born in 1919, was the son of George Gamache, whose father, Charles Gamache, brought his family of eight children to Moxee via the first train of French-Canadian emigrants

from the Crookston, Minnesota area in 1897. Charles was hired (along with his team of workhorses), to dig portions of the Selah-Moxee Irrigation Canal.

George Gamache began farming hops in 1924, when his son, Jeff, was five years old. His first hop yard was only eight acres of a 33-acre farm. Four generations later, the family continues to grow hops, but has had to diversify by growing several kinds of fruit. The Gamache family has a modern kiln and a fruit-packing house. All of Jeff Gamache's children worked on the farm and in the hops alongside their father. His four boys joined him in the business. Today, the operation farms hundreds of acres, including 670 acres in hops. Their cousins, the St. Mary family, joined the Gamache brothers to form Black Star Ranches. Despite the operation still being family run, it is sad to lose the one-hundred-fifteen-year-old Gamache Ranches name from the annals of hops production.

Isabelle Gamache Patnode was the sister of Jeff Gamache, who was Larry Gamache's father. Isabelle's father, George Gamache, brought his family via train from the Red River Valley of Minnesota to Moxee in an immigrant boxcar in 1897. Isabelle grew up on the Gamache Ranch. She later married Eli Patnode, (another hop farmer), and raised her family in Prosser.

Margaret Keys, the daughter of David and Lucy Keys, was born on August 17, 1911. She is 105 years old and resides independently on the family farm on Keys Road, below Terrace Heights, which is the most northwestern portion of the Moxee Valley. Margaret's father, David Keys, worked for the Scudder Hop Ranch, as a foreman, for eight years before purchasing his farmland near the river in 1900. David was Scotch and

his wife, Lucy, was English. They had three boys and two girls (Margaret being the youngest). David Keys started a dairy and maintained a herd of between eight and twenty cows. The family sold milk and cream, calves and chickens, and grew corn to provide silage for the cows. Family members also worked in the hops each harvest. They were very active in the schools that the children attended, the Grange and 4-H programs. Margaret is known as "The hat lady" for the program she used to give at Women's and Grange meetings. She is a historian in her own right, and has been an active member of the Yakima Historical Society and Central Washington Agricultural Museum for many years.

Dan Harvey has been a resident of Yakima and Terrace Heights since 1932, when he was just seven years old. Dan's parents bought a home on South 6th Street near the Yakima Fairgrounds after their house on North 4th Street in North Yakima, flooded in the historic flood of 1933. The roads were dirt, and everyone had a big garden and fruit trees. Dan's family grew a big garden, kept pigeons, chickens and two goats; one goat for milking and one to replace the one that was milking when the time came. Dan was the eldest of four children. His father worked swing-shift at the vinegar plant, and Dan's job was to take care of the family after school. His mother took in ironing to earn money for the family. Dan's wife, Mary, was raised on a farm and apple orchard in Tieton and went to school there. Life in Tieton, at that time, was much like the Moxee Valley, as most of Yakima County was extremely rural. She joined us in the interview.

Ken and Genevieve Duffield, along with Ken's brother, Russ, and wife Helen Duffield, lived on the Duffield Homestead called "Duffield Acres," on Duffield Lane between Postma Road and Mieras Road, just northwest of Moxee City. Ken and Russ's parents moved to Duffield Acres in 1910, where they built a home and operated a dairy. Ken was born in May of 1914, and Russ was born two years later in June of 1916. The brothers worked alongside their father in the dairy and eventually took over the farm. They grew corn, hay, carrots, potatoes, and other crops, along with running the dairy. Genevieve and Ken adopted three children. Their eldest, Marylou (Duffield) Mozingo, was born in 1941. In 1963, the Duffield's sold their cows and went to work doing something else, as they were no longer making money at dairying. Both Duffield men were active in the church and in the leadership of the Grange. During hop harvest, after finishing evening milking chores, the two couples headed over to work until the wee hours of the morning at the Gendron Ranch. The men baled hops and the women sewed the burlap wrap on each bale. It was a way to earn extra money to help support their families. Ken and Genevieve's daughter, Marylou, was a great resource concerning family and Moxee history. She took care of her parents, as her mom was not ambulatory at age 101. Helen Duffield is the only living participant of the two couples.

Harry Boorsma's grandparents came to the United States from Holland. Harry, born in 1930, was raised on the land he farmed with his father and later farmed alone. He was a "Hollander" and an orchardist in the middle of hop country. He graduated from Moxee High School in 1948. He and his father also raised hogs and chinchillas. Harry

attended the Dutch Reformed Church his entire life. Their farm on North Faucher Road was very close to Moxee City.

Caren Sauve Benny is a granddaughter of two of the first French families to arrive by train in the fall of 1897. Her grandmother, Melina Gamache Sauve, was 17 years old when she arrived on that train. She passed away in 1978, at the age of 95. Both the Gamache and Sauve families farmed hops. Caren's parents, Isidore and Celestine, had eight children-- three boys and five girls. Isadore had a machine shop and later a hop twine cutting business in Moxee. Caren was born in January of 1939. She said about her family, "We worked hard, but we had fun." Her family lived in a two-story house on the corner of Beauchene and LaFramboise Roads. Their hop yard went all the way from LaFramboise Road down to Beaudry Road, along Beauchene Road. Her father's kiln is no longer there.

Bob and Joanne Deccio are a couple from different ethnic backgrounds. Bob's family is Italian. Both his father, Samuel Deccio, and his mother, Ester Gallucia, moved to Moxee with their families in 1920. They married in 1925, and had two boys. Gene was born in 1926, and Robert (Bob) in 1932. The family lived on West Birchfield, about a block from Riverside Road, in the lower northwestern portion of the Valley. Bob's father grew and operated a 20-acre truck garden just to the east of where the Terrace Heights Grange is today. Samuel Deccio, age 24, and newly married, was twenty years older than his little brother, Alex, when their mother died in November 1925. Samuel and Ester raised Alex as their own, along with Gene and Bob. Alex Deccio became a Washington

State Senator. Bob did not like the manual labor of growing produce to sell on the truck garden, but loved music. He attended Yakima Valley (Community) College, earning his teaching degree in music.

Joanne Deccio came from French and German stock. Her parents, Joseph Desmarais and Ester Linger, had ten children, nine girls, and one boy. Joanne was their first, born in 1934. Her maternal grandparents were Germans, who came from Russia, and only spoke German. Her father, Joseph Desmarais, was French. His father and brothers grew hops southeast of Moxee City and so did Joseph. They did not farm together, but independently. Joanne's family lived on the corner of the Hanford Highway (Hwy 24), and Faucher Road. Today, the house still stands, but the kiln and other buildings have been torn down. Bob and Joanne Deccio came from different backgrounds, yet they had their Catholic faith in common.

Gene Assink was born in May of 1928. Both sets of his grandparents moved to America from Holland. His mother, Berendina (Diena) Zeutenhorst, was born in Iowa, and his father, John, in North Dakota. Both families decided to move to Moxee to farm. Gene's father married Dena Van Arendonk in January 1917, and had three boys. Dena died from disease in March 1924. He married Diena in December 1926, and had two boys, Gordon and Gene, and two daughters, June and Bernice. John was a dairyman, and did custom grain binding on the side to earn extra money for the family.

When binding grain, the stocks of grain are cut and then bound into bundles that could be

picked up. Hence, the name "grain binder" (see Figures 6 A & B).

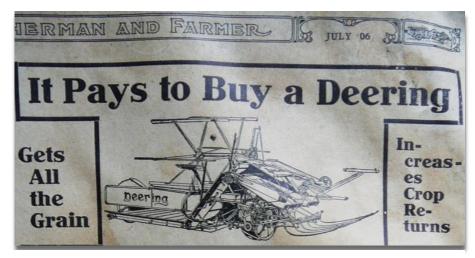


Figure 6. A. Deering horse-drawn grain binder advertisement



B. Deering horse-drawn grain binder at work harvesting (Howell, 2013).

The agreement for harvesting someone's grain was that John supplied two horses and the farmer had to supply two horses to pull the binder. John and his sons shared the work of binding grain, as it was a two-man job. The family lived at the corner of Gamache Road and Birchfield Road. Gene, like his father became a dairyman. When dairying became unprofitable, he sold his cows and went to work for the East Valley School District. Gene's dairy was on the north side of Bell Rd., just east of the Fowler Ditch.

Marcel Peter (Pete) Dufault was born in 1928, to Peter Noel Dufault and Dulcina Marie Beaulaurier. They had six children, including four boys and two girls. Dulcina's father, Oscar Beaulaurier, had vowed to save his family from the winter weather in Nicolet, Quebec, and they moved to Moxee in 1905. Pete's father, Peter Dufault, came from the Clarkston – Red Lake Falls area of Minnesota. His father was born in 1879, and died in March of 1938, when Pete was only ten. The two eldest brothers, Leon and Conrad, helped their mother continue farming. Leon was the oldest, born in 1915, and Conrad was born in 1919. Leon continued to farm the family farm until 1945, and Pete continued with the farm until 1975, when his kiln burned down and he sold his farmland to Desserault Ranches, which then sold to Roy Farms circa 2010. The Dufaults' original homestead was built on the property where the new Moxee Elementary School is located. When the original house burned down, the family decided to move to their land on Walters Road.

My initial contact with the participants was by phone. I explained the project to them and then met with them in person. Informed consent forms were obtained from all participants. Interviews ranged from one hour to almost five hours in length. Sequential interviews were conducted with more than 75% of the participants. The format of the interviews involved both brief life histories, along with semi-structured interviews.

Interviews often took on a life of their own as participants began to talk and the discussion moved from one topic to another. This was a positive development, as I wanted to learn about a way of life, and people often recall more when the conversation moves back and forth between topics (Angrosino, 2007, p. 41).

Interviews were conducted in the participants' own homes (see Figure 8), where they were comfortable, and have any needs met during the interview. Their age often did not allow them to travel. I felt it was a privilege to interview the participants, and that it was my job to make all of the effort concerning the interview. The failure of an external hard drive caused some of the interviews to be lost. This included the interview with Ed and Shirley (Gamache) St. Mary, the first interview with Harry Boorsma and several other interviews. Over 75% of the interviews were recovered.

Even though I had only lived in the area since 1984, the relationships and friendships I had made with those in the community allowed informants to trust my intentions. This made research much easier to conduct than if I had been an outsider. There was no culture shock, no vocabulary to learn, and I already understood the processes of hop cultivation and harvest. One drawback was that I no longer lived at the

farm, but had moved a half-hour away. I was not "in" the local community that much anymore, but only in town occasionally for lunch at Big Red's Diner, when my husband and I were working on restoration projects at the farm.

One thing that may have helped me to interview my participants is that I had friendships with nearly half of them before recruiting them as participants. They knew my dedication to portraying history as accurately as possible, and they understood that my quest to document and record their history and knowledge was genuine. I did have several insiders who helped me connect with people, including my friends, Mary Roy and Karen Gamache. Mary and I went to lunch at Big Red's diner, where she introduced me to people as they came in to eat. Mary is old enough to be my mother, and their family has been trusted within the community for several generations. Karen Gamache spoke with her husband's family on my behalf before introducing me to them. I had been an acquaintance of her husband's father, Jeff Gamache, and had interviewed him when I was writing the nomination of the Gendron Ranch to the State and National Register of Historic Places. Jeff Gamache passed away in 2008, at age 96, the year before I began this project.

The Gamache Family was one of the original eight families to move to Moxee from the Red River Valley of Minnesota. Father Murtagh of Holy Rosary Church was of great help in providing me the history books of the parish. Harry Boorsma provided the book on the history of the Dutch Reformed Church.

After conducting these interviews, I held a luncheon at Holy Rosary Hall for all the participants and their families. It was my way of acknowledging and thanking them for their participation. More than fifty people attended. The participants and their families will receive copies of their interviews, transcriptions of their interviews, and a copy of my final thesis. As for me, my participants have become beloved friends, even though some have passed before my completing this thesis. Although I grieve the loss of their friendship, their histories and stories will live on, written for all who wish to read such about the Moxee Valley. They will continue to be a blessing to many.

The community chapter was the most difficult for me to work on, because my questions to participants had been primarily focused on life at home and on the farm. Yet, people had talked about things that were important to them. Those things included school, church, the Grange, and "going to town."

As I worked through each chapter, I talked again with participants from time to time to make sure that what I was writing was correct. I asked Margaret Keys and her son, Dale, to read the community chapter and write their corrections on the pages. I then went over their comments with them and made the changes.

The process of writing an ethnography requires great patience and attention to detail. I often found that I had to immerse myself in the topic at hand by listening to interviews repeatedly. I have attempted to write accurately and without bias, so that future generations will be able to grasp what life was really like and how those that lived there worked together despite differences in language, and religion.



Figure 8. Map of participants' homes from 1915-1950, overlaid on a present day map. Hwy 24 was not yet built. As you can see, the locations are greatly varied to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the culture of the Moxee Valley.

Participant Home Locations:

Name:

- 1.Bob Deccio
- 2. Caren Sauve Benny
 - 3.Dan Harvey
- 4. Don Champoux David
- 5. Ferne Heath's parents' home Champoux Ranch
- 6. Gene Assink Home
- 7. Gene Assink's parents home
- 8. Harry Boorsma Farm and Orchard 9. Issabelle Gamache Patnode 10. Joanne Desmarais Deccio
 - 11. Joseph, Eugenie, and Harry Gendron Home
- 12. Larry, Shirley, Isabelle Gamache 13. Marcel Peter Dufault Ranch

 - 14. Margaret Keys Farm
 - 15. O.J. Gendron Ranch
- 16. Russ and Ken Duffield Home
 - 17. Walt and Ferne Heath Home

CHAPTER IV

FARMING IN THE VALLEY

This chapter seeks to characterize farming common to the Valley at this time. It introduces the start of farming in the Valley and why people chose to farm there, i.e. climate, soil, and water. Irrigation being the main source of water for farming, therefore, the Valleys' four irrigation ditches are discussed. Next, the main type of farming, semi-subsistence, is depicted. A family's livelihood depended on subsistence crops it grew, with the cash crops of hops, sugar beets, and fruit, farmed on the side. Once established, these cash crops dominated, decreasing dependence on subsistence crops as family income increased, particularly when agricultural mechanization grew common. This combined farming strategy generated different cycles of work for each crop. Each cycle required different kinds of labor and laborers at different times during the growing season—all intricately interwoven. These farming cycles are explained using the months of the water year, beginning October 1st and ending September 30th each year.

The first railroad freight car rolled into Yakima in December 1884, and the first converted boxcar for passengers arrived in January 1885. The railroad transported the majority of people who made Moxee their home, across the country from the eastern side of the U.S. As people began to move to the grass and sagebrush covered Moxee Valley, it was those who could afford to buy larger tracts of land from the railroad who came first.

Businessman, Gardiner Green Hubbard, founder of the National Geographic Society and father-in-law of Alexander Graham Bell, traveled through the Yakima Valley soon after. Being an astute businessman, he saw a great opportunity. Through his

foresight the Moxee Company was formed and incorporated in 1886, with Hubbard as the primary stockholder. The Moxee Company was a 6,400-acre experimental irrigation station or farm, created to trial irrigated crops that had never been grown in this area. To do that, they put in irrigation ditches, bringing water to dry but fertile land. They raised purebred cattle and hogs, and grew crops such as tobacco, cotton, corn, grapes, and hops. In the late 1890s and early 1900s, they offered these irrigated lands for sale. The land the Moxee Company took out of sagebrush and put into agricultural production was just a small portion of the Valley.

Next to purchase land was Henry Blatchford Scudder. In 1887, he, along with Charles Eustis Hubbard, purchased six hundred acres at the northwest end of the Valley. The Scudders and Hubbards were related to each other through marriage. Henry was president of the Moxee Company for many years, and was succeed by his son-in-law, C.A. Marsh. Both the Moxee Company lands and the Scudder Ranch were at the western end of the valley, closest to Yakima and a large portion of their land was placed into hop production. Those who worked for them often bought farmland nearby, which might account for the variety of ethnicities living along Riverside, Birchfield, Gun Club, West Birchfield, and Keys Road. Margaret Keys' parents bought land for their dairy, not more than a mile from the Scudder Ranch, where her father was a foreman. He kept a diary, which gives insight into life at that time. By 1915, many families had moved to the Valley to work for these Ranches and to start to farm on their own.

Conditions that affected farming were soil, weather, and water availability-factors that also affect farming today. Undeveloped land was in sagebrush and bunch

grass. The semi-arid desert climate boasted an average of 300 days of sunshine per year. The average temperature in winter was 37°, spring 63°, summer 88°, and fall 64°. The soil and climate were perfect for growing crops and by this era, irrigation ditches and storage reservoirs were completed, making water availability a reliable resource.

Irrigation in the Moxee Valley

Water was a necessary and precious commodity to all who lived in the Moxee Valley. The soils were deep, but without water, the only vegetation that grew was sagebrush and bunch grass. As land was put into cultivation, farmers began to use "rill" irrigation, a system of gravity-fed siphons, ditches and furrows. Water for rill irrigation came from the Yakima River and the Yakima's main tributaries, the Naches and Tieton Rivers, along with many smaller streams that originated in the Kittitas Valley. The elevation of the Moxee Valley was 950 – 1,150 ft. above sea level. The diversions for the canals were at 1,058 ft. With such a small drop in elevation, canal waters moved slowly. The first irrigation ditch was built in 1885. By 1915, all four Moxee irrigation ditches (see Figure 8) were well established and irrigation was readily available, as discussed below.

In addition, the deep Moxee drainage ditch system was completed in 1912. The system boasted ten miles of drainage ditches that reclaimed seepage from irrigation ditches. The drainage system lowered the water table, gave plant roots more growing space, and prevented alkali from rising to the surface.

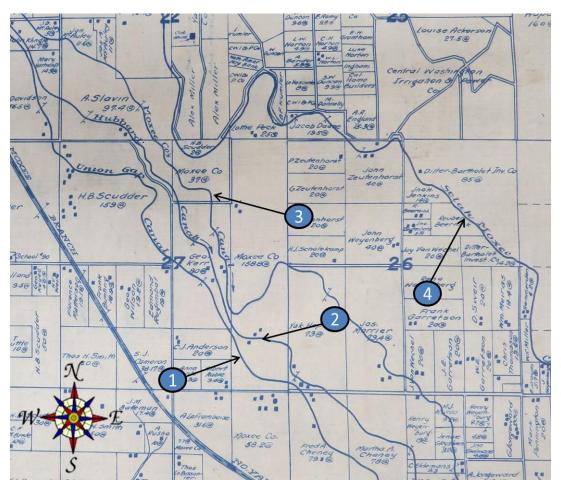


Figure 8. The four irrigation canals in the Moxee Valley: 1. The Union Gap Canal or Fowler Ditch 2. The Hubbard Canal 3. The Moxee Canal 4. The Selah-Moxee Canal. The map is of Lower Ahtanum, Nob Hill, and Moxee areas. It was published in October 1918, by Burton O. Lum. (Note: most people called canals "ditches," which continues even to present day). Map used is the Drainage Improvement District Map #11, August 1922.

The Fowler Ditch

The Fowler Ditch (see Figure 9), which is fed from the Yakima River and originates at the west end of the Moxee Valley, was built in 1884, and nicknamed "The Last Chance Ditch." The Fowler Ditch provided water to the lands of C.V. Fowler and H. B. Scudder (Sundquist, 1950 & Jayne, 1907). By 1889, the ditch was eight miles long and

watered fifteen thousand acres. It is not known if this water was being used by more farmers than Fowler and Scudder.

In 1904, the ditch was sold to Lombard and Horseley, who were founders of the Yakima Hardware Company. They extended the ditch to irrigate another 4,000 acres of land above Parker. The ditch was then renamed the Lombard and Horseley ditch. In 1909, the canal's name changed again to the Union Gap Canal. In 1913, the canal went into receivership. Shortly thereafter, it was sold to the Union Gap Water Users' Association for a giveaway price of \$1,250 (Sundquist, 1950 & Boening, 1919). Despite all of the name changes, many farmers in the Moxee area continue to call the canal the Fowler Ditch. In spring, water is turned into the Fowler a week or two before water is turned into the adjacent Hubbard Ditch.



Figure 9. Fowler Ditch or Union Gap Canal looking NE from Bell Road. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, October 2015)

The Moxee and Hubbard Ditches

The Moxee Company, an experimental farming operation, was one of the first businesses in the Valley to build its own irrigation ditches. The Company needed to bring water to its 6,400 acres. In order to deliver water, the Company constructed two canals in 1888 and 1889: the Moxee Ditch and the Hubbard Ditch. These ditches crossed the Valley north and south and watered all the Company's land. The Hubbard Ditch (see Figures 10, 11 & 12) irrigated the lower elevations of the valley, while the Moxee Ditch reached slightly higher elevations. The ditches are still eighteen feet wide, contain three feet of water, and supply water to thousands of acres.



Figure 10. Hubbard Ditch looking south from Bell Road. The Hubbard Ditch is not as wide or as deep as the Fowler Ditch. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, September 2015)



Figure 11. Empty Hubbard Ditch in March at the Gendron Hop Ranch. Water flows in irrigation ditches from ~ April 1 through the first week in October. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, March 2015)



Figure 12. Hubbard Ditch during the mid-summer months at the Gendron Hop Ranch. The small building is the outhouse. Over time, the ditch has moved four feet closer to the outhouse. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, June 2015)

The Selah-Moxee Ditch

The Selah-Moxee Canal is located furthest east in the Valley. It is 26 miles long and was built in 1900-1901. It provides water to some properties in the Selah Valley west of Moxee, and then travels to the Moxee Valley, where it irrigates more than 4,000 acres. The Canal was controlled by a stock company, and the stock was divided into 6,000 shares. The intention was to allocate one share of stock for each acre of land under the Ditch, and to divide the water in proportion to the number of shares held by consumers. All of the land pertaining to the Selah-Moxee Ditch was divided into twenty-acre plots and sold by the Moxee Company for sixty to two hundred dollars per acre. In 1905, control of the Canal was turned over to the farmers, as nearly all this land was sold, and the stock of the Moxee Company was then principally held by farmers. It is my understanding that 1 inch of water per acre was the normal amount allocated, but no metering system was put in place. The Gendron Ranch farmstead has 1.86 shares of water per 2 acres of land because it is a farmstead and not presently in farmland. All of the ditches were senior water right ditches and water was taken from them by damming the ditch where you want it to flow and trenching from that point to where it was needed. It was unmetered. The value system people held at that time made it possible for neighbors to work together for the benefit of all, even sharing water. With unmetered ditches, people did not need to figure out how much an inch of water was. They watered their crops and turned it back into the ditch so their neighbor could water. People knew water was a precious commodity and treated it as such.

The Water Year, Ditches, and Farming

The water year defined by the U.S. Geological Survey begins October 1 and continues to September 31. Precipitation data are recorded over this period of time. In *Organizing the U.S. Geological Survey*, a USGS web page, it states,

Nearly all the public lands were within the arid region as defined by John Wesley Powell in his 1878 "Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States." Water was the region's most precious resource, but Powell had pointed out that very little of the remaining public land was suitable for conventional farming and that only a small fraction of the arid land was irrigable.

The Hubbard, Fowler, and Moxee Canals provided necessary irrigation water to this area in 1915, just as they do today. Water collects in the reservoirs and is released as needed throughout the next spring and summer to maintain stream flow and irrigation needs. Water is turned into the ditches from the river sometime between the middle of March to the first week in April, and is shut off the first or second week of October, near the beginning of the new water year. Just as in 1915, this cycle of water and irrigating continues.

Types and Sizes of Farms

In 1915, out of necessity, farmers were subsistence farmers first, selling any excess. Providing food for their family and livestock was their first priority. Cash crops were grown with land not used for subsistence purposes. Most farmers grew hay, grains, corn, fruit, and vegetables, while also raising animals for meat. Each family kept a cow for the milk and cream leaving only spices, salt, sugar, flour, and coffee to purchase from

town (see Figure 13). The General Store or Mercantile carried these and other necessities.

Traveling to and from Yakima or Moxee with a wagon and horses took an entire

Saturday.



Figure 13. Yakima Avenue in the first years of the 20th century. (Photo by Ashahel Curtis.) (Courtesy of Yakima Museum of Historical Association, Yakima, WA.)

A typical subsistence farm had a small fruit orchard with enough fruit trees to provide the family with fruit for the next year. Much of the fruit, such as peaches, pears, apricots, cherries, and prunes, along with applesauce from apples, were canned. The farmer pruned and sprayed the trees, but his wife, children and other women, both friends and family, picked and processed the fruit. With only ice blocks for refrigeration, the food preservation method of choice was canning. Jams and jellies were made from berries and fruit. Meats were canned or smoked as soon as it was slaughtered, aged and cut. The farm often had a portable smokehouse, where meats were hung to smoke and cure as a way of preserving them. Being portable, a smokehouse could be shared with

relatives and neighbors. Vegetables were grown in a large garden planted and tended by the farmer's wife, who taught their children how to weed, water and tend it. Dan Harvey remembers his dislike of weeding carrots. It was a tedious job. Larry Gamache remembers his older sisters taking charge of watering the garden, and how they accidentally flooded it using rill irrigation or furrows. By the end of summer, a years' worth of vegetables had to be picked and canned.

Most farms had a root cellar, where home canned goods, squash, carrots, apples, potatoes, homemade pickles and sauerkraut, and other produce was stored throughout the winter to keep them from freezing or rotting. In many ways, the root cellar provided similar advantages to our version of controlled atmosphere or CA storage today. The barn housed livestock such as cows, horses and sheep, and provided storage for harvested hay and grains to feed the animals until pasture came on the following spring.

Animals, common to a subsistence farm, included bees to pollenate the family orchard and garden, and provide honey for the family. The milk cow provided milk and cream eight of the ten months before she calved, and produced milk and cream once she gave birth. The cream she produced made butter, cottages cheese and other cheeses.

Excess cream was sold to the creamery. Guernsey and Jersey milk cows were common breeds for a family to keep because of their smaller size, gentle nature, and higher cream content. A good cow was productive into her teens. Children, ages ten and up, were often tasked with this twice-daily chore of milking.

Chickens, rabbits, steers, hogs, sheep and sometimes pigeons were common meat animals on a subsistence farm. Hens provided eggs, while roosters and older, non-egg

producing hens were used for meat. This is how the term "stewing hen" came into being. An old hen, no longer producing eggs, had tough meat when cooked. Stewing made the meat much more tender and edible. If possible, nothing was allowed to go to waste on the farm. Rabbits, along with chickens and pigeons, could be butchered, cleaned and cooked, in just a few hours, while hogs, sheep, and steers were more time consuming in their slaughter and preparation. These larger animals were normally butchered when the freezing fall weather came as it supplied natural refrigeration that kept the carcasses from rotting quickly. Any animals that were not breeding stock or the stock to be butchered that year, were sold as they were weaned from their mothers in the spring. This brought in much needed money to buy necessary items the family could not grow or make.

Gene Assink remembers growing sugar beets (see Figure 14) and cultivating them with horse drawn cultivators. He describes how they harvested them, cutting the tops off and then throwing them up on a truck. It was a dirty job.

By CHARLES LAMB Moxee Valley has scored many firsts over the years, including Russian "sabotage" as early as 1916.

The sabotage, which probably was unintentional, happened in Moxee 30 years before Russia declared "cold war" against the rest of the country. But, unintentional or not, the Russians of the eccause agy atmost wrecked the Yakima Valley sugar beet industry.

It took the late Ferdinand Eberhard Deeringhoff, German emigrant and Moxee Valley ploneer, to figure out what was going on Deeringhoff had a fair education before coming to America in the 1880s and to Moxee in 1892.

He knew three languages and a lot about agronomy—the science of soils. So, when sugar beet farmers in the polyglot community began having crop failures, they turned to Deeringhoff for help.

Russ Almost Wrecked Valley Beet Industry

Deeringhoff's daughter, Mrs. Clyde Beane, Moxee, said a blight—somewhat like verticilleum wilt in present-day mint—was wiping out the beets. One by one, sugar beet refineries in Sunnyside, Toppenish and Union Gap had to close down.

Knowing there was nothing wrong with Moxee soil, Deeringhoff asked farmers an obvious question: Where do you get your seed?"

He learned that Utah-Idaho Sugar Co., which contracted the beets, furnished farmers the seed. And that the company imported the seed from Russia.

Then Deeringhoff asked officials of U-I another question: "Why don't you raise your own?"

They took his advice and the beet blight—which apparently came from a virus in the imported Russian seeds—gradually disappeared.

Deeringhoff wasn't hurt by beet blight, but he was by another agricultural dilemma. His daughter said the settlers irrigated their farms from artesian wells that delivered warm water under pressure.

Mrs. Beane said until something happened to the pressure. the roar of water boiling out



Figure 14. "Russ Almost Wrecked Valley Beet Industry," newspaper article by Charles Lamb from (Deeringhoff Family Book, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.).

As the Valley was settled, hops were one of the main cash crops grown (Tolman, 1992, pg. 35). Jeff Gamache remembers he began by putting eight to ten acres in hops. The poles were not eighteen feet tall like they are now. They were much lower as they had to be lifted out of the ground and laid on their side for pickers to pick the hops into baskets. Over time, trellis systems changed, pole heights rose and were stationery, with overhead wires added. Pete Dufault was born into hop farming and farmed with his older brother after his father passed. In total, the family had thirty-seven acres, but not all of it was planted in hops. Caren Benny was a Sauve, a hop farming family that also operated a commercial machine shop in Moxee City. Beginning at an early age, she began to trim, train, stake, and pick hops. In the late 1940s, she worked on a portable picking machine.

Larry Gamache is one of four boys out of eighteen children born to Jeff and Vivian Gamache. The family continues to farm hops today as do the Desmarais family. Each family had its own hop kiln. Ferne Heath trained and weeded hops in her teen years and her husband, Walt, fired the kiln at the O.J. Gendron Ranch for several years. Each year, Ken, Russ, Genevieve, and Helen Duffield baled hops at night for O.J. Gendron, after their dairying chores were done. They had a dairy of twenty-two cows, and raised corn, carrots and other crops over the years. Margaret Keys began picking hops with her mother when she was five years old. Her father had been a foreman at the Scudder Ranch. She continued to work in the hops each fall until she went to college at age nineteen.

Fruit orchards were a common crop grown by Dutchmen or Hollanders. Harry Boorsma and his father farmed apples, pears, milk cows, grain, potatoes and hogs in an effort to earn more money for the farm. The entire land holding, including farm and orchard, was thirty-five acres. Gene Assink dairied with his father and later had a dairy of his own. He could get financing if he had a dairy, whereas, if he had chosen to farm, he would not have been given a loan.

In the early days before much of the Valley was settled, Mortimer Thorp, and later the Moxee Company, grazed their cattle in the sagebrush grasslands of the Moxee Valley. As farmers bought land and began to farm, cattle ranching moved on to other places.

The Moxee Sheep Company grazed sheep on the hills of the Valley where farming was not a good proposition. The entire Yakima area was booming with sheep grazing (see Figure 15a), following the ridges between the Columbia River to the Kittitas Valley. Grazing land was too poor to plow, but grew pasture and native bunch grasses well.

Here is a paragraph from the National Register about O.J. and his farm:

At one point, the farm was like a zoo; O.J.'s favorites were sheep, horses (see Figure 15b), and pigeons. He raised Suffolk and Columbia sheep (see Figure 17); he did his own shearing while his grandsons Joseph, Jerry, and Bennet stomped the bags of wool. The ring for holding bags of wool remains in the barn, as does the milking T, a seat used when milking the cow. Oryphre raised horses for both racing and buggy pulling. Each year he organized the horse races for the Moxee Hop Festival, held in August just before hop harvest. Many pictures were taken of Oryphre with his horses. Oryphre's Tumbler and Fantail pigeons were his prized possessions. (T. A. Towner, 2005)





Figure 15: A. O. J. Gendron with friends and sheep. He was known as the local vetrinarian. B. O. J. with his horses in the winter. He raised sheep and horses along with farming hops, alfalfa, and spuds. (Gendron photo collection, n.d.)

His parents (Joseph and Eugenie) each bought forty adjoining acres and O.J. purchased the forty adjoining theirs from his uncle, Hugh LaFramboise. Together the family owned one hundred twenty acres. O. J. and his father built their hop kiln in 1920 (see Figure 16).

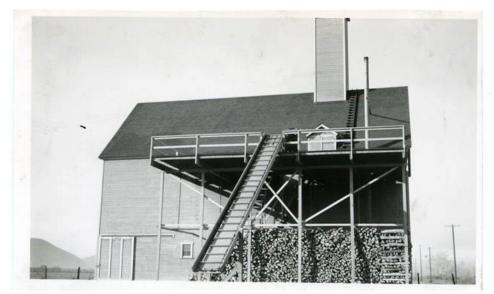


Figure 16. O. J. Gendron Hop Kiln – 1920. (Gendron Photo Collection, 1920).

Jeff Gamache, who lived two roads over from the Gendron Ranch on Gamache Road, started out with eight acres in hops, and the rest in subsistence and other cash crops. He and his team of workhorses helped to dig the Selah-Moxee Canal. His horses helped him to earn a living while he was farming. The family purchased more and more land as they could afford it.

Pete Dufualt farmed thirty-five acres with his brothers and then purchased land nearby to expand his own farm's capacity. He remembers growing spuds where the Moxee Elementary School is now. Having land to work away from the home ranch was time consuming as horses and equipment had to be walked to and from the property. Each farm varied in size, but many were less than forty acres. Entire families, such as the Gendron's, bought land side by side, and farmed it together. They pooled all of their resources, properties and labor, for the good of the family.



Figure 17. Sheep at the O. J. Gendron Ranch. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

The amount of land a person had, and how much feed he could afford to raise or buy, determined the size of his dairy. Margaret Keys' father, along with her brothers, kept between eight and twenty milking Holsteins (see Figure 18) and were able to make a living. It was all their land could support as most of it was rocky, river bottom, suitable only for pasture. Ken and Russ Duffield took over their father's dairy (see Figures 19 &

20) and had more than twenty cows in their milking herd. Eventually, both families had to find other ways to bring in money; the men took additional jobs with the School District and Telephone Company.

Farmers often speculated as to which crop would bring the greatest profit in the coming year and planted accordingly. Others were not so adventurous and planted crops they knew could bring a reasonable price at harvest. Hops were a perennial crop that came back year after year. This reduced labor costs as replanting each spring was not required. On the other hand, the labor required to trim, train and pick hops, made them the most costly and labor-intensive crop in the Valley.



Figure 18. Dairy Farm – Moxee. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)





Figure 19: The Duffield's and their farm. A. Duffields using hay derrick to stack hay for the winter. B. Duffields topping carrots with daughter Marilou Duffield.

Farming through the Year

Harry Boorsma, a Dutch farmer, described his farming year:

In the fall, when we just had pears, of course, they are picked in August, you have to irrigate once more. Essentially, you were done with the pear orchard. You didn't really have to spray anymore after that. The Rome apples were picked in October. So you had those to care for up until picking time. There were some times after that, that you had a time of not so much. Pruning started when the leaves first fell off. Then you could get at your tree, that would be late November, perhaps and first of December. Then you started the long job of pruning. Between pears and apples, you would have third cutting hay, came off in September. We weren't raising apples when we were raising potatoes, but they were picked in October. Late potatoes came off in October. So things were kind of in a schedule that you could work with. If you had hay, grain, fruit, Bartlett pears, and stuff. It usually worked one thing after another. You had time in the spring for your fieldwork and planting of grain, and stuff, you know... and then you might plant spuds in late May when frost was pretty well past. Make hay in the middle of June, first cutting. Start thinning pears about right after that,... if you had a crop. In July, you would probably be cutting

your grain, you'd still be thinning pears, but cutting grain. Making second cutting hay. Middle of July your pears were thinned. Then you would start to think about picking in the first part of August... and still doing irrigating, caring for your animals, whatever, all constantly. Probably thrash grain after pear picking, sometime then. Then there was third cutting hay, and then dig potatoes and it was over. Then pruning. (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

October - January

The farming year begins with the new water year. Harvest was over and crops had been delivered. Schools were in session. Irrigation water was off and the ditches were drying. By now, everyone has had a short rest, and the farm was quieter. Planning and projects for the next year began as they must be completed before things begin to grow in the spring. Hop leaves and vines were tilled back into the soil. Trees were planted, and old or diseased trees are pulled out to make room for new trees. Daily care of the cows, horses, sheep, hogs, chickens, rabbits, and pigeons continued. Any feed not already in the barn for winter was purchased and stored. The farm was readied for winter. Wood was chopped and coal stored to heat the home.

Contracts for next year's crash crops were negotiated and secured. Silage from the silo was now to fed to the cows. Dairy operations fed and milked twice daily, and hauled their milk to the creamery. Work on the farm was never done when it came to livestock, but it was quieter. The first snow happened right after Thanksgiving and it's time for a break until after Christmas and the New Year.

January- February

Winter gave the farmer time to look at catalogs to find new equipment or supplies, and to fix old equipment that will be used next growing season. It also provided time to do more planning for the season to come. He and his family daily took care of the livestock, and other animals, while continuing to feed silage to the dairy cows.

Children were back in school after the Christmas break. It was the coldest part of the year. Thawing livestock water was a twice daily, time-consuming job. Keeping the outside water-pump from freezing and becoming unusable was also time-consuming, but necessary, as water was needed by the family and the livestock. Inside the shop, heated with a shepherds' stove, leather harnesses and tack were repaired, cleaned and oiled. There would be no time once warmer weather came, to do this kind of work. Pruning of orchards was done now, before the sap rose in the tree. If contracts for the year's cash crops were not secured last fall, the farmer met with brokers to hammer out a contract. Baby pigs were often born in February, for them to grow big enough to show at the County Fair or it was just part of the farm's rotation cycle for when a sow should give birth. Keeping baby piglets warm in the cold weather was a challenge. A stall in the barn, lined with straw, helped. Often a farmer brought an orchard smudge pot into the barn to heat the area and save the piglets, despite how terrible the smoke was. Throughout February, he kept watch over all the pregnant animals, while also preparing safe places for them to give birth.

March, April, & May

Weather was unpredictable in March, but spring was almost here. There was much to stay ahead-of. Supplies for each specific type of farming or ranching were delivered. The soil began to dry and could now be cultivated; readying it for planting.

Potatoes were planted around St. Patrick's Day and throughout April and May, depending on variety and the farmer's crop schedule. When they were a crop, sugar beets (see Figure 20) were planted mid-March. Pete Dufault talks about what sugar beets were to the Valley, "Sugar beets used to be a very popular crop here in the Valley. It was a real shot in the arm for an awful lot of people. It saved a lot of people in many ways. It was when U & I was in Toppenish. It was not a big money maker, but it brought in an income that you could depend on." Gene Assink grew sugar beets and remembers how dirty digging and cutting the tops off was when they were harvested.





Figure 20. Sugar Beets. A. their size and B. their growing habit.

Grafting in orchards was done in spring and beehives were placed to pollenate the trees as they bloomed. If nighttime temperatures were going to be near or below freezing, the orchards were heated with smudge pots (see Figure 21) throughout the night to keep the buds from dying. It was a strategic operation. You had to know what direction the wind was coming from and create a wall of heat on that side so the heat drifted through



Figure 21. Smudge pots in Yakima apple orchard. Date unknown. http://yakimamemory.org/u/memory,4108 (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

the orchard. Orchardists spent many sleepless nights listening to weather reports and watching thermometers placed throughout the orchard.

The type of fruit being grown, and the stage of bud development, determined the temperature that would damage the bud (see Figures 22). The farther along the bud, the less it could withstand cold temperatures. Fruit could be damaged by cold weather even after blooming.





Figures 22. Fruit trees in bloom. A. Cherry tree in full bloom (left). (Terri Towner Photo Collection., 2010). B. Peach tree blossoms (right). (Terri Towner Photo Collection, 2010).

Moxee orchardist, Harry Boorsma, and his father, had a lot of experience smudging. I asked him how many acres they had in orchard...

Well, not that many ...we had about. . . . 10 acres I guess. And we necessarily didn't have them all covered with pots. I told you that the drift was always from east to west. So, you always potted your east side heavier, expecting heat would be drifting through the west part of the orchard. Hopefully. . . . It made a very interesting, active lifestyle night and day, if you had too many cold nights.

My first introduction to heating orchard was with coal pots. And my dad already had the coal pots and so that's where I began. And the coal pots were simply a cone, a metal cone that maybe stood about this high (his hand motions were to about 2.5 feet approx.) and was somewhat tapered from the bottom. And holes about this round (~2-3" holes by hand motion) in the side in various places for air, drawing air. And I was to put a certain charge of coal in the bottom, you know, they just sit on the ground, enough to burn for a significant amount of time. A little bit of kindling and a little more coal on top. And then they were lit with these hand lighters that were about a gallon size and they had a mixture of diesel oil and gas in there. A coal pot would burn effectively for about two hours and then you either had the choice of putting some more coal in or lighting more pots. Depending on how many you had to go. So it was a lot of work, a lot of walking. And then, you either had to have a supply of coal for the next

day to refuel or you had to go to town, buy coal and haul it back and go through the process.

We had the eastern border that we had 50-gallon drums filled with orchard wood burning to make a wall of heat. Anything you tried to do was only effective up to a point. If it got cold enough, there wasn't much that you could do that was going to be helpful in the long run. Some nights you put in a lot of work and in the morning... it looked pretty bad. A lot of frost damage. Then there was the decision to continue heating, whether there was enough left to continue protection or what to do.

Next, we changed over to diesel oil pots. They made less work; they would burn all night. They had a draft on them, so you could increase or decrease their output. You would have it set at about an average output to go through and light them. As it got colder towards morning, you would have to go through and open the draft, as it is always coldest right at sunrise. You knew the sun would be up in a half hour or so and that was always the coldest. And so, again, those nights when it was just marginal, and you were hanging tough and you didn't have to do anything and it was on the border line, you knew that in the morning it was going to get a couple of degrees colder Should we lite, did we lite, do we have to lite, if we do, we have to lite soon enough to make it worthwhile, and get some heat going. So... do we or don't we?

So then, after that, the frost fans made it somewhat easier. On the borderline nights, you could crank the fans up and take care of it. Sprinklers were something else. You had to start them sooner. . . . (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

Frost protection evolved from a very dirty and time-consuming job using tires lit on fire, hence, the word smudging, to cleaner methods using coal, and then diesel. Still today, it is a very time-consuming, yet necessary job.

Lambs, kid goats, and calves were born, dehorned and castrated, soon after birth.

The ewes, does and cows were said to "freshen" when they gave birth and began to produce milk. Once the kids, and calves were weaned, the does and cows had to be milked twice daily to feed the family or the milk sold. Unlike a tractor, the next team of

horses were not bought, but bred, raised and trained at home. It cost the farmer less money, but took several years of time to raise, care for, and train them. Pigs, rabbits, and pigeons, used for meat, were bred throughout the year, supplying meat for the family, or to sell. Chickens began to lay eggs more regularly as day length increased in the spring.



Figure 23. Hen with chicks at the O. J. Gendron Ranch. (Terri Towner Photo Collection, March 2015)

Baby chicks hatched to follow their mother around the farm (see Figure 23). It was an extremely busy time of year.

Hop yards were twined in March and April. Previously, when hops were grown on poles, there was no need for twining, only training the vine to the pole. Once trellis systems (see Figure 24) of poles and wires became fashionable, twining became a major event each spring.



Figure 24. Trellising hop yard with a wheel-less crow's nest. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection, n.d.)

Margaret Keys shared her picture of mules pulling the wooden crow's nest through the hop yard. It appears they might have been putting up wire trellises atop the posts in a new yard. In a yard that was already trellised, the twine was thrown over the wires and secured to the ground next to the hop plant, enabling the vines to climb the twine as it grew.

Eventually, wheels were added to the crow's nest. Today, crow's nests used for twining hops are made with a metal frame and conventional rubber wheels. The shape has not changed much. It has grown somewhat in width and height to accommodate larger amounts of twine and more workers atop the platform. Here is an extant example of a crow's nest at the Gendron farm (see Figure 25).





Figure 25. Crow's nest at the O.J. Gendron Ranch. A. Silhouette of Crow's nest at the Gendron Ranch.(Terri Towner Photo Collection, 1985) B. Crow's nest and son, Jesse. Terri Towner Photo Collection. (Terri Towner, Yakima, WA, 1986).

Pete Dufault talks about hop growing,

They did things so different back then, than they do today. Well, they used to train' em. Now, they just let them grow and they go in and guide them up the string a little bit at the start... They were like a garden... They were pretty. It didn't make for any better production really, we know that today, but back then we didn't. But, they just demanded an awful lot of care back then, or at least we thought they did. And now as the years go by, we found it really wasn't necessary. But the yards were low back then. They started out as a pole yard. Just a dog-gone stick sticking up there. They would run the hops up there. Then they went to a trellis type yard like we have today, but they were only eight or ten feet. And then they went on up to what we have today, eighteen to twenty feet. Today, it's just totally different. Everything about the harvesting and the growing.

It was done with the horses naturally, the cultivating and the ditching. Irrigation was nothing like it is today. Things moved so much slower. Training was a big chore back then. Usually about three trainings, three different times that you would go thru and back the sucker growth and train them up the springs.

Back in the hand-pick'n days, the first thing we would do in the spring would be to burn all the vines from the year before. We would go in there

with an old dump rake like you used to use for alfalfa and pile up the vines and burn those piles.

Terri: From the year before, the hops were cut from the top and laid on the ground for people to pick into baskets. So, the vines were still attached to the ground?

Pete: We had to go in and cut the vines, rake them in big piles and burn them. Back then, they used pegs to tie the twine to. A 16 inch cedar peg that you'd drive into the ground and that was popular up until thirty five – forty years ago (1970 -1975). Since then, they have these metal clips that they go in there with that are much more efficient, quicker and easier way of doing it.

Terri: Do the clips stay in the ground?

Pete: Yeah, they are made of steel. They would finally rust out.

Terri: Do they re-use them every year?

Pete: No

Terri: So they would have to put new ones in?

Pete: Yes.

Terri: But, it was cedar first? You would have to buy a lot of cedar pegs.

Pete: Oh, yeah. It was a job to drive the dog gone things in, you would have to go thru. . . .

Terri: How did you get the twine up on the wire?

Pete: Well, back in the low yard days you would tie them to the peg and run them up over the wire and in some cases back down to the peg on a different row or you would have two strings coming down to each plant. Terri: It sounds time consuming.

Pete: It was.... compared to todays' method. Of course, an increase in acreage demands a more streamlined way of getting it done, whatever it was.

Terri: How many acres of your fifty-three acres was in hops?

Pete: I think we had about twenty-seven in hops at the most. Later it was all in hops.

Terri: Could your family get that twenty-seven acres done or did you have to bring in people to help?

Pete: Oh, no. We had to have help. They're a labor-intensive crop. They demand a lot of attention, of course back then we thought so more than we do today. Today, there are a lot of the fields that aren't even cultivated. For twelve to fifteen years and they don't even go in there with a tractor and disc and work'em up like we used to, and it doesn't seem to have had a bad effect on production. Times change and probably in most cases for the best. In some areas, you have to wonder.

Terri: When would you cultivate?

Pete: Well, usually in the spring and through the summer after each time you irrigated.

Terri: How many times would you irrigate?

Pete: Oh, gosh. It seems like water was tight then you know. You couldn't set a big field like you can today. Then, of course, today most of it is drip irrigation and it doesn't require as much water. But, it was an ongoing thing continuously. You'd probably have three-four, maybe five sets to get across one field. Then, by the time you got the last set done and the ground worked up a little bit, it was time to go back over it again. (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

Water was turned into the ditch the beginning of April. Pasture began growing about the same time, providing feed for grazing animals. Once water was put on the pasture, it grew very quickly and animals could be turned out to graze once again. Sheep were sheared, and perennial crops, like hops and hay, began to grow. Carrots were planted, hops were cut back and eventually trained to the twine for the first time.

Orchardists continued to monitor nighttime temperatures and smudged throughout the night when temperatures dipped close to or below freezing.

In May, hops got their first watering; home gardens and truck gardens were planted when fear of frost was over. Everyone in the family, and hired help too, learned how to do everything that needed to be done throughout the year. Each season required different things to be done. If one person could not get to something for some reason, another person could step in and fill their shoes.

Training hops began as soon as the hop vines were long enough to reach the twine and were wrapped in a clockwise direction following the sun. Larry Gamache tells how training has changed over the years, "we used to cut off the fast growing lanky vines and choose the slowest growing vines to wrap around and train up the twine. The slowest

growing vines produced more, where the fast growing vines were like sucker shoots on other crops. Now, they use a chemical to cause die-back of the tops of the plants and wait for new shoots to grow and they train those to the twine. There were usually three different times we trained the vines. High school kids hired out to train in the afternoons and weekends. It was a source of spring-income for local people in the area. Ferne Heath remembers training hops alongside her father even though they did not grow hops. Caren Benny was born into a hop-farming family and cannot remember a summer since she was in Jr. High School, that twining was not a required chore for all of the children.

June, July, & August

Egg production from chicken hens reached its peak towards the end of the month and continued through September, when it slowly decreased as days shortened. Skunks were out from hibernation with babies in tow. A favorite place for skunks to find dinner was in the hen house. They waddled in through the small door made for the chickens, found the nest boxes and ate the eggs; sometimes, killing and eating a hen, too! It was wise to collect the eggs each morning and check again, when you shut the hens up for the night. Skunks could be a bane to farmers all summer long. Trapping them in a live-trap and then drowning them in the ditch was a common practice. It was a way to dispose of them without getting sprayed by the skunk.

Cherries were the first fruit to be harvested, with apricots following later in July.

Local people and migrant fruit tramps (see Figure 26) came to pick fruit alongside the family, and earn extra money. Farmers continued to water, cultivate and treat their crops for pests until harvest.

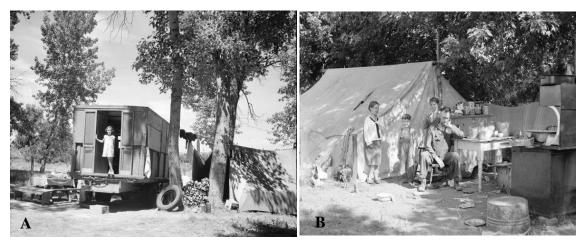


Figure 26. Migratory fruit workers and fruit worker camp, Yakima, WA. A. Migratory fruit workers from Missouri. (Rothstein, 1936) (left) B. Migrant fruit worker camp, (Rothstein, 1936) (right)

Milk production at the dairies was at its peak and continued throughout the summer and fall. Piglets grew quickly, reaching market weight in August or September.

June was the month for sharpening sickle bar mower blades, oiling the mower and readying it for first cutting. Farmers began to watch their hay fields for blooms in alfalfa and seed heads in grass hay. For alfalfa, 3% bloom in a field provides the proper protein for dairy animals and not too many seed heads on the grass hay will keep it tender and palatable for the workhorses. As a side note, alfalfa was a good soil-building crop. If you had a piece of ground that needed nitrogen fixed in it, alfalfa was grown there for a year or two, then tilled under and the land planted to the intended crop.



Figure 27. Orphyre and Harry Gendron at the barn, 1916 Moxee, WA. (Gendron photo collection, n.d.).

Hay was often put up loose in the barn or in huge piles outside with a hay derrick (see Figure 27) as at the Duffield Farm in the 1940s and 1950s, and here in this picture at the Gendron Ranch in 1917. You can see the hay derrick and haystack are in the background, and the platform sitting next to the barn, where hay was stacked for the winter or before it was pulled up into the barn by the horses, using a sling.

Out in the field, hay was piled onto wooden sleds with wooden runners and brought in with horses or a tractor (see Figure 28). Wheels just weren't any good going across the ditches in the field.





Figure 28. Haying in the Moxee. A. & B. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, n.d.).

After each cutting was added to the top of the haystack (see Figure 28), it was shocked to keep the water from seeping down into the stack; ruining the rest of the hay. Usually, a field produced three cuttings each summer. It was another time-consuming, labor-intensive activity, which required a whole crew of men and three or more teams of workhorses. Pete Dufault remembers getting his crew together and going from farm to farm to do hay.

Life was tough. It was tough. You're getting back to people helping people. People were willing to put themselves out for their neighbors to help them in whatever way they could.

I remember haying... Put' in up hay. Two or three neighbors would work together on that, quite a bit. It was just expected back then. You help me, and I'll help you. It was a lot of give and take. There was a real bond between neighbors and everybody else. It was very satisfying. (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, November 19, 2009).



Figure 29. Haying in the Moxee Valley. A. Hay cutting in the Moxee area. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, n.d.)



B. Haying on the Moxee Ranch #3. Dates unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, n.d.)

Figure 30 is an example of a hay wagon used at the Gendron Ranch between 1920 and 1953. A hay sling was laid from end to end and piled high with hay, the ends of the sling were brought together and hooked into the hoist that brought the hay up and into the barn when the horses pulled the cable. Second cutting of hay was cut towards the end of July and brought in.



Figure 30. Hay wagon under hay hoist on barn. O. J. Gendron Ranch, Moxee, WA, 1989.

The twined hop yards needed to be cultivated and weeded after each watering. This continued on a regular basis until harvest. Cultivating with horses slow as horses have a certain speed and can work a certain number of hours before needing to be changed out for another team of horses. This meant taking the team back to the farm, unhooking the equipment and unharnessing the first team, then harnessing the second team, and hooking them up to the cultivator and going back out to where you were.

Cultivating knocked most of the weeds down. Current thought at that time, was that weeds stole moisture necessary for hop vitality.

To prepare a field for watering, a person took all but the outside shanks off the cultivator and went through each row to create a V-ditch on each side of the hop row, into which the water was directed at the right time. Debris from the field often fell back into the V-ditches and blocked the water from flowing to the end of the row. Watering was an extremely time-consuming job as when the water was not running to the end of the row and back out to the main ditch, the farmer had to walk the row to find out where the diversion was and clear it, making sure that water finally reached the end of the row. Row after row, water was checked, morning and night. As a side note, orchards, hay fields, potatoes, and all other crops were watered this way. Hop farmers did not hold a corner on the market for time-consuming watering practices.

Top training of hop vines was done when the vines on the hop plants reached the top of the pole or wire trellis (see Figure 31). Hop farmers say that as a rule of thumb, the vines reach the top wire by July 4. Jerry Gendron remembers standing upright on the back of the workhorse training hop vines to the top of the wire in low yards. The horses often knew more than the child did about the job and followed the pattern they knew to travel.



Figure 31. Training hops (to the wire). Yakima, WA. (Rothstein, July 1936)

August, September, October

August, September and October were probably the busiest months of the year for farm families. Hay, corn, soft fruit, apples, silage, hops, potatoes, and everything in the family garden ripened, ready for harvest. It took every member of the family and often several hired hands, along with local and migrant pickers, to get the job completed before the weather turned cold.

All over Yakima County, harvest was in full swing. Truck gardeners were busy picking and selling to grocery stores and private residents. Some shipped their produce out of the Valley. Peaches ripened, were picked, and went to market in August. It was the month of peak production for the home garden. Women and children were canning continuously to put enough food away for winter months.

August was the preparation month for the upcoming hop harvest, and the fall apple harvest. It was also the month of corn harvest and silage making. Neighbors often banded together to collectively buy a corn chopper, blower and steam engine and go farm to farm harvesting the corn, making and storing silage. Both corn and corn silage required many people to harvest the crop. Often, corn harvest began at the same time as hop harvest.

Typically, hop harvest began in late August, and early September, with apple harvest starting towards the end of September. With mass numbers of people required to bring in either of these crops, it was often difficult to finish harvest before frost. It took the entire community to make it all happen the way they knew it should. Add to this the harvest of sugar beets and potatoes in October and other crops that were still waiting to be harvested before frost. The last cutting of hay needed to be cut and dried before too much nighttime and morning dew ruined it. The stress for a farmer and his family could be unbearable. The community learned to work together to make this time of year a success as everyone depended on everyone else for help and cooperation. At this time of year, being French or Dutch really did not matter. They were working together as a whole.

Preparing for hop harvest was an event in and of itself and will be discussed in the chapter on harvesting hops. Farmers were preparing for 20,000 pickers to descend upon a community of 250 people. This was an eighty-fold increase in population for a period of one month each year. Much needed to be readied before people started arriving. Things moved at a much slower pace than today, as most people were using horses to transport

things. Tractors did not come in, until the mid-to-late 1940s and cars and trucks were not all that prominent.

As hop harvest ended, apple harvest was in full swing. Potatoes were dug and put in root cellars, or later in storage at a facility to wait for prices of potatoes to go up. Sugar beets were dug, topped and sent to the sugar beet plant for processing. Pumpkins and squash were harvested and put away to store for the winter and the last tomatoes were canned and put in the root cellar.

School had already begun the in the middle-to-end of September. Children often stayed out of school until harvest was completely over in October. Life now began to quiet and slow. Preparation for next year crops and maintenance of equipment was underway once again.

CHAPTER V

THE HOUSEHOLD

The household is a pervasive social unit throughout many societies, and often taken for granted because of its commonality. However, the definition of household is constantly evolving to reflect the value and belief systems of the current time. The family structure has undergone many changes over the last 100 years. So much so, that families of today have little in common with those of the past. Consequently, it is essential to define "household." For this study, a household is a family unit living collectively under one or more roofs on one property. Most households consisted of a husband, his wife, their children, if any, and possibly one or both sets of parents, other kin, including long-term hired help.

Within the Moxee Valley, the population grew from 200 to 543 by 1950, with members in a household ranging from a single person to twenty or more. For example, the Jeff and Vivian Gamache family had eighteen children (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950) living together in one house. Together, parents and children equaled twenty in the household. In agricultural areas, the household serves as the smallest social grouping with the maximum corporate function (Hammel, 1980, p. 251). This means, that as a unit, the household was able to realize the greatest profits possible as household members were not paid wages for their labor on the farm. The larger the family, the more long-term help they had on the farm. It was cheaper to feed and clothe a child, than to pay hired help.

Differences

French, Dutch, and other ethnic households in the Valley had language and religious differences, yet they worked together out of necessity. At first, these immigrant people arrived elsewhere in America, and worked hard to become citizens. Then they traveled across the country to the Moxee Valley, many bringing with them very few possessions from their past. As immigrants, they wanted to be Americans and were proud to pick up that mantle in public contexts and leave behind overt signs of their country of origin, such as language, dress, and customs. They felt it was a privilege to be an American and an opportunity to make a new life. Because of this, the only major differences among ethnicities were their religion and its tenets, and the languages they spoke at home. The differences manifested outside of the household were primarily in the types of crops farmed and in their social sphere.

The French were Catholic. The Dutch or Hollanders were of the Protestant Dutch Reformed Church and others were of different Protestant denominations. The terms French, Dutch, or Hollander terms commonly used by most people during that time. Some households had no religious affiliation, yet most held community values in common. Often their experiences flavored the way they lived. Many Dutch had experienced extremely hard times and because of their quiet demeanor, they gained the reputation of being a very stoic people. Harry Boorsma put it this way:

The Dutch and French settlers came out in the late 1890s and early 1900s. My grandfather, John Boorsma, and his wife and family came out here on an immigrant train in 1901. When they came over from Holland they lost two children and when they moved out here they lost two children. It wasn't unusual. My grandma Boorsma said she would never move again.

In early December, a diphtheria epidemic took the last two children almost immediately, within three days of each other. They were the second and third burials in our little Dutch or Holland Cemetery on Mieras Road. With that early immigration into the Valley, it was probably the case of having to get the person in the ground pretty quick, like in Old Testament times. . . . The Dutch for the most part are a very stoic nationality. They were used to hardship. So, in a way, that was one of the reasons for large families due to [expected] attrition. . . . (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

Another difference among households was whether they lived in town, or the surrounding agricultural areas of the Valley. Those living in town did not keep large livestock, nor would they be able to raise everything they needed. Therefore, they needed cash to purchase what they could not grow or raise. Instead, they might keep a goat, have milk delivered to their home, or purchase it from a farm. In later years, when stores acquired refrigeration, they sold milk, dairy products and meat. They also rented locker space, as freezers were not available in this area until the mid-1950s. Most people kept chickens and a garden whether they lived in town or in the country. Those living in town traveled on foot, by bicycle, or caught the train. People living in the country needed to have a horse and buggy or wagon and eventually a car. Dan Harvey and his family lived in town. The family moved from Wheeler County, Nebraska, to Yakima in 1932, when Dan was seven years old. Dan rode his bicycle out to the Moxee barns and hop kilns to collect pigeons he raised for food for his family. Town was very different than it is today.



Figure 32. First Street, December 23, 1933 Flood, Yakima, Washington. From the Washington Historical Society, online library.

Dan talks about where they lived and what it was like when they moved to Yakima:

We lived on N. 4th Street and Yakima Ave., for a little while. It was dirt road, and most everybody had a garden or fruit trees in their yard. We only lived there a little while and then they had the historic flood in 1933 (see Figure 41). We went to school in the morning and water came up and washed the road away. There was water in downtown Yakima. At that time, there weren't any dikes and the water came right through town. Consequently, we moved as things were under water for a week or two. We moved to S. 6th Street and lived there for seven years. At that time, it was also gravel streets. There was no sewer system. Some houses had water inside, some didn't. Ours had just a faucet out in the front yard. It was a pretty rustic situation compared with now days. Usually, we used galvanized buckets to bring water in.

We had electricity in the house. Each room had a light socket in the middle of the ceiling and very few outlets because we didn't have a lot of appliances or anything. Mainly, the electricity was for lights or maybe for a radio or something like that.

Primarily, at that time, we had a wood stove and my mother used irons that she heated on the stove to iron her clothes with and things like that. She used a scrub board and tub. I can remember when she got her first washing

machine. It was an old Maytag. It had a gasoline engine on it with a foot pedal to start it. The wringer was not connected to anything. You put the clothes through it by hand. . . . I was the oldest of four. As the oldest one, generally it was up to me to go to the store, run errands and things of that nature. Mostly, we did this after school. I had to keep the wood-box full and bring in water. We always had chickens and rabbits, and we always had a large garden to weed. I hated weeding carrots.

Our family didn't have a car before '43 when we moved to the farm in Benton City. The first vehicle my dad bought was a Model T, Ford flatbed, and then he bought a '35 Pontiac. Up until that time, we did a lot of walking. (laughing) When we lived on S. 6th Street, dad got a bicycle to ride to Gibson's (Gibson's was a meat processing plant). And he worked nights a lot, at Gibson's. I'd ride the bicycle to school in the daytime and run errands and stuff. I would get home about 4 o'clock so he could ride the bike to work at night. We walked miles around town.

(D. Harvey & M. Harvey, personal communication, February 9, 2010).

The different faiths farmers held often dictated what they could and could not grow. The French farmed hops as a cash crop and other subsistence crops to feed their family and livestock, as the Catholic faith had no prohibition against anything that was used to make alcohol, while the Dutch Reformed faith did. The two crops prohibited were grapes and hops. This restriction left the Dutch with many options, most choosing to go into the dairy business, farm sugar beets and carrots, become apple and soft fruit orchardists, while growing subsistence crops to feed their family and livestock. In reality, it was a positive thing for the community, as it kept competition for producing certain commodities balanced.

Other ethnicity had dairies, farmed corn for silage for their cows, hay for their livestock, had truck gardens, and farmed other crops, but normally, not hops. The Moxee Company and the Scudder Ranch, along with the Slavin family, were three examples of non-French, who farmed hops. These hop ranches were located in the most western

portion of the Valley, near the Yakima River.

Language was a difference, and a discrete barrier in the early days, as the French spoke French and the Dutch spoke Dutch and English. Over time, these differences lessened as French men learned English to be able to conduct business and French children learned English along with French in school. Women, who were home most of the time, were often the last to learn English and some never chose to do so. Joanne Deccio talks about her grandmother:

Joanne: I think, I was just wondering, did we go up to

Pépé and Mémé's? My mother didn't go up there

too much by herself because Meme never

understood, but mom didn't speak much French.

Terri: And she never learned English?

Joanne: Although, she understood it, but she didn't speak

it.

Then, of course, grandma, later, the German, she spoke English, course, she spoke German too. And my grandpa was a great big tease, the German one. He always said, what did he say?

Call me Joanna, J'anne

(J. Deccio, personal communication, April 5, 2010).

The article, "Bell had a link to Yakima Valley" in the Yakima Herald Republic, describes how the French and the Dutch got along, as they lived and worked side by side. "The language barrier and difference of background discouraged intermingling, but each group respected the other. Both the French and the Dutch worked on building the Selah-Moxee irrigation canal. The Dutch worked from one end and the French from the other. When the two crews came together, marking completion of the project, they joined in a cheer. Mrs. Mieras came out from her house with coffee and lunch to celebrate the

occasion."

Schools constituted another major difference. The French children went to Catholic schools, while Hollander children and everyone else attended public school. Children rarely met other children who did not attend the same school. This is one reason that integration within the community first occurred on the business level and not at a personal level for many years. The deliberate separation between the French and others kept the French a tightly knit community even if they lived within the French community.

Lastly, the location of households within the Valley conveyed much about who lived there and what they farmed. The west end of the Valley, near the Yakima River, was the fringe of the Valley. It was the melting pot for those who were neither French, nor Dutch. English, Italians, Germans, and others, all lived near the river. Their land was rocky river bottom, and was used as pasture for dairy cows, hogs, beef, and horses. Truck gardening, large home gardening plots, along with corn were grown where the soil was deeper. Corn was part of subsistence farming to feed cows through the winter.

Bob Deccio describes where he lived:

We didn't live by the Dutch and we didn't live by the French. We lived in the lower part by the railroad track that went into Moxee, that was an accumulation of all kinds of nationalities, many different types, English, all types. So, when we went to school, we associated with the Dutch people and being of Catholic religion, we also associated with the French people. So, we knew them all. We were friends with all of them (the French and Dutch). We got along with all of them, but they didn't get along at all. That started to disappear when the next generation came along and they started going to school together or dating out in Moxee. That changed things. But it was a long gradual change, transition. They carried those things from Europe here, those prejudices. But, we got along with all of them. (R. Deccio, personal communication, March 22, 2010).

Traveling eastward, the Holland District came next. A majority of the Dutch population lived along the north side of the Valley beginning at Birchfield Road, following Mieras Road and on up to Beaudry and Faucher Roads, and bounded by Postma and Mieras Roads. Some Dutch farms were outside of the Holland district and sprinkled throughout the French hop yards. Land may not have been for sale at a specific time, or the farmer liked being further away from the more populated areas. Specific reasons for the sprinkling of Dutch farmers to the east are not known. The Den Beste family is an example, as they lived at the eastern end of the Valley.

The French dominated Moxee City. Their farms and hop yards encircled the Holland district, covering the rest of the Valley to the south and to the east beginning at Birchfield Road. Roads were named for the family that residing on that road. You will find Keys Road at the most northwestern corner of the Valley, for the David Keys family, Den Beste Road for the Dutch family and Desmarais Road for the well-known French family, at the far-east end of the Valley.

Household Commonalities

Despite the differences, all households had many commonalities. With the settlement of the Moxee Valley, beginning in the late 1890s, many conveniences were not available or had yet to be invented. Most conveniences were first introduced on the U.S. East Coast and took many years to become available in rural central Washington. It was also common for those who lived in town to have some modern conveniences, such as electricity (lights) or phones, before those on the farm.

The living conditions of most households included the use of wood stoves (see Figure 33) for heating and wood cook stoves to cook, can, scald chickens on, and heat water for baths and laundry. A pot of coffee was always on the stove. Coal was another common fuel used for heating and cooking. Eventually, oil fuel and Spark oil stoves became available and many people switched over to heating with oil, as it burned consistently, with the ability to regulate the temperature more easily. Despite the transition to heating oil, many households continued to cook and heat water with their wood cook-stove. Wood was plentiful with a farm's orchard prunings, in addition to the local area being a major hub for lumber, as logs were floated down the Yakima and Naches Rivers from the forest to the Boise-Cascade Mill, on the eastern tip of Yakima, not far from Margaret Keys home.



Figure 33. Margaret Keys 1910 Comfort Home wood cook-stove. It is still in use in her home today and is one year older than Margaret is.

Russ Duffield talks about what he, his parents, and his brother, Ken, used to heat their homes. "The wood box quite often was apple wood or pear wood from pruning and if you didn't have that you hauled mill wood from the mill. That was slab wood. And you had to chop that and keep the wood box full of that. And in the wintertime, you burnt the big hunks of apple wood. We didn't have oil; most people didn't have electric stoves" (K. E. Duffield, G. E. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 19, 2009).

Joanne Desmarais Deccio's family, her German mother, and her French father burned coal, as did her husband's family. They were a hop farming family that lived at the east end of the Valley, while Bob Deccio's Italian family lived and still lives in the northwestern or lower portion of the Valley.

Joanne: I remember they used to haul that coal and dump it in the

basement window (laughing)for the furnace.

Terri: So you had a coal furnace?

Joanne: It had to be coal. What else was there? It wasn't wood.

Terri: Did your dad go get the coal or did they deliver it?

Joanne: No, dad would do it.

Joanne: I just remembered that dad did that. And let's see when was the,

of course we had hops around us and there was the kiln and there used to be horses there, these big horses—cause you didn't have

tractors then and they belonged to Pepe. . . .

Bob: and we had a coal stove before we had oil.

Terri: Was coal delivered or did you have to go get it?

Bob: No, we picked it up.

Terri: Where at?

Bob: Along Front Street, there were various sundry of places, Artificial Ice and Fuel sold coal, Redman Fairchild sold coal. There were a lot of people who sold coal. And wood, wood for the stove in the kitchen that she baked and cooked on. That was done from the mill. You got the sawdust from the mill and we picked that up in a big huge truck. We had a truck with a big 7-foot side, so we

filled that up and we...

Terri: So you burned sawdust?

Bob: It was just the sawdust on the wood we bought. Oh, it itched. We

stacked it, we stacked it in the garage and beside the garage, and we covered it up. And that's what we cooked with all winter.

Terri: What was it like to heat with coal?

Bob: Hot and cold. Very hot because you couldn't control it. If it went

out in the middle of the night because it was 10 below zero outside, then you got up in the morning and it was very cold. If

you had a glass of water in the sink, it was frozen.

Terri: Oh, OK—did it produce ashes or anything?

Bob: The coal? Yeah, they called them clinkers.

Terri: Keep telling me because I don't know anything about that

Bob: The clinker is what's left over after you burn the carbon off the

coal. Coal is carbon. So you put in there

Joanne: You have the tongs to take it out of the furnace.

Bob: Then you put it in a bucket and we'd, I don't remember how we

got rid of it. I don't remember. Then as soon as you could get a system, we changed the stove, went into oil. We had big barrels on down the side of the house. It came up; it was all supplied by gravity. Then you could burn it all night. But otherwise, it got

very cold at nights.

Terri: OK, OK—so we need to find clinker removal then.

Bob; (both laughing) clinker removal—yeah I don't remember what

we did with them

Terri: (everyone laughing) So you used tongs. What size did coal come

in?

Bob: Joanne used to take clinkers out; they had a huge big stove down

in their basement.

Joanne: Dad filled it, we had the little thing that pushed it in there, then

you had to go and clean that all out. I think we just put it in the bucket and when there was too much, my dad took it away. He probably took it to the drain ditch or something. I don't know

where he took it.

Bob: I don't remember. We weren't responsible for that we were too

young.

(J. Deccio & R. Deccio, personal communication, April 5, 2010).



Figure 34. First Artesian Well in Moxee Valley, 1890. Well drilling machine that brought in the first Artesian Well at Mud Springs, 4 miles East of Moxee, in the Yakima Valley.

http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,1617

Water was plentiful in the Valley and many shallow wells were put in. With a water table of eight feet in many places, basements were not common. In some parts of the Valley, artesian aquifers of water were struck. These artesian wells (see Figure 34) were under pressure and often smelled like rotten eggs from their sulfur content. Moxee City was given such a well and the city piped water to all its residents. Alice Toupin states in her book,

In 1910, when the town was first developed, there was no water in town except for a private well on the Paul Brunell place, where George Cartier lived. Mr. Brunell was generous in letting people come to get water. It was a common site to see someone driving their horse through town with a stone boat and barrels to get water. In 1911, Leon Charron Sr. drilled a well 1300 feet deep and struck a very powerful stream. He had more water than he needed for the irrigation of his own place so he offered to pipe water to the city. This well yielded 3500 gallons a minute. It proved to be the purest water and the people of the city were thankful for the good water. In 1942, the city drilled its own well 1320 feet deep. It was artesian and the temperature ranged between 65 and 72 degrees. This well was a pleasure for some and a grief for others. The striking of this heavy vein caused the water table to drop so much that many of the wells in the eastern part of the valley had to use pumps to bring their water up. These proved too costly for irrigation and some of the early settlers in the eastern area moved to other locations. After the coming of the Roza Canal, much of this land has been restored. (Toupin, 1974)

Those who lived outside the city had water-wells with a hand pump in the front yard. As Margaret Keys said, "If you were really uptown you would plumb the well to the kitchen (see Figure 35)." It was not until the 1930s and 1940s, that faucets, such as what we have today, replaced the hand pump. Margaret describes how they got water,

When my dad first built, the pump was outside and you had to carry it in. But when he added on to the house, the pump was put inside. . . . he primed it when he built the first little house. When the pump was outside it wasn't good in the winter because of freezing...



Figure 35. Replica pump and sink in Margaret Key's Cabin, Central Washington Agricultural Museum.

Water, especially heated water, was always in demand for dishes, laundry, cooking, bathing, or scalding a chicken for dinner. You could find it in a pot, simmering on the wood stove or in a hot water reservoir on the side or back of the stove. Saturday night, the family used more hot water than the rest of the week, as it was bath night for the entire household. Everyone bathed in the same washtub, using the same water; with hot water added from time to time. Preparing for Saturday night was a family event.



Figure 36. Harry Gendron in washtub. (Gendron Photo Collection, 1916)

Children pumped water from the well outside, and hauled it to the kitchen. Pots were then filled and put to heat on the wood cook-stove, with the rest used to fill the washtub part way. Margaret Keys giggled as she remembered the saying, "Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater." She said, "It's an old saying, not from here, but on bath night, the water got so dirty that you could throw the baby out with the bath water (see Figure 36)! That is how dirty it was. The cleanest person went first, then the next, until the dirtiest person was the last to bathe."

Families often lived in a small, two or three-room house with an uninsulated, unheated attic. Children slept in the attic and canned goods were often kept there, as most houses did not have basements with the high water-table. The main floor consisted of the parents' bedroom, along with the living and kitchen areas combined. If insulated, it was with sawdust.

Several factors determined the type of house a person could build. First, the amount of money you had to build a house and second, the time you had left to build it before winter. Whether someone purchased a home that was already built, or built it themselves, they continued to add on to their home, as needed, to accommodate a growing family. Bathrooms were often the last room added. In the case of the Orphyre Gendron house, the bathroom was added in 1930 (see Figures 37 & 38). The Duffields used an outhouse until 1955, when they added a bathroom to their home.

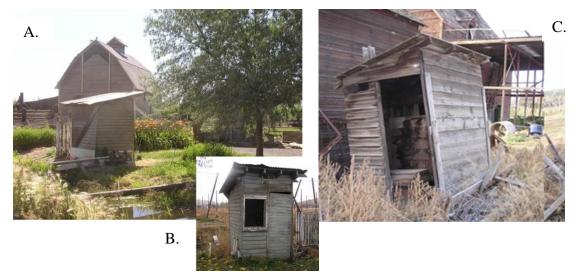


Figure 37. Outhouses. A. Gendron Ranch (side view). B. front view (Terri Towner, 2014, June). *C.* Outhouse at the Paul Patnode Ranch (Terri Towner, 2010).

The Boorsma Farm boasted an outhouse built in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (see Figure 38). This outhouse was part of a work program that gave many Americans a much-needed job during the Great Depression. What was different about CCC outhouses was that they had a cement base and stool and had special venting to reduce smells. This outhouse in the Valley documents the presence of CCC workers there.



Figure 38. 1930s CCC Outhouse at the Harry Boorsma Farm. (Terri Towner, March, 2010)

At nighttime, households used a Chamber Pot or Thunder Pot (see Figures 39), or just "The Pot" to relieve themselves instead of going outside to the outhouse. No one was exempt from dumping or cleaning it. Some of the items used in lieu of toilet paper were catalog pages.

Some of the items used in lieu of toilet paper were catalog pages, newsprint, fabric, hay balls, sheep's wool, grass, and corncobs.





Figures 39. Chamber Pots. A. Chamber pot with lid. B. Chamber pot, white enameled. Often they were nicknamed "Honey Pots or Thunder Pots."

Heating, Water, & Energy

Power lines for electricity were strung to Moxee City in 1911. Alice Toupin writes in her book on Moxee, "The Pacific Power and Light Co. brought their lines from Yakima to Moxee City, extending them later to the Columbia River. What a joy it was to have even one light on a drop cord where all one had to do was to pull a chain or turn a button for light. This was also much safer." This is not to say that the rest of the Moxee Valley had electricity or that there was enough electricity flowing through the lines for anything more than a drop cord with a light bulb hanging from the center of each room. Dan Harvey explained earlier that electricity was not what it is today. There were few outlets, and therefore, there were few appliances

Margaret Key's father refused to put in electricity when it became available through a privately owned company. He was waiting for Public Power, which was first put in out at Harrah, to become available, which he felt was more affordable. Margaret's family did not have their home and farm electrified until after her fathers' passing in the 1940s.

One example that illustrates how electrification of the Valley occurred over time is the O.J. Gendron Ranch hop kiln (see Figure 18). The new kiln, built in 1920. There was no electricity here at this time. The kiln had an extremely tall cupola to provide an adequate natural draft for the hot, moist air from the drying hops, to rise up and out of the kiln, preventing any fires from starting through spontaneous combustion within the bed of hops on the drying floor. Notice the telephone poles only ran telephone lines.

In Figure 5, the kiln's cupola had been substantially lowered, four large fans were added to the inside of the cupola, and the telephone poles now had two cross beams and a power transformer attached. The truck in the picture is a 1934 Ford Pickup. Most could not afford new vehicles, yet it suggests that this picture was taken sometime after 1934, when basic electricity may have been added to the farm.

As a result of the lack of appliances, it was common practice to use an icebox or a cupboard, where ice was placed to refrigerate food. People either went to the store for ice, or had the iceman deliver ice several times a week. Participant interviews revealed that modern appliances, such as electric washing machines, refrigerators, and irons, became more commonplace after WWII. Prior to this, mass production of these items was not possible, making them too expensive for this rural community.

Not having refrigeration, influenced cooking and preservation techniques. Meat that could be slaughtered, prepared and eaten the same day was preferred. Those in the country waited to butcher livestock until cold weather came in the fall. The carcass hung all winter in a smokehouse without rotting. Meat was cut off from time to time. It grew some mold, but that could be cut off. (Duffield, Feb. 2010)

For the most part, households throughout the Valley were extremely similar. As Russ Duffield said, "We were all in the same boat." Money was tight most years, and times were tough as this fledgling community went through WWI in 1914, the flu epidemic of 1918, tuberculosis outbreaks, and the Great Depression and WWII. It was hard for families to get ahead.

CHAPTER VI

ROLES, GENDER, AND AGE IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Roles within the household followed a patriarchal structure and the community's religious theologies reinforced that structure. It was patriarchal in that the husband was the head of the household and took complete responsibility for it. Yet both husband and wife were partners in raising the family, and succeeding in life. Both the husband and the wife had great respect for what the other did, because they knew that without the other person doing their part, the household would disintegrate. Elders were highly respected and children were to obey their parents and elders. Older children had more responsibilities than younger children had, and often took on the care of the younger children. Each member within the household had specific duties and there was no confusion as to who was to do what. For the family to survive, each person, young and old, must complete their daily chores and tasks without being asked or reminded. The household was interdependent upon its members for their survival. There often were more things to do in a day than there were hands or hours, to do it. Extra time was a luxury that most households had little of.

In 1915, when a man took a wife, he looked for a partner who would work just as hard as he would in her role and duties. Physical labor was an integral part of life and unless a man was well to-do, a wife capable of physical labor was an important characteristic to a man looking for a bride. Both husband and wife would have specific chores and tasks to do. The work that the wife did complemented the work that her

husband did. This arrangement worked well, brought stability to the family, and utilized the greatest strengths of both people.

By 1950, when more amenities such as cars, paved roads, and home conveniences became commonplace, along with more work available off the farm, this societal norm was still common to the everyday way of life within the valley. Often times, one, or both held jobs off the farm while also continuing to farm. The farm family did whatever it took to hold on to what they had and not lose the farm (K. E. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 17, 2009).

Head of the Household

The head of the household was normally a married male unless a woman was widowed. Then she would take on that role until the time she remarried, if ever. A son of a widow or sometimes one of her brothers would step in to take on some of the leadership role (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 17, 2011).

Men usually did not marry until they were released by their father to do so. It was common for a son to be expected to work on the family farm until the age of twenty-one. At that time, he would be put on the father's payroll or he would purchase land and begin farming for himself (G. Assink, personal communication, March 11, 2010).

The head of the household was the provider, as his wife's main work was to care for her husband, the home, garden, and the children. He would be the first to rise, usually starting the fire, or stoking it before heading outside to do morning chores such as haying the horses, feeding the chickens, and milking the cows. He would come in to a full

breakfast and hot coffee prepared by his wife around 7 am. The family would eat breakfast together before the kids headed off to school. Then he would head outside again (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009 and M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 17, 2010).

Dinner was served at noon and the husband was expected to be at the table. It was the largest meal of the day and would last until one o'clock. Often people who had come to do business with him would join them for the meal, especially if his wife was a good cook. There was always a structure to who sat where at the table. It was order of importance or of responsibility. The head of the house always sat at the head of the table. Guests often took a place of honor up near the head of the table, while younger children then set farther toward the opposite end. His wife would sit where it was easiest to serve food from the stove (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 17, 2010).

At one o'clock, the husband was back to work until six o'clock when he was again expected to be at the table for supper. Supper was a lighter meal than dinner and would often incorporate leftovers from that noon meal. When supper was over, the husband went out one last time to hay the horses and milk the cows if there were no children at home capable of handling these responsibilities. If children were given these chores, the husband would go and check their work and then help them with homework if needed.

Up until the 1940s, the head of the household was expected to do the heavy lifting, fix the wagons, buggies, to do the farm work if he farmed, work long hours as required, and help his wife with things she needed help with. In the mid to late1940s,

after the war ended things transitioned, making more modern conveniences available. At this point, the head of the household needed to be able to work on his cars, trucks, and farm machinery instead of buggies, wagons, and horse drawn equipment (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

As head of the household, it was his job to discipline the children when needed, and if the family had boys, they learned to do farm chores and went out to farm with their dad as soon as they were old enough. Until that time, they learned to do things with their mother in the house (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010, L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009,

Business was conducted at the farm or shop. The husband was the one who signed contracts for any business dealings or major purchases the household made. Business dealings were conducted in English, on the farm or at the local Saloon or restaurant. This made it imperative for most men who did not speak the language, to learn it quickly (K. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 12, 2009).

The head of the household was expected to help with community projects and help with repairs on schools, churches, and or the Grange hall. If something needed to be done, the men of the community were expected to make it happen; some supplying necessary materials, others providing the labor. This type of work was often completed after harvest or before planting, on weekends, and some evenings (K. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 12, 2009).

On Saturdays, the husband often went to town with at least one child in tow to purchase what the family needed and to conduct business. His wife only went occasionally, as Saturday's were house cleaning and cooking for Sunday. It was a special occasion for a man when spent precious money to get his haircut and a shave during his Saturday trip to town. Saturday trips to town were viewed as a special time to socialize and see the world outside the farm (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009 and M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

Second in Command – The Role of the Wife

The wife was the keeper and maker of the home. A short list of her duties included being the cook, the laundry person, seamstress, and mother. Just as her husband had his domain and area of expertise, the home was hers. She lived by a schedule or routine every day of the week. Having few conveniences, she rose early along with her husband or shortly afterwards. It was her job to start the fire in the cook stove, wake the children, get them ready for school along with fixing a full breakfast that included fruit, oatmeal, biscuits, meat and eggs, along with piping hot coffee; before 7 am when her husband would come in from morning chores to have breakfast with the family (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

In Soap Suds to Sunday School by Louise Rice, "one such routine for a pioneer woman included: Monday was washday, and she ironed on Tuesday, mended on Wednesday, churned on Thursday, cleaned on Friday, baked on Saturday, went to church

and entertained on Sunday" (Rice & Daughters of the Pioneers of Washington, 1990).

Each of my informants had similar, yet different, routines. For example, the Vivian

Gamache family cleaned and cooked on Saturday to prepare for Sunday. Larry Gamache remembers his mom doing laundry every other day. Margaret Keys would go to town with her father on Saturday while her mother prepared for Sunday, yet the family did not attend a church. Caren Benny remembers her mom baking at least every other day of the week. Everyone interviewed agreed on Monday and Tuesday's schedule. They also agreed that Sunday was the day for going to church, visiting, or entertaining at home.

The wife made three good-sized meals each day. In many families, she had meals on the table at 7 a.m., noon, and 6 p.m. In the summer, mealtime hours might vary depending on the farm work that was required. Her husband would be in from his chores and work like clockwork. Keeping a mealtime schedule helped to everyone in the household to organize their day as it was a constant that could be counted on. She often entertained business acquaintances at the noon dinner meal. It was the largest meal of the day with leftovers from dinner used to make supper.

Her shopping list included ingredients used for her cooking. Things like wheat, sugar, salt, and spices were common grocery items and could be bought in large quantities, which limited the number of times in a month that she would need to make a trip to town. There was a large flour and sugar bin in her baking cupboard, big enough to hold more than 30 lbs. of each.

Her duties in respect to children were to bear them, to care for them, and to train them. Depending on the size of the family, a wife might sometimes have high school girls come in to help with these task. If her children were in school, then she would help with their classroom activities, talk with the teacher, aid the teacher as needed, and monitor her children's progress. Couples, such as Ken and Genevieve Duffield, who could not have children, were able to adopt. Babies were as common then, as they are today, but adoption appeared to be a much easier and less costly process.

Women assisted with home births and helped midwives. In the 1910s and 1920s, a woman would spend ten days in bed resting after giving birth. In comparison, native women having their children in the fields or while working, would give birth and then go back to work just hours later with the new baby wrapped and on their back. Margaret Keys remembers her mom officiating many births (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 12, 2009).

Women either did the housecleaning or oversaw the cleaning that the children did, while they baked in the kitchen. Whether in town or in the country, women would grow a big garden, along with fruit trees, to help feed the family. They would tend to it by watering and pulling weeds, and oversaw the weed pulling the children did, while working alongside them until they knew the difference between weeds and vegetables. When harvest time arrived, she and her family would pick the produce or fruit and processes it for winter.

Vivian Gamache had eighteen children. Her son, Larry, remembers how his mom had high school girls come in to help, until her oldest children were capable enough to help with the younger ones, especially when she was pregnant (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009).

Women were also the ones who separated cream from the milk the cows produced. By selling the cream to the Creamery, they earned spending money for fabric, gifts, spices, and things that the family needed. It was money they could depend on in their budget. They did not take cream to the Creamery daily, but kept it cool in a stream or irrigation ditch or in a hole dug into the ground where it was cool. After the cream was separated, butter was churned for the family's use. The remaining buttermilk was then thrown to the pigs. Nothing went to waste. Children often helped with this process (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 12, 2009).

Store bought clothes were a luxury for most women. They were taught from a young age how to sew whatever clothes the family needed, as they could not afford to buy them. It was the job of the mother or grandmother to teach younger women how to sew and all else that was required of a wife and mother (C. Benny, personal communication, February 16, 2010).

Often a woman cared for her parents and/or in-laws and helped them. She would do her family's laundry on Monday and then go to their house on Tuesday to help and do laundry (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 12, 2009). Most people did not retire as we know it today, but farmed as long as they could. Families often farmed together and helped each other out with whatever they needed; including taking care of aging parents, sick or injured family members, and those with disabilities. Often, the elderly moved into town, within walking distance from the school, and caring for their grandchildren after school. Other times they lived close by or next door to their children

(C. Benny, personal communication, February 16, 2010).

Besides having many family and farm responsibilities, wives often worked seasonal jobs in fruit canneries and packing houses, in the hop yards, during harvest time when picking was still done by hand, and during the harvest time of the fruit orchards. They often had their children in tow. Businesses and farmers were much more family friendly compared to today (D. Harvey & M. Harvey, personal communication, February 9, 2010).

In the community, wives and mothers were expected to be part of school groups that saw to the needs of teachers and students (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010). If they had a religious affiliation, they joined the women's groups associated with the church, while supporting the groups their where their husbands were members (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010 and K. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. D. Mozingo, personal communication, November 12, 2009) If they were a farm family that was neither French nor Dutch, they joined the Grange for an educational and social gathering of likeminded people, and the wife had duties associated with Grange functions (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

Young Men

Sons were required to take on many adult farm tasks. The age when they would leave the care of their mother and begin to work with their father could range from ten to thirteen years old. Often times, young men would only go to school through the eighth

grade (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010 and G. Assink, personal communication, March 11, 2010). At that point, they would begin to farm full-time with their father or go to work for someone else to help support the household. This continued as a necessity up into the late 1940s. Those that did attend high school were often not allowed to play sports after school as they were expected to help at home on the farm (G. Assink, personal communication, March 11, 2010). For those in school, they would help their father after school and on the weekends. This training imparted farming knowledge and skills verbally while also giving them hands on experience they could use later in life. Such help in the field benefited all family members, as it enabled them to farm more land or care for more animals and to make more profit. After 1944, it would have been common for them to learn how to run a tractor and use it to power other machinery with a belt, such as a silage chopper or carrot topper (K. E. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 17, 2009). Hop farmers would have teenagers trim and twine the fields in March and April; then train their hops to the twine, three different times between April and July (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, November 19, 2009). Chores might include milking cows, shearing and herding sheep, castrating calves, vaccinating steers, and learning to butcher chickens, beef, hogs, and sheep. They learned how to care for leather horse harnesses, buggies and wagons, and how to use and care for all of the farm's workhorses. It was common for a son to be expected to work on the farm until he turned twenty-one years old. At that time, they would go onto his father's payroll, go out to farm on his own, or go to work for someone else (G. Assink, personal communication, March 11, 2010). Gene

Assink remembers having to wait to get married until he was released by his father at age twenty-one. If the father passed away, the oldest son would take on much of the father's role. The rest of the sons also would step up to help take on the role of their father (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, November 19, 2009).

Young Women

Daughters, like sons, were a valuable asset to their family. Besides schoolwork, their main responsibilities were to learn how to be keepers of the home and help their mother with all that needed to be done. When girls reached the age of ten to twelve, they began to take on adult responsibilities. Some of their first chores were caring for and watching younger siblings, including changing diapers, helping to separate the cream from milk, doing simple housework, feeding livestock, and weeding the garden. The work these young women were able to accomplish increased with each passing year (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009 and C. Benny, personal communication, October 12, 2009). Their schooling was very important to their parents. It was so important, that if they brought homework home, mothers would wash the dishes so her daughter could complete her homework. Margaret Keys remembers how she got out of washing dishes and doing chores:

And then, I had to help with washing dishes. But I got smart and in about the 7th or 8th grade they had study hours in school. Instead of studying I read the magazines, cause we always had magazines. So, I always had to study at night. If I was studying, I didn't have to do dishes. So, I always brought my work home. So I could do my schoolwork. And they were great on school (my parents). And I did good. I never had much trouble. But, I would do my schoolwork at night so I wouldn't have to do dishes. And you know dishes were nothing but boring. But, I have to tell

you that I was never a great dishwasher. My mother was one. She would never leave a pan soaking. She always did dishes right away. (Keys, M.E., Oct. 29, 2009)

Daughters became so proficient at cooking, cleaning, canning, gardening, sewing and helping their mother with all necessary duties, it was a great loss of labor and companionship when they left home to work full-time, go to college, or get married. As older brothers left home, daughters were often given chores their brothers once did. Caren Benny remembers how she inherited the job of milking the family cow despite being allergic to milk:

My brother milked the cow and when he got married and went away, us girls did it... I had to get up early to milk the cow. When my sisters were home, we took turns, but when they left, I had to milk the cow morning and night. I guess I complained so much and groaned, that finally dad got rid of the cow. Ha! Ha! Especially, when you can't drink it! (Benny, C., October 12, 2009)

She also inherited the job of cleaning out the barn.

Even though we only had one cow, you know we didn't have to clean the barn a lot. But, you can imagine it would just pile up. We had a couple of different stalls we could put her in. Well..., finally..., when it would get bad, we would put boots on and go out there with shovels and scoop it all down into that lower level and then there was the door... and you would shovel it all out the door. It smelled really bad. It was slick, so you had to be careful that you didn't fall. Then we would take a hose and wash it all out. Luckily we didn't have to do it real often cause we didn't have a lot but we really didn't like having to do it. It was not pleasant. (Benny, C., October 12, 2009)

Come spring, they worked in the hop yards training vines and weeding, and at harvest, they would pick hops, along with working in orchards and canneries during fruit harvest. They worked after school for other families who needed help with children,

housework, and cooking (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009).

After finishing the eighth grade, if they did not continue with school, they worked for someone else; any monies they earned were usually given to their parents to benefit the household. Margaret Keys talks about her older sister working "out" and the entries in her father's account book:

The thing that was also interesting in those days, and I don't know other places, but around here, when the kids worked out, you gave your money to the folks.

Because in Dad's Account Book is money Amos gave..., and like Isabel worked..., like in the hops. And I think he prob'ly gave them spending money back. Because he was paying, they had a mortgage on the place. But, there was where she had, uh, given, uh... she wanted to go to high school and he said, "No." You have to go to Yakima.

She and my cousin... they were real good friends and they appren'ced out to a dressmaker. And worked for free to learn to do dress making. And later on, she said, about all the dressmaker did is made her make button holes and do hand hems, and I mean, it wasn't really too good a training, cause she already knew how to sew and she would sew... cause Mother could. But, she would sew and then she'd also do housework. But in his account book, there's money where Isabel... so much like a dollar and a half or two dollars was never too much money. But, then, see, when I came along, nobody ever, I never had to give anything, it was always mine. But, I mean, the times had changed and the older ones had left and she had apparently saved, as I understand it, she had saved money for this bedroom. Because she used to go stay with people and do housework sometimes, or sometimes she would just go. Then in the fall, she packed apples. At that time.... Some of the farmers had little sheds and they packed, you go there...and I still have her box, they had to carry, they had their own box for the paper and a needle that held the paper down. (Keys, M.E., October 29, 2009).

As times changed, more girls completed high school; some went on to attend college or business school. Women who went on to higher education often became

teachers or secretaries. Margaret Keys went on to get a teaching degree from Washington State University in 1933. She worked for the Department of Agriculture as a Demonstration Agent and then taught school for many years. Ferne Heath went to nursing school in Yakima in 1943. She had met her husband to be, Walt Heath, when she was sixteen but nursing school would not allow a married woman to become a nurse. In 1944, when Ferne went to visit Walt, who was in the service and stationed in California, they married; and Ferne did not return to finish her schooling. Ferne did end up working in Saint Elizabeth's Hospital and was asked by a doctor to come and work for him because his nurse was leaving. She worked in that capacity for many years until she retired.

Boys and Girls

From birth on, boys and girls were always with their mother or grandmother, until they went to school at age five or six years old. Girls remained under their mother's care and teaching after going to school, and boys remained under her care until they were physically able to do farm chores and work with their father. This does not mean that their father was absent in girls' and boys' care or training. Margaret Keys remembers following her father around the farm all of the time, as it was a dairy and he worked at home. She had a wonderful relationship with her dad. Most fathers, who worked away from home or farmed crops, were with their family at evening meals, except when seasonal farming required them to work longer hours. He was the one who set the household rules and held them to that standard. Yet, children spent the majority of their

time with their mother. (G. Assink, personal communication, February 15, 2010 and H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

Play was an important part of life for young children. Weather permitting, they played outside, and there was no fear of strangers lurking around to harm them (see Figures 41 & 42). The world was their oyster. Girls cut out paper dolls and the clothes for their paper dolls. Margaret Keys remembers cutting things out of magazines quite a bit. Her mom would find things for her to do such as picking up apricots off the ground each day or picking strawberries from the garden. Women would often visit other women and the children would play with each other (see Figure 40).



Figure 40. Women visiting: Helen, Edna, Baby Harry, and Stella Gendron. (Gendron Photo Collection, 1916)



Figure 41. Harry Gendron and his pony. \sim 1922-1923. Harry was born in 1916.



Figure 42. Irene and Harry Gendron with pony and cart ~ 1925

Caren Benny remembers lying in the grass, looking up at the clouds and trying to figure out what animal shapes the clouds were making. Ferne Heath remembers playing in the barn with her sister and helping her mom. Boys would begin to carry wood in to keep the wood-box filled between the ages of four to six (K. Duffield, G. Duffield, R. Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 12, 2009). They, along with the girls, were taught how to feed chickens and how to collect eggs from the chicken coop. Most young children stayed in the house with mom and helped with cleaning and small things that were age appropriate. Girls learned how to wash, dry, and put dishes away. Margaret Keys remembers having the chore of picking grass to put in the rabbit cages to feed their rabbits when her parents felt they could trust her to do it. She also remembers she was never good at housework. "I had to dust. I remember sitting. I was hopeless. I mean, instead of stooping, I would sit on the floor dust the legs of the

chairs and table and then scoot on my rear-end to the next one" (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 17, 2011).

More outside farm chores were added for both boys and girls, when they reached the appropriate age; chores such as weeding, fetching the mail, cutting up wood for the wood-box, and so on. By the time that boys were age 12, they were doing many of the things on the farm that prepared them to work alongside their dads. Girls were prepared to work alongside their mothers.

Analysis

All members of the household helped to complete the work that needed to be done. It was a common societal norm. Everyone had a job to do and they were expected to complete the tasks without having to be reminded. The early training of children enabled the household to produce or farm more land. It made it easier for the household to survive and prosper. It reduced the workload of both the mother and father, while also freeing them up to do other things to bring in more money for the household.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMUNITY

At its heart, the community consists of families, so, the logical place to begin to characterize the community, is by discussing those individuals and nuclear families that first traveled to the area. They were followed by other family members who setup households, extended family groups, and finally larger groups, such as schools, churches, and other social organizations. These processes and activities knit the community together.

As described earlier, the French, Dutch and those in the Riverside District first moved to the area in the late 1880s-1890s. The first individuals came to work for the Moxee Company and Scudder Ranch. Many were single or had left their fiancée or wife and family in the care of relatives. They boarded at the ranches. Others were newly married and looking for a place of their own.

Robert V. Bruce describes the main product of the Moxee Company in his book, Bell: Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude. He writes, "In the 1880s. . . . the Bells joined Hubbard in financing a large diversified farming operation at Moxee, Washington, which was a losing venture for many years. Its chief yield for the Bells was of jobs for various Bell and Hubbard relatives" (Bruce, 294)

Yvonne Wilber and David Lynx expound on Bruce's explanation in their online *History Link* article: "Numerous other relatives were employed and took up residence in the Moxee, including George Ker [*sic*], brother of William Ker [*sic*], who took charge of

the cattle. William and George Ker [*sic*] were the sons of Reverend John Kerr (1824-1907), mathematical lecturer at the Free Church Training College in Glasgow and best known for a discovery in physics now called the Kerr Effect." (Wilbur & Lynx, 2009)

When the men earned enough money, they purchased land and settled in the areas surrounding those entities. Their families soon followed, including parents, grandparents, siblings, in-laws, cousins, aunts, and uncles, etc. The Moxee Company (see Figure 43) was a foreshadowing of the way the community would form and function. Two examples were Antoine LaFramboise and David Keys, my informant Margaret Keys' father.



Figure 43: Moxee Company crew - Will H., George Maxon, Dion Hyland, George Ker (1885 -1886). (Yakima Valley Museum Photo Collection.)

Antoine LaFramboise, a French-Canadian, living in the Red River Valley of Minnesota, contracted to work as the blacksmith for the Moxee Company for five years.

At the end of that time, he had saved enough money to purchase land from the Company,

build his own blacksmith shop, and begin building a grand house. He went back to Minnesota, married his fiancée, and moved his family to Moxee. Wilbur and Lynx describe what brought many families to the area:

Antoine was ready to open his own blacksmith shop. His father, Joseph, traveled west-bringing equipment for it. He also brought three of his ten children–strong sons to work in the family business. Once the LaFramboise Blacksmith Shop was open, its many customers included the Moxee police and fire departments, which had a continuing need for horseshoeing and wagon repairs.

Antoine wrote to other family members, describing this "Promised Land" he had found, and persuaded many of them to migrate to the wonderfully fertile Yakima Valley. (Wilbur & Lynx, 2009)

David and Lucy Keys (see Figure 44) married in 1891 and moved to the area in 1894 to work for the Scudder Ranch. For eight years, David worked as a foreman and Lucy cooked for the men who boarded there. David's pay was a dollar a day and enough feed for one cow and two horses. Lucy was paid, but the salary is unknown. In 1908, they



Figure 44. David and Lucy Keys in the front yard of their farm. Date unknown. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection, n.d.)

purchased 32 acres of virgin river-bottom in the Riverside District near the Ranch and started a dairy farm, which maintained between twelve and twenty head of Holstein cows. They raised and sold chickens and calves to bring in extra money. The dairy sold milk to local people and the creamery. Lucy sold butter and cottage cheese to local people and cream to the creamery (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 12, 2009).

The LaFramboise family grew large and continued farming in the valley. The Keys families increased, but not in the valley, as they went into occupations outside of dairying or farming. David and Lucy had 5 children; three boys, a girl, and ten years later, another girl, Margaret, who is 105 years old at the time of this writing. Like many of the original families, the Keys and LaFramboise names live on, both having roads named after them.

These two men, Antoine LaFramboise and David Keys, played important roles within the fledgling community. Moxee did not incorporate until 1921, but the Census of 1910 provides some measure of population. It states that there were approximately 5.5 people per square mile in rural Yakima County. The absence of people to carry out essential jobs or duties, along with the constant need for extra income, caused both men and women to take on more than one role in the community. Antoine was the blacksmith for the entire area. He worked for the Moxee Company during work hours and blacksmithed after hours for the rest of the community. David and Lucy Keys provided dairy products for families living in the Riverside District and Scudder Ranch areas.

School, and later Moxee Central School Board, while Lucy was a member of the Riverside Club, which was a group of women who oversaw the teacher, her needs, and the students.

Another example of the many roles played by different individuals is O. J. Gendron. He was a subsistence farmer, whose family grew hops as a cash crop. A farmer and hop grower, he was also the Water Master for the Hubbard Irrigation Ditch, and acted as the local veterinarian when the need arose. Like others, O. J. stepped up and took on jobs that needed to be done. If the ditch was not flowing properly, he along with others would suffer. If he was not able to do veterinary work and save a calf or a cow, ewe, ram, or someone's workhorse, the family lost a food or income source. Animals were an important economic commodity. If a work or buggy horse was lost, a family might not be able to get their farming done or go to town for supplies. They depended upon them the way we depend on a tractor and a truck today. Most families only had enough livestock for their own operation. Yet, family or neighbors helped a family in need. Often, the need demanded their time, an already scarce commodity.

Neighborhoods

As more people migrated to the valley, families became groups of households. Households became neighbors, and neighbors began to make up the Riverside, Holland, and French districts. In his interview, Gene Assink called these districts "colonies," as they were mostly populated by a single ethnicity. The children of each group tended to marry others of the same faith and nationality, and their children likewise. Seven French

families first arrived in 1897, with only a few other French families coming after. All were from the Crookston-Gentily area or larger Red River Valley of Minnesota and had migrated from France to Québec to Minnesota (Lewis, 1994, p. 1). The French tended to have large families of between six and eighteen children (L. Gamache, personal communication, February 28, 2009). Siblings often lived and farmed alongside each other, forming corporations, such as the "Gamache, Morrier, Desmaris Ranches," and "Roy Farms." Those of the Riverside area were diverse in ethnicity and the two informants from there, had five and six children in their family of origin. Throughout this period, the population of the valley grew very little (fewer than 500 by 1950). Catholic Church records state there were "80 Catholic families in the area in 1900 and 165 Catholic families in 1915" (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 25).

A Sense of Community

The first element is membership. Membership is the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. The second element is influence, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members. The third element is reinforcement: integration and fulfillment of needs. This is the feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group. The last element is shared emotional connection, the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences. (McMillan, 1976, (pg. 9).

The things that draw people together to operate as a community require them to interact with each other in ways that include the four elements listed above. The groups

that form serve different purposes and provide a sense of community, as people engage in activities and relationships (McMillan, 1976).

Family, Households, and Extended Family

Throughout this period, family was vital to successful farming; family meant everything and this value remained throughout the years. For this paper, family is defined as a husband, wife, and any children they may have. The household is defined as anyone living under the roof or in the care of one family. The definition of extended family is anyone who is related to the nuclear family, through descent, marriage, or co-residence and is multigenerational, including aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, etc. The household was an ever-changing entity as families often took in other families, individuals, hired help, and extended family.

Farms were often established through family ties. An individual or family moved to the area, bought land, began farming, got a job, or both, and wrote home to relatives about this "promised land." The extended family sometimes came out for a visit or moved there lock-stock-and-barrel! Antoine LaFramboise's parents and siblings moved here once he had been successful. Family often stayed with family until a suitable place was bought, rented, or built. Antoine's sister Eugenie and her husband Joseph Gendron, along with their son Orypher (O. J.), moved to Moxee in 1901. They purchased eighty acres and farmed alongside Antoine. Eventually, Antoine sold his forty acres to his brother Paul, who then sold it to Joseph's son O. J., creating the 120 acres of the Gendron Hop Ranch. Property passed from family member to family member. Very few outsiders

could purchase land in the valley. I was able to purchase O. J.'s homestead in 1984, when O. J's son, Harry died, as there were no other relatives alive or old enough to purchase it.

Antoine LaFramboise built a home that was a show place for entertaining. Many family members and friends gathered on Saturday night to dance, play cards, and socialize. Ken and Russ Duffield remember Joseph Gendron (see Figure 45) having card parties and dances at his American Foursquare home. Sometimes there were so many people, that they carried the woodstove outside to make more room to dance.



Figure 45. Two Card Sharks: Phil and Harry Gendron at Joseph Gendron's home. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

Another example of extended family moving to the area was Ferne Heath's family. They moved from South Dakota to Moxee, arriving in Moxee on October 3, 1937. Fern was fourteen years old. Their family stayed with her mother's sister, Nellie, until they could find a home to rent. Aunt Nellie's became the place where many family members gathered to visit (F. Heath, personal communication, January 31, 2009).

Large or extended families provided the friendship of close neighbors, and many became business or farming partners. They shared Sunday get-togethers (see Figure 46) after church, family vacations and excursions (see Figures 47 A & B), support during illnesses and help in childbirth, canning, child rearing, and extra help on the farm, as needed, and at harvest. Grandparents helped with things they could, such as grandma sewing clothes and quilts and grandpa building things or working on equipment that needed tinkering.



Figure 46. Longevin family picnicking at Sumach Park on Yakima Avenue in Yakima, 1914. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum.)

Margaret Keys' family exemplified this when their father took ill with Bright's disease. One brother returned home from California to help with the farm. When that brother was injured, another brother came to help. After their father's passing in 1942, both brothers stayed on to run the farm and help their mother. Margaret returned to help her mom, living back at home after WWII and the death of her father. This was a time when people honored family and did whatever was needed to keep the farm (M. E. Keys, personal communication, March 13, 2014).



Figure 47A. Gendron friends and relatives on vacation at Snoqualmie Falls Lodge. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)



B. From the O.J. Gendron Collection, at Snoqualmie Falls Lodge

Most French families spoke French and were related to each other in some manner, making their extended families quite large. This connectedness provided family members a sense of belonging and emotional involvement. It helped each family to succeed in times of need and fulfilled their need for a sense of community (I. Patnode, personal communication, February 15, 2010 and K. E. Duffield, G. E. Duffield, R.

Duffield, H. Duffield, & M. Mozingo, personal communication, November 19, 2009). The downside-involved families being so interconnected, one had to be careful about what they said and to whom they said it. Feuds broke out within families over a bad comment or a morsel of gossip, and might continue for years. The same was true with unrelated neighbors or friends, but the French community being so entwined, they were at once friends, neighbors, and family to each other.

Older Dutch families also had some "clannishness," as it was stated in the Church history book (Boorsma, 1976). They spoke Dutch and often stayed to themselves, yet they were not as interconnected with each other as the French. Their families were not as large as the French, but a family of six or seven children was quite common. Gene Assink explains about his family, speaking of his father:

He had a fairly large family and he said that also helped them stay on the ranch. If he had to hire help, he couldn't have afforded to stay on the ranch. And so, it was cheaper to have a family, because they raised their own food.

All they had to buy were clothes and maybe a few essentials of groceries. Farming in those days, you took care of yourself. We milked cows, or he milked cows. We had pigs, we had chickens, and we had a big garden. So all the basics you needed, except for those few things like flour and seasoning and stuff like that. We separated the milk; the skim milk was fed to the pigs. The cream that they kept would be taken in every so often and get paid for it and that would buy those few essential groceries they needed. He raised all the crops he needed to feed all the animals, even grain for the pigs but he had one cash crop and that was sugar beets.

Sugar beets were a stable crop, in that you had a contract (a company promised to buy your crop and often a minimum price) and you knew exactly what you were going to get. It (was the money from the sugar beets that) made the payment on the place. That's how the system went. Dad did custom grain binding on the side to earn extra income that kept

him on the ranch... The one word my dad knew was work. (G. Assink, personal communication, February 15, 2010)

No matter whether you were French, Dutch, or another ethnicity, the family was where work ethics, morals, values, and respect were taught. Family constituted a work group. Children were expected to work hard at school and at home. There was always something for everyone to do and more. Families worked together to make ends meet and keep their farm. For most, working together gave them the sense of community within their own family. Each person had a necessary role in the family and they worked hard to fulfill it (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, November 19, 2009).

Neighbors

Neighbors provided the sense of belonging to the community with friendship and through meeting needs based on common values, support that ensured survival, and more efficient ways to work. It was common for a family to share a piece of equipment, such as a tractor, with a neighbor. One neighbor might have one piece of equipment, while another one had a different piece of equipment. It often worked well because ethics of work and sharing facilitated good relationships. Gene Assink talks about how he and a neighbor shared tractors when he tried farming near Toppenish.

I worked with a neighbor quite a bit. When I was farming, which worked real well. If I was going to cultivate corn and he had the corn cultivator on his tractor, I would take a tractor up there and just trade him, if he wasn't cultivating. And he would do the same thing with me. If I had the beet cultivator on and he had to cultivate beets, we would just trade. It was very efficient and we got along well together, so that was good. (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, November 19, 2009)

At harvest, groups of neighbors would get together and travel from farm to farm to bale hay or chop corn silage and put it in the silo of each farmer in their group (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

Margaret Keys explains,

We had a silo at one time, when I was small. A group of people down Riverside Lane and us and the Knack's over there, somebody went through and sold us all silos. Then the whole group bought a chopper and a blower. They all took turns. It was a marvelous thing in the years it lasted. They helped each other; maybe there was seven or eight people. Every woman would try to have a special good dinner when the crew was at their farm. The men ate very well during silo time.

They would go from one farm to the next, just like when they did baling of hay. Not everybody had a baler in the old days, cause you didn't have a big farm. One person had a baler and they paid them, and the baler made dates to go from farm to farm. But for silo time, they only had one set of equipment for eight or ten families. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010)

In addition to cooperative work, neighborhood women often got together as a group, once a month in the daytime, to play games or visit with each other. Ferne remembers the women in her neighborhood gathering like this and can remember certain houses and what people made for the meal. She has fond memories of her neighbors and these times. She remembers butterscotch pie, big pots of chili beans, and the fact that most people were poor as church mice, just like she and her husband. Ferne was 24 in 1947 (F. Heath, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

Margaret Keys remembers that people who came to visit during the daytime would often stay for the noon meal, as her mother was an excellent cook. Men came to do business with her father and families came to visit on the weekends and in the summer. If

the kids were not in school yet, they would visit during the week. Margaret would hide her toys, where visitors rarely went, when she knew that other kids were coming, as she did not want them to get broken. Visiting was often done on Sunday afternoons, as many people attended church in the morning. Sharing meals with your visitors was common (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 29, 2009).

Church

Both French and Dutch families were strong in their faith and committed to their churches. Their language and faith differences divided the two colonies, but church was a place where people could come together each week and spend time with others who believed similarly. It provided ways a person could help others or receive help. It filled emotional, spiritual, and physical needs. This was one of the strongest themes of all those interviewed who belonged to a church.

When seven French Canadian families arrived in Yakima on an emigrant railroad car in 1897, none of them could speak a word of English. Despite hardship, those who came were a hearty lot. In the book "Holy Rosary School, Moxee City, Washington 1915 – 1940, it states:

An artesian well had been drilled by Mr. Charles Haines whose land was in the vicinity of the Langevin place. Near the well site, a public school (the Artesian School) was in operation at the time the first Catholic families arrived. In this building and the homes of the Catholics, once a month the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered by priests who came out from St. Joseph's parish in Yakima... Mr. Gamache was the ardent kind of Catholic who could not bear to miss mass on Sundays. Week after week, with his children seated on the flat bottom of the wagon box, he and his

wife and family drove to St. Joseph's church in Yakima. Arriving early, they spent the time before Mass visiting with the Sisters at the Academy.

It took a long time for a team to traverse a sagebrush trail deep with dust, so they carried a lunch with them on these Sunday trips and returned home only in the late afternoon... Once a month was not enough for these staunch Catholics, whose faith came before comfort and to whom the consolations of religion were valued far beyond the price of any sacrifice.

Soon, Holy Rosary Church was built and held its first mass on March 21, 1900, with Mass given in French. By this time, the number of French families had grown to 15 with 96 children present. (Silver Jubilee, 1940)

Holy Rosary had a group for women, the Ladies of St. Anne, and a group for men, the Knights of Columbus.

The Ladies of St. Anne was created to take care of the vestments and alter linens, the cleaning of the church and the visiting and praying for the sick and deceased members. The society sponsored card parties, dinners, bazaar booths, raffles, and lawn socials to raise money for both the church and the school. Now the Ladies of St. Anne are divided into a number of guilds which clean the church and raise funds for various projects (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 75).

The Knights of Columbus formed in January, 1921. Always active in their support of social, educational, and athletic projects, they earned the title, "Right arm of the church (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 31)" Caren Benny describes growing up in the French community,

We spent our whole lives with Catholics. There were tons of things going on through the church, school, and our family. We had a large family of eight children and many extended families. Our whole community was self-contained so to speak. We had to go to church a lot. Saturday was confession, Sunday was church, during Lent, it seemed like you spent quite a few hours there. There were different things for different occasions. Then there were school functions and family gatherings and dinners, and we had school and farm work to do too. I only had friends who were Catholic because that is all who lived near us or that we went to church or school with. The church was busy ministering to all of the

French families. Sunday was the day for family dinners too. People would just know to come to my grandma's or our house for dinner. I can remember my mom putting three or four chickens into the pressure cooker or a big roast for Sunday (C. Benny, personal communication, October 12, 2009).

The first Dutch emigrant railroad car arrived on October 5, 1900. Most of the people bought land from the Moxee Company, just as the French had done. They began to meet for church in homes in Yakima and soon were offered the use of a Presbyterian church that was not in use and close to the Holland settlement. The First Reformed Church held its first services on March 12, 1901. The church history book, "Our 75th Anniversary" published in 1976, describes the people and church beginnings.

It took courage to come West in the early 1900s. Courage to face the heat, the cold, the mud, the dust and disease, and above all, the uncertainty.

Some would come, and find that they had left their hearts behind—"Too old to adjust, went back to North Dakota"—read some early notes. Some who stayed would lose life's most precious possessions. The first burials in the Church cemetery were children: Elizabeth Buis, age 9, an "adopted" niece of the Verstrates, and William Boorsma, age 11, and Nellie Boorsma, age 3, dead within two days of diphtheria.

In spite of the hardship and the loss, the stubborn Dutch courage and faith would prevail and they would endure. They had a staunch faith in God. (Boorsma, 1976)

Services were given in Dutch and English from the beginning. "In 1904, it was decided to have the catechisms in both languages, and in 1908, it was noted that both Christmas and New Year's Eve would be in Dutch and New Year's Day would be in English." By 1947, this tradition faded and all services were done in English (Boorsma, 1976. Harry Boorsma talks about his Grandma Boorsma and the Dutch people,

The Dutch for the most part are a very stoic nationality. They were used to hardship. I mentioned that when they came over from Holland, they lost two children and when they came out here, they lost two children. It wasn't unusual. She said, "I'd never move again." In a way, that was one of the reasons for large families. There was always attrition. Children died of diseases, Diphtheria, Small Pox, Chicken Pox, a lot of hazards we don't know anything about anymore. So, you grieved, and the next day was a new day, you carried on. You still had work to do, had things to do, and other children to take care of, other families to take care of, and so forth. They had no time to come unglued, but I am sure that happened (H. I. Boorsma, personal communication, April 12, 2010).

The article, *A Congregational Outpost in the State of Washington*, published in the American Missionary, January 1921 edition, tells of the little Congregational church, its beginnings and subsequent moving of the church to Moxee when the railroad spur was put in, along with many other interesting things. The odd aspect of this is that there is no one alive who remembers this church. The article was written in 1920. At that time they were preparing for a new ditch to be put in, and a reservoir completed, which would irrigate 30, 000 more acres. There would be many more people "to extend to the new comers a hospitality as broad and as personal as the gospel they represent. Their prayer was that help may be extended to them in preparation for that hour [*sic*]; in order that as their "day their strength shall be" (Pike, January 1921).

The Congregational church spoke at least three languages to serve their parishioners. The irrigation canal project was divided into at least four divisions. It took many years to complete. The Church's vision of more people moving into the Moxee Valley was never realized to the extent that they had hoped. Eventually, the church folded and was sold. Toupin explains what happened to the little Congregational Church building in her book,

In 1927, they (the American Legion) purchased the former Congregational Church, which had been moved from the N.J. Dickson place about two miles east of Moxee into the city. The Legion then had a meeting place of their own. (Toupin, 1974).

The church as an entity within the Moxee Valley was akin to an extended family in that it provided a sense of community, belonging, and being valued. Churches had social activities and subsidiary groups that helped maintain community among the members (see Figures 48 & 49). Both Holy Rosary and the First Reformed churches held church picnics and ice cream socials on the lawn at the churches and at local parks in the area. Each church provided its members with a bit of recreational time away from home. Mary Lou Mozingo, daughter of Ken Duffield talks about the picnics the churches would hold, "I can remember we were up at Soda Springs and there were lots of people... and tables and tables of food!" (K. E. Duffield & M. Mozingo, personal communication, February 17, 2010).



Figure 48. All Church Picnic by the Yakima River Old Bridge-First Reformed Church. Date unknown. (Boorsma, 1976, n.d.)

The First Reformed Church had two women's guilds. The men did not have a group, but church history tells how men stepped up as needed to take care of the needs of the Church. There was no lack of participation.



FAT LADIES RACE AT THE SUNDAY SCHOOL PICNIC AT THE FAIRGROUNDS From left: Mrs. Jongeward, Mrs. Meyers, Mrs. Swier, Mrs. De Gooyer, Mrs. Postma, Mrs. John Haan, Mrs. Will Mieras

Figure 49. First Reformed Church - Sunday School Picnic at Yakima State Fairgrounds. Date unknown. (Boorsma, 1976, n.d.)

The Ladies Aid (see Figure 50) was organized January 16, 1902. Many of the members of the Ladies Aid spoke Dutch and much of the business of the Guild was carried on in the mother tongue. In an effort to include some of the younger women who did not speak Dutch into the church work, it was decided to hold a meeting on November 15, 1923, to canvas those present to ascertain how many were willing to become members of a new society. Twenty-one signed their names to become members. Thus, the Dorcas Guild was born of the Ladies Aid Society. It was noted that in 1919, the

Ladies Aid Society also kept up the good work, in spite of the heavy demands put on the time of the ladies, by the Red Cross (this was during the war). The Dorcas Guild was a missionary society (Boorsma, 1976).

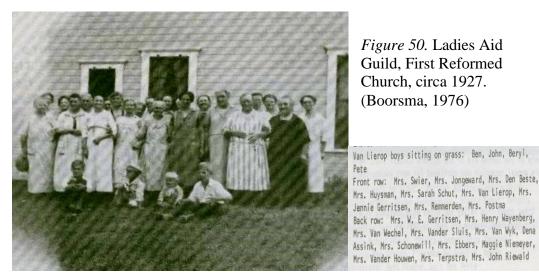


Figure 50. Ladies Aid Guild, First Reformed Church, circa 1927. (Boorsma, 1976)

Van Lierop boys sitting on grass: Ben, John, Beryl, Front row: Mrs. Swier, Mrs. Jongeward, Mrs. Den Beste, Mrs. Huysman, Mrs. Sarah Schut, Mrs. Van Lierop, Mrs. Jennie Gerritsen, Mrs. Remmerden, Mrs. Postma Back row: Mrs. W. E. Gerritsen, Mrs. Henry Wayenberg, Mrs. Van Wechel, Mrs. Vander Sluis, Mrs. Van Wyk, Dena

The women of the valley were quite busy, not only with things at home, but also with things pertaining to the church and the larger community. It appears that through the church people were mobilized to help meet community needs (see Figure 51).

Many jars of fruit have been canned for the Union Gospel Mission in Yakima, the Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle, and for families of the church who needed help along that line.

Clothing was made for the Orthopedic Hospital, the Washington Children's Home and the Red Cross. Over one thousand diapers were made for the Selah School for the Retarded. Bibs, tie straps and gowns were also made for the School. Many hours were put in working at the school folding clothes as they came from the smoking hot dryer. Many guilts have been made, tied, and guilted for the missions and individuals. Many acts of charitable work for those in need at home and abroad have been done, all which come under the label of missionary work.

The foreign and domestic missions have received cash gifts, and CARE packages were sent to Holland in 1948 after the Second World War. Many of our church members had relatives living in Holland who were in dire need of help, so many boxes were sent by individual members to relatives there. Baby layettes were made and sent also. Boxes of bedding and clothing were also sent to Canada for Holland families when they immigrated there after the war and settled in and around Vancouver, Whalley, Abbotsford and Calgary, B.C. These towns all had First Reformed Churches in the Classis Cascades.

Figure 51. The Dorcas Guild, a women's missions group. (Boorsma, 1976, p. 17)

The Keys family did not attend church to my knowledge. Yet, Dale Hoech, Margaret's son who is in his late 70s, said that his grandma could always be heard singing hymns and Margaret's older sister, Isabelle always went to church; the family had a faith. It may have been because Grandpa had to milk seven days a week. The family was involved in many other community organizations (D. Keys, personal communication, July, 2014).

Margaret explained, the French view of religion was very different from most everyone else's. They could do whatever they wanted during the week and then go to confession. Not all, but many did. They had their own church, dances, businesses, and school. They didn't need us and we didn't miss them. We had the Grange and the Riverside Club. Catholics stuck with Catholics. They just didn't bother with you.

Protestants would participate in things and would have Vacation Bible School for everyone. I didn't have anything to do with Catholic things. They weren't in my realm of associations. Everyone else had the Grange, not many Catholics participated, but some did (M. E. Keys, personal communication, July 11, 2014).

Schools

Moxee's First School Bus - Moxee High School students wouldn't think of walking to school in 1914 after Moxee Valley first school bus – a horse drawn vehicle – was inaugurated by Egon Deeringhoff, son of pioneer rancher of the valley. Tragically, in 1918, young Deeringhoff was first from Moxee Valley to die in action during World War I.

Barbara Deeringhoff Beane Family Book



Figure 52. Egon Deeringhoff driving the first school bus, 1914. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum.)

In 1868, Yakima County School System formed. Moxee District #1 included all the territory from the Yakima River east to the Columbia River. By 1902, there were seven schools in the area. The Old Moxee School began in 1862 by Mortimer F. Thorp and was in use until 1928. The Riverside School opened in 1894 until it burned 1922-1923. The Artesian School began in 1894 and closed sometime after 1925. The Dutch or Central School opened in 1901 and burned to the ground in 1927. The Black Rock School began in 1902 and closed in the 1930s. The French School, a private Catholic school opened in 1901, the Moxee City School (Elementary) used until 1928, Holy Rosary School opened. The period of operation of each school is discussed in a 1989 East Valley School District Newsletter written by Patricia Ubelaker, reprinted in Schools of the Yakima County – 1860 – 1930, (Wade, 2008). Most of my informants could not

remember or did not know all the dates relating to schools. "I do not know when the French School first opened yet know that it closed when a proper school, Holy Rosary School, was built" (C. Benny, personal communication, February 16, 2010). Moxee Schools were consolidated in 1910, most continued to operate for many years under the new district number. School records burned when the county building burned and not all dates are accurate.

The original placement of schools allowed children to be within walking distance of them. At the west end of the valley were two schools. The Old Moxee School (see Figures 53 & 54 A & B), built when the first school started by Mortimer F. Thorp's family, outgrew the space in their home, on Thorp Road. The two-room school was built on Birchfield Road about two miles from the Thorp Ranch on the Gamache-Thorp Road. Another account states that it was a half-mile south of Birchfield Manor.



Figures 53. The Old Moxee School on Birchfield Road near Gamache-Thorp Road. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).





Figures 54. Old Moxee School A. Students in front of the Old Moxee School on Birchfield Road (left). B. Old Moxee School yard on Birchfield Road (right). Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).

The second was the Riverside School located at the corner of Riverside Road and West Birchfield Road (see Figures 55 A-C). Margaret Keys' mother and father were very active in the life of this school and the needs of the teacher.

Margaret remembers Riverside school as a place where:

The school had a (hand) pump for water. It was outside in the schoolyard. There was a bucket with a dipper in it, next to the pump and everybody drank out of the dipper.

Going to school with the kids who lived in that area and all of them had homemade clothes. You always wore Buster Brown Shoes.

The Scudders gave the land for the school. They owned everything west of Birchfield Rd. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 7, 2011).



Figure 55. Riverside School. A. was built in 1894. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



B. Students and teacher of the Riverside School. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



C. Riverside School, March 27, 1907. Teacher Marie Meschke, Students: Amos, Isabelle, John, and Earl Keys. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).

Margaret continued...

When I was in the fifth grade, we had eight grades at the Riverside School, for years. And that year, in fifth grade, it was 1921, when I ended up in Terrace Heights. And everybody on Gun Club Rd. (Or was it named Gun Club then?), but on that side had to go to Terrace Heights and the others

went to Moxee School. You still had four grades, but they took the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades out. So then, we had four grades. So, the teachers with eight, had four. And I got sent to Terrace Heights which at

this time was more ritzy. The river people, and a... the first name that comes up, I remember being asked, "Do you have a car?" I mean this is like people asking, "Do you have Television? I went through this, do you have radio? No. Do you have this? No. Do you have electricity? As a little kid, we were always the last in line to get something because you have to pay cash. Do you have a car? No. And that was in the fifth grade. And then a girl came, moved in, and she said to me..., isn't it crazy.... Do you have a car? And I said, No. And, I never asked anybody else if they had a car. One day, I saw her riding in a buggy and I was so.... now isn't that crazy? I was so happy.

You know...Because, that was the things kids asked you. "Do you have a telephone?" "No, we didn't have a telephone." But, it was the one thing you dealt with if you didn't, My father can lick your father. Have you heard that? You know, ... But when you're little, my father can lick your father, my brother can lick your brother.

Terri: It sounds like there was a lot of rivalry.

Margaret: Yeah, there was a tremendous amount. Because you have to have something to be proud of. I found out later, that a lot of those people that are bullies, don't have anything. But when you are little, you don't understand that. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 12, 2009)



Figure 56. Artesian School #40 Moxee City. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.).

The schools closest to Moxee City itself began long before the city incorporated in 1921. The Artesian School (see Figure 56) was located on the corner of Charron and Walters Roads.

There were 16 French families with French children, a German family, and an Irish family in the area. Mass was said once a month there. One prominent non-Catholic approached the priest who was saying Mass and made it known that he was very unhappy that Mass was being said in the Artesian School. He pointed out that his own congregation did not have a place for their Sunday services and wanted to use the school too. From that time on Mass was said in the homes of French parishioners. (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 23).

Many of the Catholic and non-Catholic children attended the Artesian School, including Ken and Russ Duffield. In the picture below, taken approx. 1924-1928, Ken Duffield is on the top row, second from the end on the left (see Figure 57). Baseball was a favorite sport of the community in both Catholic and public schools (see Figure 58).



Figure 57. Artesian School #40 Moxee. Ken Duffield is on the top row, second from the end on the left. Date unknown. (Kenneth Duffield Photo Collection, n.d.)



Artesian Baseball Team – 1911-1912 First Row – Eldege Langevin, Joseph Slavin, unknown, Lew Yantis Back Row – George Cartier, Pete Gerber, Don Marks, Henry Marks

Figure 58. Artesian Baseball Team, (1911-1912). (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 62)





Figure 59. Moxee Central High School and students, before 6-1-1927. A & B. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



C. Moxee Central School All Grades, before 6-1-1927. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

Margaret Keys was a sophomore when Moxee Central School (see Figures 59 A - C, and 60) burned to the ground on June 1, 1927. She remembers it clearly, as she had forgotten to take her "rubbers" home and they were in her locker on the second floor. She ran all the way up to her locker, while the school burned, just to retrieve them. She feared the wrath of her mom more than getting caught in the fire.

Schools tied family, friends, and neighbors together. School sports (see Figure 60), clubs, picnics, dances, and fundraisers, helped students and their parents, create lasting friendships with other families who attended the school.

Figure 60. (New) Moxee High School Football Squad – 1929. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



The French School located on LaFramboise Road, southwest of the present Moxee City (see Figures 61 A & B). It was a Catholic school and the precursor to Holy Rosary School proper, which opened in 1915. The location of the school was much closer to where the heart of Moxee was, after it moved from Thorp-Gamache Road towards LaFramboise – Bell Roads and Beaudry – Bell Roads. The school was within walking distance for many.



Figure 61. The French School. A. 1908. B. The French School 1912-1913 (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).

Holy Rosary School (see Figures 62 through 65) was the pride and joy of the French community. Many people sacrificed to make it a reality. Having a proper Catholic school for their children to attend was of highest priority after the church had been completed. The history is well documented in the Silver Jubilee of Holy Rosary School, Moxee City, Washington 1915-1940. Everything, including the land, was donated, as was the labor to build the school. This community supported the church and the school in every way. The Knights of Columbus and the Ladies of St. Anne, along with other church



Figure 62. Holy Rosary School, October 17, 1915. It burned down in 1974 and was not rebuilt. Photo is taken from (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 17).

clubs, made sure that the school, the church, the students', and teachers' needs were met.

The Sisters arrived in Moxee on Saturday, September 25th, and on the following Wednesday, opened the doors of the school to admit one hundred and eighty children. Most of the pupils, the first generation to be born in Moxee, had never before met Sisters. The first school year saw many changes as dry goods and orange crates were used for desks and tables until teachers' desks arrived. The only furniture in the classroom that year was splendid slate blackboards and desks for the pupils. The enrollment was far beyond expectations, even though the high school opened only for freshmen students the first year (Silver Jubilee, 1940).



Figure 63. The dedication of Holy Rosary School on October 17, 1915, Moxee City, WA. (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 17).



Figure 64. 5th & 6th Grade Classes, Holy Rosary School, 1937-1938. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



Figure 65. Holy Rosary Baseball Team, 1938. (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 62).

It was still quite common for young men to quit school to farm with their fathers or go to work for someone else, when they finished the eighth grade.

Money was tight and an extra hand to help with farming was often necessary.

Young women also often left school after the eighth grade. Margaret explains,

My sister wanted to go to high school, but Dad said "No." Both my sister and my cousin apprenticed out to a dressmaker. Isabelle could already sew, as she had learned from our mother. I worked for free to learn dressmaking. My sister would sew and do housework to earn money." Margaret's sister, Isabelle, was ten years older than Margaret. The depression played a large role in this, e.g., Holy Rosary School had allowed students to board there during the school week, since it opened in 1915, until it closed boarding in December 1931, when the Depression hit the area hard. The bank closed, taking with it all of the church's and local farmers' money. Whether you were French or Dutch, the church and school were the glue that united the community. Many husbands held positions on the School Board; their wives' would be members of a group that oversaw the students, teacher, and the needs of the school. David Keys was on the Board for the Riverside School and Moxee Consolidated Schools. W.R. Duffield, Ken and Russ Duffield's dad, was on the Board for Moxee Consolidated Schools for over six years. Anyone with children made a point of participating in the life of the schools their children attended. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010)

The Grange

The Grange was another unifying part of the community for the northwest portion of the valley, or the Riverside District. I was able to find that there had been a Moxee Grange, but found no one who knew anything about it. Most French did not need the social aspects that the Grange offered farmers.

The Grange that all of my informants spoke of or remembered was the Terrace

Heights Grange. It sits on the site where the Riverside School once stood. Russ and Ken

Duffield began attending Grange meetings with their parents when they were very small.

Margaret Keys also attended with her parents. Each generation of the Duffields and the

Keys held leadership positions in the organization. Their names can be found in the

minutes of Grange's meeting and other records. Margaret Keys discussing the Grange:

I was the only one (child) left at home, so I got taken. They could take your kids to Grange. You could set and read or take a book with you, or when they had the program and refreshments, you were right there and a part of it. The Grange was about knowing people. I think more than anything it was the friendship. You became very close (I mean to the people in the Grange). They would go to your graduation. If you had a funeral in the family... We went to more funerals; my mother was a great one on funerals.

To be a member of the Grange you had to be a farmer and you had to be voted in. They have a wooden box and then they have white marbles and black marbles. And white marbles elect and black marbles reject. And they come around and you pick out a marble and put it in the box. I always wanted to put a black marble in but I never did. But once in a while, they did.

At one time the Grange was very ... the railroad and the people selling stuff... The reason that it started was because of people taking advantage of the farmers. And so, the Grangers got together and sort of helped the farmers sell their stuff and compete with the railroad and all that stuff. Part of it was to help the poorer farmers, and also the Grange women.... When the Grange started, it was over a hundred years ago. The women could always hold office and vote. It was more like an extended family. I mean if somebody had trouble or their house burned, they would also help. It was part of looking after people. A lot of it was social.

The Grange had what they called a lector. They were responsible for the program. With every meeting, you had the business meeting, and people reported on things of the business of farming. And the lector would have a program. It was supposed to be something entertaining or give you knowledge or something. And then they would have potlucks and give dances. Our Grange down here, years ago, they and Naches would everyother Saturday had a dance. They had the same band but they would go between the two. And they charged so much and you couldn't drink. I mean it was a nice place where people could go, and then they served

lunch and the women brought pie or cake and coffee. And the same people tended to go to both places. They had baseball teams, and horseshoe teams, and that was before there was so much other... and before TV. Now that there are so many things that parents have to take their kids to, the Grange is dying... There are very few small farms anymore. There aren't any like our farm was anymore. Like little orchards up on Terrace Heights, they were all small orchards. There were people raising pigs or there were people with small dairies. There are none of that now. You look down Riverside Lane where so many of our people belong. There's hardly any farm down there were people are making a living. But, not out in the Moxee. It's either the big deal or nothing. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22, 2010 and M. E. Keys, personal communication, May 12, 2014).

The Grange continued to provide a sense of community and support to Moxee area farmers for many years after 1950.

Businesses and Establishments

The town of Moxee had been located in three separate places over the years. As time passed, businesses that had been located in a previous site moved to Moxee proper or if they were close enough to Moxee, they continued to conduct business until a choice of move or die became the only option. Many worked to make the latest Moxee a success (see Figure 65).



Figure 66. Early Moxee City with boardwalk and dirt streets. This is Iler Street by the church, looking north towards Yakima. (Diamond Jubilee, 1975, p. 19).

In this small community, mom and pop shops were still prevalent (see Figures 67, 68 & 69). Conducting business from home was the most economical business option. As a second job besides dairying, Ken and Genevieve Duffield worked for the telephone company. People would come to their home to pay their telephone bill. Ken collected the money and Gen kept the records. A grocery store that everyone called Quisnell's Corner, located on the corner of Bell and LaFramboise, continued to operate despite not being "in" the city proper.

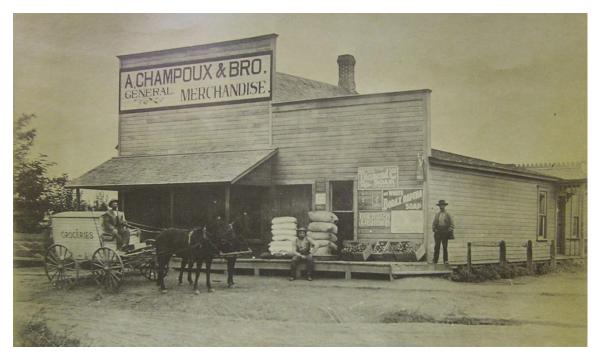


Figure 67. Arthur Champoux & Brothers General Merchandise Store .Arthur Champoux and his brother Frank Albert opened the city's first store, in the middle of town. Stores were much different then as to what they carried, compared to today. Grocery delivery was available. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection,

Often, men were the ones sent to town to do the shopping or the husband drove his wife to town in the wagon and eventually in the car. Many women never left the farm, learned English or learned to drive. Fathers often had children in tow. Men had to learn how to speak English to be able to conduct business at home or in town. Business provided a good opportunity to learn and practice the new language. Often children learned to speak English and then helped their parents or grandparents to learn the language. Shops were simple. They included Antoine LaFramboise Blacksmith Shop, the Livery Stable, two grocery stores, a hardware store, a Café or Tavern/Saloon, the post office, the Train Station, and eventually a gas station.

There were businesses such as the drug store in the Ditter building,

...constructed in 1910. Mr. J. A. Boyere opened Moxee City's first drug store, with the family living in the rear. The second floor of the Ditter hall was used as a community-gathering place and dance hall. Philip Gamache and Alexinie Houle were married on the first day of July, 1915 and had the first wedding dance in this hall. The Ditter Brother's sold the hall when the City of Moxee incorporated in 1921, with Arthur J. Toupin as the first Mayor. The City of Moxee held their council meetings in a portion of the building and built a two-cell jail in it also. In another portion of the building, which they leased to Mr. Poirier, a shoe shop was operated (Sauve, 1977).

A large farm store housed in the largest visible building (see Figure 69), carried everything a farmer might need, and where potatoes could be stored until prices went up, along with businesses associated with hops. Having such a small number of residents in the area, the business owner was often your neighbor or friend.



Figure 68. The Moxee Boulevard Grocery next to the Timmins-Wayenburg home. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



Figure 69. Interior of café in old Regimbal Store, Moxee City. Date not known. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum).



Figure 70. Ditter Building, Antoine's Blacksmith Shop and the Moxee Train Depot in 1950. The largest building in the lower half was used for a farm store and potato storage. The Train Depot is the small dark building next to the train tracks, and the Hop Co-op is in the upper right hand corner of the picture. The building on the corner, across from the Train Depot was the Ditter building, where community dances were held. Holy Rosary Church is in the lower right-hand portion of the picture. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum)



Figure 71. Putting in Moxee City water. Everyone in town helped. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.).



Figure 72. Aerial Photo of Moxee City, 1950. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum)

As you can see from the aerial photo of Moxee City (see Figure 72), it was a small town even in 1950. Pete Dufault remembers when the community was still small enough that everyone knew everyone and would be more than willing to help a neighbor when the need arose (see Figure 71). It remained small and friendly up until just a few years ago when construction of the community's first housing development began in April of 2004. Pete said of those who live in Moxee now, "not many would know who I am and I would not know them" (M. P. Dufault, personal communication, February 22, 2010).

Communication

It was my first interview with Margaret Keys. When we sat down, she made a point to discuss communication first. Margaret explained that she was a child of about six (1917) and older...

Back in those days, most people out in this area did not have telephones. I mean the average ordinary person. And if you communicated, you did it, like if you belonged to a church or a club or something, you communicated with post cards. That was the main way of communicating. The way the mail lady did it was Post cards probably continued up to 1920 or later, I can't remember. I have a lot of postcards. Penny postcards. That was the way to get ahold of people. It used to be my job to go get the mail.

And the newspapers came by mail. They didn't deliver. I don't know when delivery started. It was in the next day's mail. It didn't matter. There was no hurry. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, October 15, 2009)

Eventually the telephone replaced postcards, bicycles and horses as a faster form of communication, but it would not be until later in the 1930s and 1940s. Phones were

available in the mid-1930s, but were not private. "Party Lines," meaning that more than one home was connected to a phone line was the norm. Other people's phone conversations were often the entertainment for another home. The first radio station was on the air, on the West side of the State in 1920. It is unknown when radio was available in this area (Lang, 1999).

Events, Diseases, Epidemics, & War

Besides being a fledgling community, this period, 1915-1950, provided many difficult challenges that everyone to deal with in the form of diseases, social upheaval, and natural disasters. This section seeks to discuss problems the community had to address, chronologically.

One disease already present in the area was consumption, i.e., Tuberculosis (TB). This disease played a large role for most families until the 1950s, when effective antibiotics became more readily available. Each of my informants talked of someone in their family or a neighbor having TB and the local TB Sanitarium where people went for treatment. Harry Boorsma knew this Sanitarium as "Dopp's," (see Figures 73 A. & B.), on the old Moxee Highway, i.e., West Birchfield Rd. Looking through the information of TB Sanitariums in the State of Washington, there is no mention of this one. As a teen, Harry sang Christmas carols with a church choir outside the Sanitarium each Christmas. Margaret's aunt took care of two little boys for a neighbor, whose husband was in the service, when she took ill with the disease and had no one else in the community. O. J. Gendron had TB. There is no one to tell the story, only pictures remain of him being





Figure 73 A. & B. O. J. Gendron at TB Hospital near Moxee. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

cared for in the Sanitarium. How long he was in the Sanitarium is not known. He did recover per other photos and the date of his death is many years later.

In Forgotten Voices: Death Records of the Yakama, 1888-1964, McCoy states that thirty percent of native Yakama were afflicted with TB or the "White Plague" (McCoy & Trafzer, 2009). It was not the only disease to find its way to the valley. In 1911, Yakima County faced a Typhoid epidemic. Nicholas Casner's article titled, "Do It Now! Yakima, Wash, and the Campaign Against Rural Typhoid," in the November 2001, American Journal of Public Health discusses it.

A US Public Health Service investigation led by Dr. Leslie Lumsden found a typhoid mortality rate of nearly 5 times the national average. The cause was bad sanitation. Typhoid rates dropped dramatically as the community adopted pragmatic solutions. Lumsden helped organize a "Do It Now" sanitation campaign and one of the country's first city—county health units. Yakima provided a model for other rural areas and small towns across the country. (Casner, 2001)

Next, to impact the community was WWI. Margaret Keys stated, "In 1917 – 1918, World War, I saw young farm boys going off to war. It took much needed help away from the farm family and the community" (M. E. Keys, personal communication, Feb 15, 2010). This was a period of economic re-organization to support the WWI war effort and farm economies were being re-directed to create surplus to send in support of the Allies. War bond, rationing of sugar, gas, rubber for tires, victory gardens were ways people economized at home to create surplus for the war effort.

The Flu Epidemic of 1918-1919 brought problems of its own. One informant said that the quarantine lasted for six weeks. In the East Valley Reformed Church book, it mentions that no one was lost to the flu, but it took its toll on the community.

In 1919, Prohibition was enacted. In his book, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington*, Norman H. Clark states:

The law, which took effect January 1, 1916, closed saloons but allowed individuals to secure as much as two quarts of liquor or twelve quarts of beer every twenty days by permit from county auditors. Lawmakers in 1917 enacted a stricter, "bone-dry" law that ended the permit system of obtaining alcohol, an act upheld by voter referendum in 1918. The Eighteenth Amendment for national prohibition went into effect in 1920. Washington voted by initiative for repeal of state liquor laws in 1932. National Prohibition was revoked in 1933. (Clark, 1988 & Washington Historical Society web page on Prohibition)

Prohibition could have been a major event for the hops industry in the valley, yet none of my informants discussed it. Only Margaret Keys and the Duffields could have spoken to the issue. The literature indicates that with the end of WWI, hop exportation in the U.S. increased despite Prohibition and half the production of pre-WWI quantities (Landis, 1939, p. 12-13). The weather in Europe, Africa and several other countries had

not favored hop production and worldwide demand for hops increased. Powdery or Downy Mildew continued as a major problem on the Pacific Coast, and throughout Europe, well into the 1930s (Barth, Klinke, & Schmidt, 1994, p. 15-19).

Russ and Ken Duffield discussed the fact that every farmer had his own still (see Figure 74). However, a still is not used in making beer. Margaret Keys discussed how farmers would meet up at the saloon to find out what was going on with other farmers, the market, farming, politics and just about anything else. Women were not allowed in a



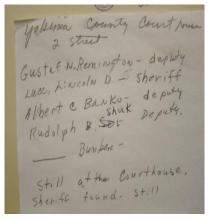


Figure 74. The Dry Squad. Still found and confiscated during prohibition years. Yakima County. 1916 – 1933. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.).

Saloon. As Margaret was born in 1911, and knew that Saloons were shut down or dry during Prohibition, this had to have been later in the 1920s or after 1933. The main use for saloons though was not necessarily to drink, but for men to go and discuss business and farming issues with other men (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 22,

2010). This later translated to farmers meeting at restaurants and cafés to discuss these things.

Next came the Great Depression of 1928 – 1935. Gene Assink describes what his dad did to weather the depression.

It was very difficult and dad bought an old tractor for parts like the one we had. But, you know, the way it worked out they both ran all the way through. But when the war (WWII) came, the economy boomed. I remember dad buying a new car. In those days, there was no credit. I mean to buy land, but not a new Chevrolet. It was a Dutch custom too. They were very frugal and thrifty people. (G. Assink, personal communication, February 15, 2010)

This event was difficult on everyone, but those living on the farm were much less affected than those in the city, as they were already growing most everything they needed. Money was in short demand, but bartering was something everyone could do.

Floods (see Figures 75 A. & B.) were another event that brought the entire community together, to rescue and help those affected by them. Dan Harvey discussed a major flood event of 1933, where the home his family lived in was flooded for more than two weeks. They never lived in that house again. Toupin also talked about a flood event in 1935, saying;

It flooded much property along the river bottom, and a call to evacuate families in the area was given about 9:00 p. m. that night. The American Legion Post was called to evacuate the patients housed in the TB Hospital, which was located on Riverside Road and the old Moxee Highway. They drove all kinds of trucks and boats, moving the most serious cases to Holy Rosary School where the Providence Sisters could care for them. Others were moved to the parish hall and cared for by people in the Moxee Community. Some families were moved to the Legion Hall and food was provided for them by the auxiliary. This was right around Christmas time and much gloom was in the air. The ladies of the auxiliary prepared a nice

Christmas dinner which helped to brighten the holiday, until they could again return to their homes. Floods always caused great damage until dikes were built along the river and dams in the mountains were built to control the water. (Toupin, 1974, p. 16)





Figures 75 A. & B. Big Flood 1917 by Langevin Place, cloud burst in early Fall. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum)

The communities within the Moxee Valley were required to be resilliant, and to pull together to survive all that life would throw at them. Despite three distinct ethnicities and three different communities, so to speak, they found ways to make things work. As time went on, and English became the dominant language, some of the old stigmas fell away and the community integrated. Their faith in God and the morals and values taught in the home were all based on the Bible, despite the designation of Protestant or Catholic, or Reformed or Lutheran. These things helped them to integrate cohesively as their values were the same.

Life was very laborious, with few amenities or conveniences until the mid-1940s.

After WWII, mechanization took hold, and people were more economically able to afford conveniences. Informant, Pete Dufault, described farmers meeting, just like they did in

saloons before prohibition, at whatever café or tavern was open in Moxee City to discuss daily events, farming problems and solutions and to conduct business. Being such a small town, there were few eating or drinking establishments where groups could meet. There were many more farmers in the area prior to 1950, and I am suggesting that it would have been a sizable group of men who met each morning before dawn lit the sky. Having moved to the valley in 1984, the farmers still met each morning at the only café in town, before going out to the fields. A sense of community continued, despite the everdecreasing number of farmers in the valley, through mechanization and retirement.

CHAPTER VIII

HOP HARVEST

Daily life of the local community changed dramatically during hop harvest (see Figure 75). Preparations began early as hop-pickers arrived in large numbers. Substantial differences existed between the larger, more prosperous Riverside district ranches and the smaller French Ranches to the east. From the 1900s to the 1940s, hop picking involved different groups of pickers, temporary campgrounds and a special period of social activity. The necessary steps in the process organized the work force, sequence of activities and production. Life in hop campgrounds, Indian culture, and its social aspects made the month-long adventure fun for both adults and children. The large-scale movements of people involved in hop-picking dramatically decreased with mechanization of hop picking and processing in the 1940s and 1950s.



Figure 75. Hop plant with mature flowers at harvest time. (Terri Towner, September 2015)

Harvest required everyone in the Valley and many more to work together or risk not getting the harvest in. Most participants in this study worked hard to make hop harvest a success. Participant accounts from local hop grower, pickers, and those who worked in the kiln, supplemented with photographs, newspaper and archival accounts, with research material demonstrate the intensive reciprocity that permeated the entire community during harvest. These people looked forward to hop harvest each year. For locals who worked in the hops or the kiln, harvest meant the whole family could earn money for things like school and winter clothes, Christmas presents, and spending money for miscellaneous items. It also meant a time of socializing and catching up with people you may not have seen since the last harvest. Relatives, friends, and family often traveled to pick hops with other family. It was the biggest, annual, multi-ethnic, social gathering of its time and a time of prosperity for those working the harvest. Farmers and others sought to reap the rewards of the year's work by harvesting their hops before it became too cold and wet. Depending on the contract price growers had with brokers, and the number of pounds the grower produced, the grower would either prosper or barely survive if not go under. Most times, farmers were living from year to year, with debt owing to the bank. For them, it was a stressful and exciting event, all at the same time. The price of hops, like any other cash crop, hops was dependent on supply and demand for prices. Just like with hay, if too much was produced one year, the price would go down, and if not enough was produced, it would sell for a much higher price. Hops were no different. Some

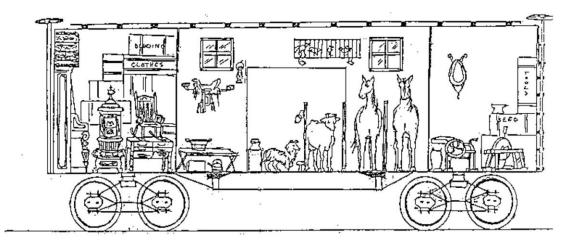
year's many new growers entered the market and prices for hops would plummet, while other years, it was just the opposite.

In June, while irrigating their crops and tending their livestock, hops growers began to prepare for the coming month-long harvest. They readied their equipment, bought slab wood (see Figure 76) and sulfur for the kiln, burlap, thread, needles and oil for the baler, and tents, sheepherder stoves, wood and potatoes for the families, who camped (see Figures 80-82) in their pasture while they picked the hops. Come August, hop growers placed ads in newspapers, signs at farmstead driveways, and notices on church and post office bulletin boards ... then 20-30 thousand pickers descended on the Valley for a whole month. Often, Native Americans from British Columbia, loaded their family, belongings, and horses into an immigrant boxcar (see Figure 77) and traveled to the Valley via the railroad (see Figure 78). Other growers drove big trucks up north and bring Native American workers down to pick (see Figure 79) in their hop yards, and then would take them home when harvest ended.



Figure 76. Hop elevator with slab wood in the background. The elevator on the left, runs from ground level to the deck of the kiln drying room. Slab wood is stacked in front of the doors, to the kiln furnaces, that dried kilns of freshly lain hops. (Gendron Photo Collection, 1920)

An immigrant boxcar was unlike a boxcar of today. The Central Pacific Railroad Online Museum explains:



This is a cut away sketch of how Henry's immigrant car, may have looked.



After the construction of the railroads through the west, many settlers used immigrant cars instead of covered wagons. On three occasions, Henry Holloway used such cars: from Iowa to Oklahoma in 1901, Kansas to Iowa in 1909 and from Iowa to Oregon in 1913.

Immigrant cars were wooden boxcars which were modified with several small windows and bulkheads to prevent the movement of the cargo.

Household goods and furniture were stored in one end. In Grandfather's case, he had a large upright piano packed in a piano box on the three trips, also an assortment of beds, springs, mattresses, chairs, tables, bedding, clothing, dishes, and other household items.

At the opposite end of the car were the farm implements, tools and equipment such as wagon, plow, seeder, harrow, harness, grindstone, and hand tools.

Next came the livestock, probably limited to his best team of horses, a cow or two, hay and grain and maybe the family dog and several cats. High on the sidewalls were shelves for crates of chickens and other poultry.

Then between the livestock and the furniture, the settler had a small living area with cot, chair, table and a small supply of food and water.

Immigrant cars had a nickname of "zulu cars". This name came from the use of similar boxcars to exhibit Zulu warriors and their families on a rail tour of England.

Figure 77. Depiction and description of an immigrant boxcar. Found at Central Pacific Railroad's Online Museum, Oct 14, 2016.



Figure 78. Native American hop pickers in front of Northern Pacific Railroad car. Plateau tribe. Yakama. Date unknown. Accession # 2003-800-015. Yakima Valley Museum. www.yakimamemory.org/



Figure 79. Two Indian children in hop field at the Scudder Ranch. North Yakima/Moxee. Yakima Valley Museum. Accession #2003-801-106. Date unknown. www.yakimamemory.org/

Newspaper Caption: Tents and tepees crowded all available space on Moxee hop ranches when thousands of Indians and white men handpicked hops...

The largest concentrated hops acreage is found in the Moxee district.

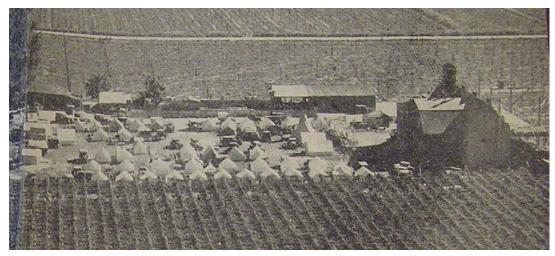


Figure 80. Moxee Hop Ranch during harvest when hops were harvested by hand. Date and name of Ranch not given. Yakima Herald Newspaper, Sunday, March 1, 1953. (Yakima Valley Museum Collection on Moxee)

Margaret Keys tells the stories her mother and father told her about hop harvest and the Native Americans who came to pick.

I don't know when they started coming, but in 1900, at least two or more big hop farms would bring the Indians in to pick. Mother said, they came with their horses and all of their stuff, and would camp there. Some came from Okanogan and some came from up in Canada.

They would get off of the train at a little junction up there by Birchfield, and, then they would come with trucks and the Indians would bring all of their stuff there. Others rented a car, put the Indians and their teepees and what not in and then it got to be too much trouble. And I don't know when they stopped bringing Indians or what.

Mother said the Indian women would come in the house where she was. They didn't knock or nothing, they just came on in and they'd just sit down and watch you. She was a little apprehensive and the youngest child...., they had four children when they lived there. And the youngest one was a baby, he had blond hair and didn't look like the rest of us, and there, this one old Indian lady said, you know"...he's not, he's not Dave's,"... my father's name was David, "...he's not Dave's,..." she



Figure 81. Indian tents at the Moxee Company Ranch. Date unknown. Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum.

informed Mom that he was somebody else's kid, it wasn't him because he didn't look like the rest of them.

Margaret continued...

The Indian women picked and the men gambled. The men didn't pick, but they camped and went to town. Indians from another hop yard would come and gamble with the men and occasionally they would get in fights and stuff and she said; my dad was just average height, but he looked like he meant business, and he had a big club he carried.

He never had a gun. He could go up to the camp with his club, and he had that authority, they would quit. A couple of women would come down to the house; they didn't do it every night, but if the men got into it, and it was getting rough, they'd come down for my dad. He would send them home, back to the other camp, while he went up to see what was going on.

Otis Freeman (1936) explains,

Each hop grower needed a large number of employees during the hoppicking season. A grower and his family could manage to handle most of the work in the hop yard during the growing season except when the cones have ripened... During picking season, the hop-pickers camped with their families in tents on a portion of the owner's yard or pasture. The nondescript appearance of such a camp resembles that of a group of refugees. The cars, tents, bedding, clothing, cooking devices, dogs, and people seem worn out and ready to be discarded.



Figure 82. Hop campground at the Ovide Brulotte Ranch on Bell Road. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, n.d.)

Freeman discusses the transient migrant families and Indian populations, who picked for some farms:

In the Yakima Valley of Washington, the labor comes from several sources of which the most important are: local residents, Indians from the Yakima Reservation and transients. Some of the local laborers are Americans; others are Orientals, especially Filipinos.

The Indians come as family groups and have the reputation of being fast, reliable workers. Generally, when Indians are employed, no one else is given work at that yard. In 1934, over 3,000 Indians picked hops in the

Valley during the three weeks' picking season. The transients belong to the group called "fruit tramps," familiar to Westerners. A decrepit car or truck carries a family and their camping equipment from one temporary job to another. The children early learn to dodge the truant officer and grow up with a minimum of education and home life. Such transient labor proves of use to fruit and hop growers, but constitutes a social problem of real concern... Indians never give an employer difficulty, but labor troubles with transients and Filipinos are common in some seasons (Freeman, 1936).

Participant interviews conflict with Freeman's information concerning different worker groups, their work habits, and their interactions with growers. Despite the contradictions, the focus of this study is on the local resident(s) and their relatives who traveled to visit and work with them during harvest. These workers normally did not look for picking signs, or read newspaper ads. They often picked or worked for the same grower(s) year after year, and they "just knew" when harvest was to start. It was something you sensed or your mother knew (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 15, 2010).

Margaret, the oldest participant, began picking hops with her mother and Aunt Edith in 1916, at the age of five (see Figure 83). After doing morning chores and packing their lunch, the family set off for the mile walk to the Slavin or Scudder Hop Yards, where they picked until late in the afternoon and then walk back home. Margaret said, "4 or 5 o'clock, and then come home, as you always had chores to do." Most local people, along with their family and friends, walked to where they picked hops. If their friends and family had traveled quite a distance, they camped at the hop yard they were picking at.



Figure 83. 1916 at the Scudder Ranch. Margaret Keys (age 5) and her cousin, Verne Millican pick a nail barrel of hops. Her mother, Lucy and her Aunt Edith (Waddington) Millican are on the right. Each child had to pick a barrel of hops in the morning before they could go play and the same in the afternoon. Verne did not like picking hops, so he took a long time to fill his barrel (Margaret Keys Photo Collection).

When asked if hops in the early days grew on poles or on twine, Margaret answered:

I don't remember when there wasn't wires, you know, with the poles. But, before I was able to remember, Mother said they would lift the poles out of the ground, lie them on the ground, and after being picked, they stacked the poles up. They weren't apparently too solid, uh, because they'd pull them out. And they weren't too big as I remember, but Mother telling about 'em, but I don't remember...

As you can see (see Figure 83), the hops were growing on twined trellises when Margaret began picking.

Margaret continued...

You had the pole man (see Figure 84) first and he had a tall pole with a sickle cutter on the end and would cut the string off the wire, so the vine fell down and you could pick it. There were two or three pole men in the yard and you'd yell, "Pole man," and he would come...

Then they got smart and they had enough poles so everyone could cut their own down. It gradually got smarter and smarter and in time they moved from barrels to sacks and then they moved to, canvas bag with metal frame baskets that were light weight from the heavier, and woven baskets from the early barrels. The early barrels were fairly heavy. I don't know whether you bought your own barrel or not in the day of barrels. I remember picking in a barrel. The grower furnished the baskets. (M. E. Keys, personal communication, February 15, 2010)



Figure 84. Pole knife and cutting down the vines for picking. A. Shown on the left, 1889 Puyallup hop pickers. Pole man with a pole knife, or sickle to cut hops down. B. Pulling down vines in hop field. On the right, a woman is using the pole knife to cut hop vines down for picking. (Russell Lee, September 1941).

Margaret continued to pick hops at the Scudder Ranch (see Figure 85) and eventually became a ticket puncher. Usually a ticket puncher had another person with them who carried a tripod scale that weighed the bags of hops people picked and the ticket puncher punched their tickets accordingly (see Figures 86-87). A picker could get paid in coin on the spot or get their ticket punched and cash it in later.

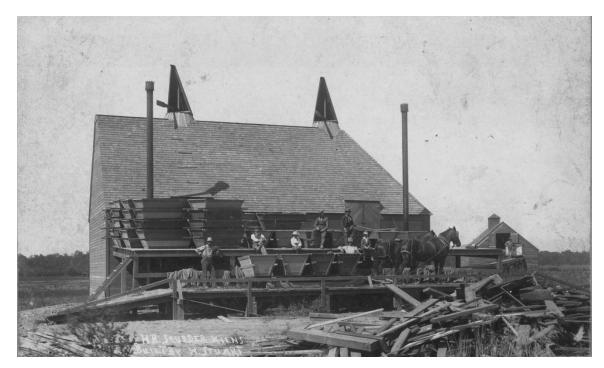


Figure 85. Scudder Hop Kiln, 1905. Location was between West Birchfield Rd. and Gun Club Road, and east of Riverside Road. Notice the building in the background. Looking west, the trees line the banks of the Yakima River. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection)





Figure 86. A. Weighing in sacks of hops. (Russell Lee, 1941)
B. Tripod weight scale used in local Yakima County fields. Displayed at the American Hop Museum in Toppenish, WA. (Terri Towner, 2014)

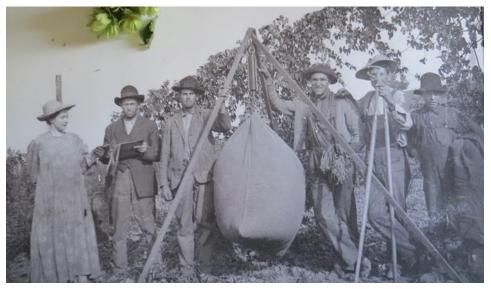


Figure 87. Early hop-pickers weighing hops with a wooden tripod and scale, in the field. Photo is located at the Yamhill Heritage Center, Oregon. September 2015.

These sacks were then loaded onto a wagon drawn by horses and eventually tractors or trucks and taken to the kiln for drying and baling (see Figure 88).



Figure 88. Bringing hops in from the hop yard at the Lewis Desmarais Ranch. Date unknown. Lewis Desmarais, Ruzzilo, George Desmarais. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane photo collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

Margaret worked in the hops for the last time in 1929, when she graduated from high school. That fall she went to Washington State University (WSU) to earn her teaching degree. Margaret said, "Mother, my niece, and my cousin went (picking hops) for one more year and then my brother in California told her that he would send her "spending money" so she would not have to work in the hops again. She never went back." Margaret's mother was elderly. Margaret was the youngest of five children and

ten years younger than the next sibling up. This made Margaret's mom approximately sixty-five years old when she quit picking hops in 1930.

Margaret's father and brothers also participated in hop harvest. This picture is her father, brother, along with Margaret, bringing in a load of bagged hops (see Figure 89).



Figure 89. Bringing in hop filled burlap bags on horse-drawn wagon. Margaret Keys, her father and brother are aboard. Date of photo approximately 1915, when Margaret was four years old. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection)

Her relatives were faithful to come and pick together as a family for many years (see Figure 90). Women covered most all of themselves. Hats to protect from the sun, and full length dresses as was the custom everyday wear of the time. The woman in (see Figure 91) is using an old pair of socks as gloves to protect her hands and arms from the sticky and prickly hop vines.



Figure 90. Margaret's relatives came to pick hops at the Scudder Ranch This hop yard was called a "pole yard" as the hops grew on poles, not twine. The back of the photo reads Aunt Liz and Uncle Tom, Laura, Harold by Uncle Tom, Dave and Mabel in back, 1914. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection)



Figure 91. Woman in hop picking garb. Taken when hops were still dumped into hop boxes as seen in the background. Notice that she is wearing a long sock with parts of the foot cut out on her hand and arm. Hops are sticky and scratchy, and people did what they could to protect themselves while picking. Date unknown. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection, n.d.)

Margaret was part of the earliest era of hop production. The Moxee Company, Scudder, Hiscock (see Figures 92 & 93), and Slavin Ranch kilns were all located in the most Western portion of the Valley, closest to the Yakima River. Those that owned them were wealthy (or "had big money" as Margaret would say), from the East Coast and were not French. In 1916, when Margaret began picking hops with her mother, the French population was establishing themselves as hop growers eastward of these first Ranches. I term this as the "next" generation hop growers.



Figure 92. Hiscock Hop Kiln in the Riverside District. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

The Hiscock Ranch was located on the northern side of the Valley, near where informants Margaret Keys and Bob Deccio lived. These early hop ranchers were all related by blood or by marriage. It was also, north of the Scudder kiln. Each cupola on the building represents one kiln that could dry hops. They would lay one kiln with fresh green hops, fire up the oven, and start laying the next kiln. It was more efficient than trying to have one oven for such a large building. There was no electricity at the time of this photo. The estimated number of kilns in the valley was that one kiln was built for every 40 acres of hops. It is hard to fathom that number of kilns and their cupolas that dotted the valley. Despite the many fire hazards, lanterns were used at night and wherever light was needed. On average, six kilns burned down each season before electricity.



Figure 93. Moxee Company hop field and Hiscock kiln in the back left side. Using the ridge to locate where in the valley this kiln sat, it was near the Riverside district where participants Bob Deccio Margaret Keys lived. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

The French District, Kilns, and Processing Hops

East of the Riverside district, the French cleared land, began to farm hops and build kilns to process them in the early 1900s. The Valley was being settled from west to east. These hop growers did not have the acreage, money or labor force to farm like the wealthy easterners in the Riverside district. Their first hop yards often were small, eight to ten acres. The years 1910-1950 encompassed a series of hardships--WWI, the flu epidemic of 1918, Typhoid, Tuberculosis, prohibition and the great depression and WWII. Because of these events, money and labor were often scarce.

Larry Gamache explains the reason for small acreages in the early days, "My dad bought the 10-acre field next to the house first. That was a lot of land to take care of for one person. They didn't have any machinery or tractors" (see Figure 94). Hop acreages grew in size over the years, as labor and mechanization afforded.

A Hop Drier for Oregon Garms By C. IVAN BRANTON*

Oregon grown hops, first produced in 1845, now account for slightly more than one-fourth of the national hop production and nearly one-eighth of the world's total. Within the state, hop production is limited to 12 counties, and most of the hop farming is done on a small scale. Sixty per cent of the hop growers of the state have less than 25 acres of hops. Another 20 per cent have between 26 and 50 acres.

Figure 94. A Hop Drier for Oregon Farms, 1950 Oregon State Extension publication,. It illustrates the size of producing hop acreages in Oregon during this period. Moxee acreages were very similar in size. (Branton, 1950)

In August, growers and their families continued preparing for the start of harvest, in addition to their normal chores of tending livestock and milking the cows. They also had to irrigate, cultivate, harvest, and process the produce from the family garden and fruit orchard, along with caring for their other crops and hayfields. Their days were filled with many things, as everything needed for the full-scale effort of harvest had to work well and supplies had to be in place.

As the month progressed, local, native and migrant workers began to trickle into farm campgrounds to set up their tents (see Figure 95). Most local people did not camp in the campgrounds, but their out of town relatives and friends often did as did Native American and migrant workers.

B. C. INDIANS FOR HOP FIELDS

MOXEE, Wash.—News early last week that British Columbia Indians are on their way to the Yakima valley to help in the hop harvest brought cheer to many worried growers here, who in the past have found Indians efficient workers.

In former years they came to the valley for hop harvest by rail, traveiling in special cars. This year they are traveling by trucks, it is reported. A boatload landing at Seattle will also be brought to the valley by motor trucks.

It is estimated 5000 pickers were at work in the various valley hop yards last week.

Figure 95 Native American hop-pickers.A. B. C. Indians for Hop Fields. Yakima Herald, September 10, 1936

HALF OF INDIAN TRIBE SIGNED TO PICK HO

DE SMET, Idaho, June 23.—
pickers of the Coeur d'Alene
dian reservation were being en
ed here for the large hop yan
Moxee, Wash., yesterday and to
by Smokie Sam of the Yakima
ervation. Half of the tribe is
pected to register.

B. Half of Indian Tribe Signed to Pick Hops, June 24, 1937 (Yakima Valley Museum Moxee Folder) During the depression and dust bowl era of the 1930s, many people who were forced off farms in the Midwest heard about work hundreds of miles away. . . . in the Moxee. Often, the only way they could get there was by hopping on freight trains, illegally. These people were called "hoboes," a slang term at the time for migrant workers who rode the rails to find work. The same hobo would come to run the kiln at the Gendron Ranch each season. A family member would pick him up at the Moxee train depot. Bennet Gendron explained, "I looked forward to him coming. He always brought me empty Bull Durham sacks (see Figure 96) for my marbles. I was little at the time." Bennett was born in February of 1932.





Figure 96. Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco Newspaper Advertisement. September 6, 1919. *L.A. Times, Daily Mirror*.

As pickers arrived, a large ethnically diverse month-long social gathering was underway. Picking began at dawn and ended about dusk, but pickers could come and go as they pleased. A person was paid for the number of pounds picked, and everyone needed to make money. Reuss, Landis & Wakefield go into depth on many of the issues that migrant workers dealt with and the volatile fluctuation of hops prices (see Figure 97) over the years in their paper. (Reuss, Landis, & Wakefield, 1938).

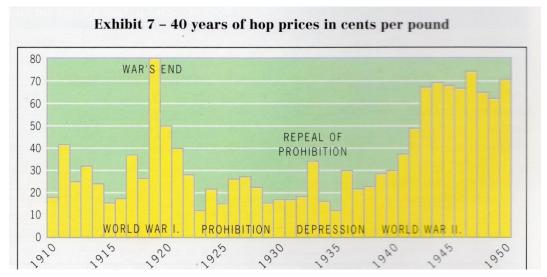


Figure 97. 40 years of hop prices in cents per pound (Barth, Klinke, & Schmidt, 1994, p. 17).

Other issues presented themselves during this time. In James Newbill's paper "Farmers and Wobblies in the Yakima Valley, 1933, he describes a labor fight at Congdon Orchards, begun by the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU) and Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World) in an unsuccessful effort to organize hops workers. "The focus of this writing is on those who lived or worked in the Valley on a labor issues, hop prices farmers garnered and wages paid to hop pickers (see Figure 98).



Figure 98. Hop pickers wanted sign, 1941. Caption "These signs were frequently seen on the highway in Yakima County, Washington" (Russell Lee, 1941). Accessed at http://photogrammar.yale.edu/records/index.php?record=fsa2000046958/PP

Statistically, most pickers worked ten or more hours a day (Reuss, Landis, & Wakefield, 1938, p. 25). For the local picker with children, and depending on the chores at home, a person might arrive mid-morning and leave in the late afternoon.

Normally, whole families of local people would pick together (see Figures 99 -

102). Ferne Heath (see Figure 101) describes it this way,

At hop picking time, my whole family would go around and shop for whatever field that looked like it had good big hops and pick there. It seemed like you could always get a job almost anywhere you wanted. We would pick ...for someone we knew or already picked for before.

We picked into baskets and then dumped it into a bag. Sometimes we picked into a bag that was fit into a frame. You cut down the top of the vine and kind of pulled it over to your basket, and pick all the hops off it as fast as you could. Hop vines were not as tall as they are now, maybe eight to ten feet. We used a knife on a pole to cut them down and would pick as fast as we could and go on to the next vine. (F. Heath, personal communication, January 31, 2009)



Figure 99. Faucher Family picking hops. By their dress and the barrels that they are picking into, this was a very early picture (1900-1915). Barrels were the first thing used to pick hops into. Children often picked into barrels. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 100. Harry and Irene Gendron picking hops. Gendron's toddler Harry with adopted sister Irene. First year picking hops. Approximate date of photo is 1919 as Harry was born in 1916. Baskets are being used at this time to pick hops into. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)



Figure 101. Ferne Heath and her father pick hops in the late 1930s. Slatted wooden and wire hops baskets were used even into the 1950s to pick hops into First was the wooden barrel, then came the woven basket, next the wire frame with a bag attached, and last the wooden slated basket. (Fern Heath Photo Collection, n.d.)



Figure 102. Genevieve Duffield and Cousin Tony Hurt pick hops into canvas bagged metal frames. This may have been in the 1940s. Both wooden slatted and metal frames with canvas bags were used into the 1950s. Date unknown. (Duffield Photo Collection, n.d.)

The Kiln – A Hops Processing Machine

Hop kilns came in many different shapes and sizes, yet the goal of each was to dry, cool and bale fresh hops for commercial sale. To achieve this, kilns would have:

- A heat source or furnace to heat the kiln drying room
- A drying room was located above the heat source
- A deck outside the drying room for receiving bags of fresh green hops
- Cupola for venting hot moist air out to the atmosphere from the drying room
- Cooling rooms
- A baling room with hop press and storage area

There are several ways to use the term "kiln." The entire building is called a "hop kiln." If you emptied bags of hops into a drying room, you have laid a kiln, or the kiln was lain. Depending on how many drying rooms were in the kiln building, would determine if it was a single kiln, a double kiln, and a four kiln, kiln. If you counted how many cupolas the building had, that usually corresponded to how many kilns or drying rooms it had.

The earliest kilns of the large Moxee Company, Hiscock and Scudder Ranches had more than one kiln (drying room) to accommodate the large quantities of hops that needed to be processed. Referring back to the picture of the Hiscock kiln (Figure 92), there are four cupolas or four different kilns in the building. The Scudder kiln had two cupolas, translating into two drying rooms in the building or the term a "double kiln."

The kilns of the French district were often smaller. A single or "common man's kiln" could handle enough hops for forty acres. The O. J. Gendron kiln was such a kiln. As people put more acres into hops, larger kilns were built. The Ovid & Lawrence

Brulotte kiln (see Figure 103), just down the road from the Gendron kiln, boasted four kilns.

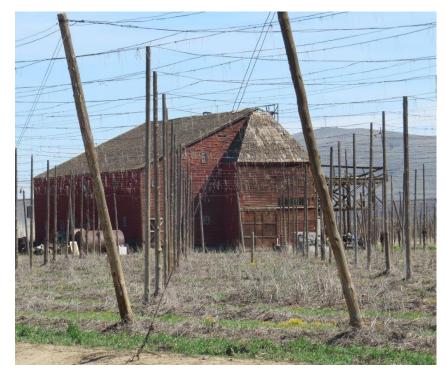


Figure 103. Ovide Brulotte Ranch Kiln on Bell Road near Moxee. The deck that faces south is in disrepair and the roof needs to be replaced, but the internal condition of the building is in very good shape. Boasting four separate kilns that were heated with heating oil or propane. It had a conveyor system that moved hops from one place to another. It is just down Bell Rd. from the Gendron Ranch Kiln. (Terri Towner, 2016)

The Paul Patnode (see Figure 104) and Pete Dufault hop kilns are instances of kilns that are still standing because they were modified to continue to process hops in an efficient way until such time as they once again became inefficient to much newer kilns. Both kilns are similar in many ways to the Gendron kiln when it comes to the drying rooms and where they open up to the press. I will show this later when discussing this

portion of the kiln. Other than that, the modifications help to date them and when they were retired. Pete Dufault's kiln (see Figure 105) would be the most modernized. Paul Patnode's kiln still brought bags of hops into the kiln by a hop elevator similar to the Gendron Ranch elevator. Both kilns are now in great disrepair because of weather damage from deteriorating roofs.



Figure 104. Paul Patnode Hop Kiln on Faucher Road, Moxee. It is a double kiln with two cupolas. (Terri Towner, 2010).



Figure 105. Pete Dufault Kiln on Walters Road, Moxee. It is a single kiln with one cupola and drying room. (Terri Towner, February 2010).

Processing Hops

Once started, the work of processing hops in the kiln continued twenty-four hours a day until all hops were dried, baled, and hauled away. With neighbor helping neighbor, kilns often dried more than one farmer's hops. When one farmer was done, he dried hops for others. In the mid-1930s, a coop that many farmers used to dry their hops, owned by Lloyd L. Hughes Inc., was built in Moxee City (see Figure 106). It became the Washington State Hop Producers Coop at one point. Today, it still stands, but the deck and other portions have long since vanished.

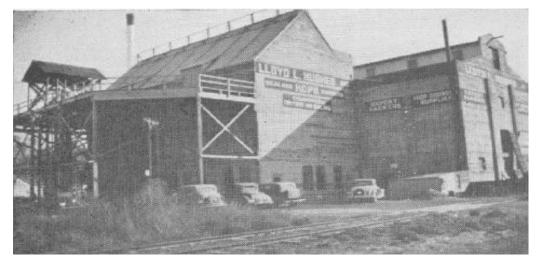


Figure 106. Lloyd L. Hughes Inc. building. Modern plant built of concrete, Moxee, WA. This is used for curing, baling and storing hops. (Freeman, 1936, p. 162).

Kilns built before 1930 were usually natural draft kilns. They had tall cupolas and venting underneath the kiln portion of the building to allow air to come in from under, drafting up through the furnace pipes, and through the hops in the drying room and then out through the cupola. Once enough electricity was available to run fans, the cupolas were lowered and fans placed right below them to provide the draft to pull air through the

kiln furnaces and pipes and on up through the hops at a constant rate, making drying even throughout the kiln bed.

In the drawing of the O. J. Gendron Ranch kiln (see Figure 107), the right-hand side of the building is the kiln portion and the left-hand side is the cooling rooms above the baler and storing room. The furnaces face the sliding door seen in the next picture (see Figure 108). A cement floor was poured between the front of the furnace and outside sliding door. I do not know if this was common for all kilns or specific to the Gendron kiln. The Gendron kiln is the only single kiln left with furnaces in it.

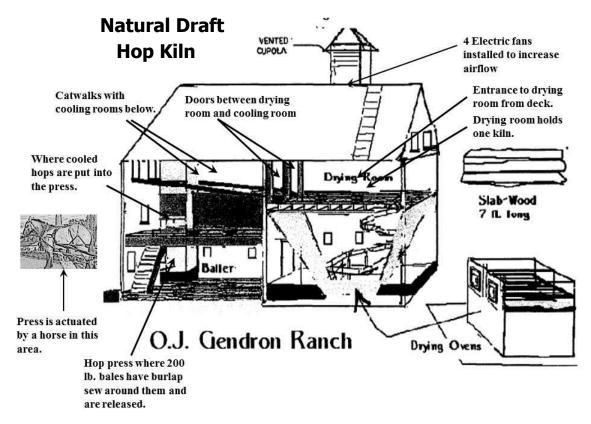


Figure 107. Drawing of the internal workings of the Gendron Hop Ranch Kiln for National Historic Register Nomination in 2005. In this cutaway view, you do not see the slab wood, the elevator that brings bags of hops from the ground to the deck of the kiln drying room, 18 feet above or the deck itself. Behind the slab wood in the picture below are the drying ovens.



Figure 108. The furnace or drying ovens are behind the sliding door. Slab wood was usually stacked high during hop harvest, making the doors difficult to see.

The Paul Patnode kiln and the Dufault kiln, along with the Brulotte kiln, have all been modified. The Patnode and Gendron kilns (see Figures 109 & 16) still have the four-sided funnel that allows the heat to rise up from the furnaces (see Figure 109), through interior pipe as shown in the drawing, and up through the burlap-covered slatted floor of the kiln drying room.



Figure 109. The funnel-shaped walls enclose the furnaces and pipes that heat and dry hops (at the Paul Patnode and Gendron Ranch Kilns) that are above on the burlap-covered drying room or kiln floor. Some were tin-lined to protect them from sparks, others were not. (Terri Towner, September 2010)



Figure 110. Southwest view of the Paul Patnode Hop Kiln. (Terri Towner, 2010).

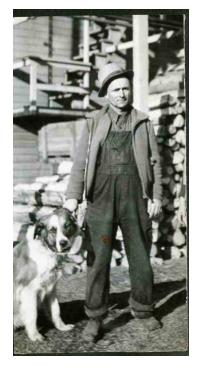


Figure 111. O. J. and his dog, in front of his newly built, horse-powered, hop kiln, 1920. (Gendron Photo Collection)



Figure 112. Bringing hops in by wagon with horses. For many years sacks of hops were brought to the kiln on a wagon pulled by horses. Photo by Russell Lee, in the mid-1940s. Horses were still being used despite portable hoppickers beginning to be used in the fields.

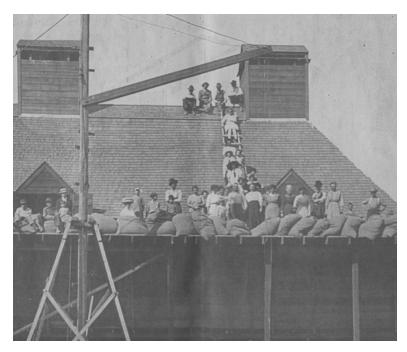


Figure 113. Workers posing on hop kiln. Horse drawn wagon with hop bags in foreground at the Morrier Ranch. The deck of this kiln has no railing. Hops are raised to the deck through horse-power using the hay derrick seen in the photo. You can see two kilns and cupolas in this picture. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

Figure 114.
Horses activating hay derrick to move hops from one building to the next, or from the ground to the deck of the kiln, and were still in use in the 1930s. Electricity replaced the horse in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Horses at hop kiln. Date unknown. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection, n.d.)





Figure 115. Bags of green hops being loaded from 1934 Truck onto hop elevator. The truck is a 1934 Ford. It may be later than 1934, as most people could not afford new vehicles and bought them used. The hops on the truck are being loaded onto the elevator powered by an electric motor and taken up to the deck. This deck has a railing. The cupola has been lowered, signifying that enough electricity was available to run four electric fans at the base of the cupola. You can see the door to the drying room right below the cupola. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

Once the hops arrive from the field (See Figure 112), they are taken up to the deck of the kiln (see Figure 113 & 116), where the doors to the drying room are.

Decks were eighteen to twenty feet from the ground. The Gendron, Patnode, and Brulotte kilns still have decks attached. Through the 1940s & 1950s, hops were brought in burlap sacks, such as the ones in Figures 115 & 116.

Once the bags of hops filled the deck (Figure 116), men began to layer the hops as evenly as they could across the burlap-covered, slatted, drying room floor (see Figure 117). Usually, there were marks on each wall that let them know when they had reached the depth of hops that the kiln could dry evenly and efficiently, usually, this was 18-36 inches in depth, depending on the kiln.

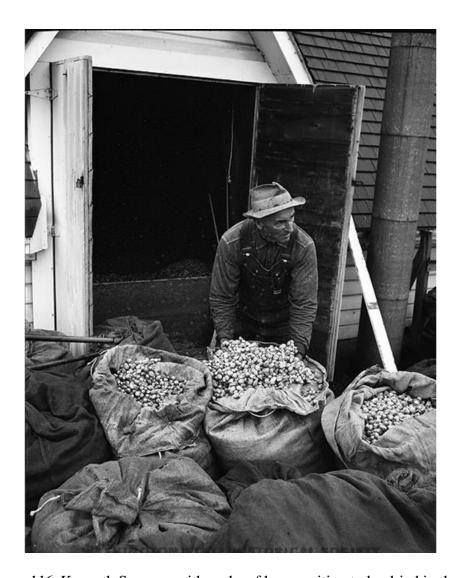


Figure 116. Kenneth Spooner with sacks of hops waiting to be dried in the kiln. Pierce Country, Alderton, WA. at the Spooner farm. He is bending over scooping hops from one of three open bags. You can see the board across the entrance of the drying room to allow the hops to be layered to the proper depth without spilling out onto the deck. These bags would be dumped onto the drying floor. Creation Date August 30th 1959. Date entered into data base 1974. Taken from the WA State Historical Society online Collection.

Hops are light and easy to spread and level in the drying room. Special scoops and pusher boards on the end of a handle were used to lay the kiln. Once finished, the doors between the cooling room and kiln were closed, windows were closed, furnaces were filled with slab wood and the fire started. A pot of sulfur often hung above the furnaces and the drying room floor to influence the taste and lighten the color of the hops drying above. The Paul Patnode, Gendron, and Brulotte kilns have doors that completely enclose the drying room.

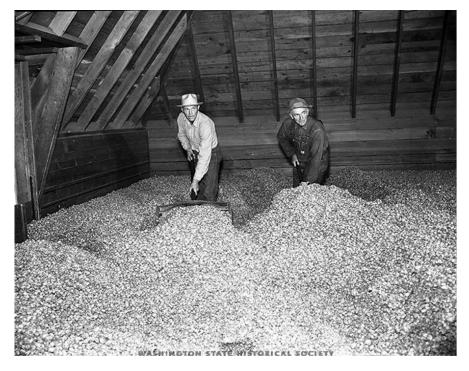


Figure 117. Men pushing dried hops from the kiln to the cooling rooms. Kenneth Spooner and William Northrup Pierce County, Alderton, WA. at the Spooner farm. . . . The caption is not accurate. These men are pushing dried hops from the drying room of the kiln to the catwalks and then down into the cooling rooms where they will be baled when fully cooled. Kilns of hops were laid a certain number of inches deep. Marks on the sides of this room show how deep to lay the hops. Creation Date August 30th 1959. Date entered into data base 1974. Taken from the WA State Historical Society online Collection.

Drying, Cooling and Baling

The size of the drying room and the depth at which the hops had been laid (see Figure 118), determined the length of drying time for each kiln. It could be anywhere from twelve to eighteen or more hours. The furnaces needed to burn at a consistent temperature for the entire drying time. Several men would tend the fire in each of the furnaces and monitor the heat in the drying rooms. It was an art and a science to maintain a constant temperature between 130° and 140° with wood heat, as the September temperatures fluctuated from hot in the day to cool at night.

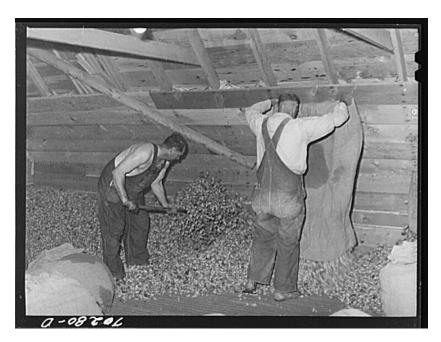


Figure 118. Emptying sacks of green hops into the drying room of the kiln. Hops are spread 32 inches deep before drying. (Russell Lee, 1941)

Many kilns burned down during harvest. If the portion of the kiln between the drying room floor and furnace below was not tin-lined, when the furnaces were opened to add wood, the sparks could set the building on fire, or set the lupulin that had built up on

the red-hot stovepipes, from the hops above, afire. Walt Heath ran the kiln furnaces (see Figure 119) at the Gendron Hop ranch at night for several years. He tells of falling asleep and the fire getting too hot and almost burning the kiln down. It was not hard to lose a kiln to fire.



Figure 119. Fixing the fire at the hop kiln. (Russell Lee, 1941, Yakima County). LC-USF34-070244. Most kilns had several stoves below the kiln. This was one of the most important jobs in the kiln.

Before electricity came in, it was common to have six kilns burn down each season. When electricity came in and there was enough amperage to run four large fans, the cupola was lowered and the fans were placed in the bottom of the cupola to provide the draft the kiln needed. Electrified hop kilns began to burn down at twice the pre-electricity rate, or twelve kilns per year! The answer to this dilemma was that when the new fans were installed in the cupola, they were not grounded. When lupulin collected on the fans and in the air, the ungrounded fans would catch fire and burn the kiln to the ground. Lupulin is the yellow pollen of the hop plant. It is what makes hops valuable as it carries the beta acids, alpha acids, and essential oils. Larry Gamache remembers helping neighbors to rebuild their kilns. Everyone pitched in. Pete Dufault had the unfortunate experience of his kiln burning to the ground when he allowed someone to use it for drying onions after hop harvest. The man the onion farmer hired to run the kiln became spooked, leaving the kiln and the furnace doors wide open and went home. He has no pictures of that kiln. It's as if it was never there.



Figure 120. Scooping and sweeping hops in the drying room. (Russell Lee, September 1941) These hops are dry and being pushed to the cooling room.

Once the hops tested dry, the doors between the drying and cooling rooms were opened (see Figure 121); the fire in the furnaces was pulled out onto the cement floor in front of the furnaces, and drenched with water, while the drying room cooled to a bearable temperature. Then workers pushed the dried hops along catwalks (see Figures 122 & 123), dumping the hops into cooling rooms below (see Figures 122 A& C). It might take four or five men to clear a room of dry hops (see Figure 120) and then to lay the next kiln of green hops and repeat the cycle once more.



A

Figure 121. Gendron hop kiln drying room door. There are two leading from the drying room to the catwalks of the cooling room. The weights in the picture hold the doors in place, either up or down, or somewhere in between. Gendron Ranch Hop Kiln. (Terri Towner, 2016)

Figure 122. The catwalk from the drying room through the cooling room.

A. The catwalk extends from the drying room to the opposite wall in the cooling room. There is a drying room door on each side of the press, and catwalks on each side. Hops would cool in these rooms and were pushed into the press in the middle when the hops were ready to bale. Gendron Ranch Hop Kiln. (Terri Towner, 2016)





Figures 122 B, C, & D. The catwalk from the drying room through the cooling room. Note the ladder on the wall of the bottom picture. Drying hops were deep and void of oxygen. If a person fell into the hops, they would suffocate and die unless they could find the ladder and climb out. The press has doors the move up and down to keep the hops out of it. Gendron Ranch Hop Kiln. (Terri Towner, 2016)

D.

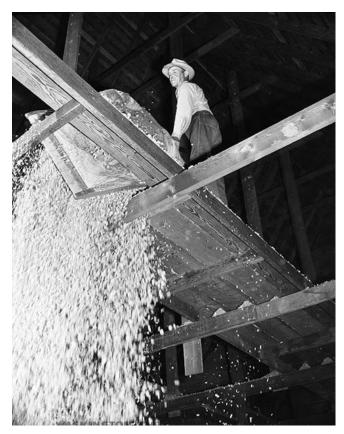


Figure 123. William Norhup shoveling hops ready to be baled and shipped. The caption is not quite accurate. William Norhrup is pushing the hops along the catwalks in the kiln and into the large cooling rooms. Pierce Country, Alderton, WA. at the Spooner farm. Creation Date August 30, 1959. Date entered into data base, 1974. Catalog ID. 1974.64.12 Taken from the WA State Historical Society web page.

Work in the kiln was for trusted people such as family, relatives, and permanent hired hands. The owner usually oversaw the operation. The reason for this was that family was always on site, and knew how things operated. They could not quit and answered to the patriarch for any mistakes. A Yakima Herald article, "French Americans appreciate their kids" written by Charles Lamb in August of 1969, chronicles Don Champoux's father, Dave Champoux, and his hop operation (see Figure 124). ... the willing labor of young hands has saved the day more times than one.

The French settlers taught their kids to be good workers and some couples – bless their souls – raised as many as 18 in a family. The grocery bill was high, but there were few work gaps that couldn't be bridged.

Take the Dave Champoux hop operation for example, at the peak of harvest this week, there were at least five grandchildren working. Two sons – Gerald and Alan – the Champoux's son-in-law – Dick Laurent – are involved in the hops. Laurent had four boys in the thick of harvest. (Lamb, C, August 1969)



Figure 124. The David Champoux Hop Kiln on Beauchene Road, May 2016. It is no longer used to process hops. (Terri Towner, 2016)

Lamb goes on to name other Champoux children and grandchildren working the operation during harvest. It took twenty people per shift to run the entire harvest operation for the fifty-acre ranch, with the stationery picker installed in 1958. When hops were picked by hand, over 200 people were required to harvest the same acreage.

Once the hops cooled, the balers would begin to put hops into the press from up above and begin the process of pressing them into 200 lb. bales. It took two people up above in the cooling room filling the press with hops (see Figures 125 - 127), and two

people on the main level where the press is to oil the press, put the burlap on correctly, Duffield would go upstairs to the second floor cooling rooms at the Gendron kiln and fill the press with hops. Their wives would be on the main floor with the press, sewing bales and removing them from the press. A harnessed workhorse would actuate the press when given the command (see Figure 128) by going round and round until the bale was sufficiently pressed. Horses usually knew when this was and would stop. When given the command the horse would turn and go the opposite way to lift the press into the position for filling.

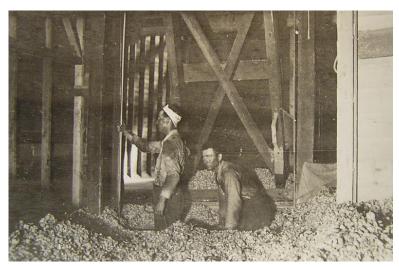
In the 1940s, electric winches replaced horsepower at the Dufault, Brulotte, and Patnode Ranches (see Figure 129). The Brulotte kiln was switched to heating with oil as was the Dufualt kiln. It appears that the Patnode kiln was still heated with wood. Figures 131-133 are presses at the Paul Patnode and Pete Dufault Kilns. Burlap covered hop bales, weighing 200 lbs., stand in the corner of the baling room, waiting to be loaded on a truck and taken to the buyer.





Figure 125. The highest portion of the press at the Gendron Hop Kiln. The counter weight on the left hand side is at the top when the press is fully extended down (see picture of press in down position on main floor in the baling room). (Terri Towner, 2016)

Figure 126. The doors to the press are open on both sides in the cooling room. In this picture, the press is fully extended to the first floor main baling room. Two people would shovel the cooled hops into the shoot. Ken and Russ Duffield would take this job at the Gendron Ranch each evening after finishing their dairying chores (Terri Towner, 2016)



Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

Figure 127. Two men filling the hop press, tamping hops in the shoot to make a 200 lb. bale, at the Hiscock Ranch. The reason this is not in the baling room, but in the cooling room, is all the hops that surround them and the fact their legs are down in the shoot.



Figure 128. Horse-drawn actuator for the press at the O. J. Gendron Ranch. One or two horses would be hitched to this and would go round and round until the bale was pressed. When given the command the horse(s) would turn and go the opposite direction to pull the press back up to its highest position. The small door on the building leads directly into the press. (Terri Towner, 2016)



Figure 129. Electric winch system actuates the press at the Paul Patnode Kiln. It replaced the horse-drawn action system. Electric winches were also used to replace horse-drawn power at the Brulotte kiln. (Terri Towner, 2010)



Figure 130. Hop press in the O. J. Gendron baling room. The doors have been removed. The press is normally clean and well-oiled to keep the lupulin from the hops from sticking to it. Burlap was spread on the bottom of the press and then wrapped around the bale and sewn. Helen and Genevieve Duffield took on this job while their husbands worked the press from above. (Terri Towner, 2016)



Figure 131. Man sewing bale of hops at the Hiscock Ranch. Burlap is sewn around a freshly pressed 200 lb. bale of hops. Al Bateman Photo Collection. Date unknown. Accession # 2004-114-150. (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.) http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,9792





Figures 132. Hop press inside the Paul Patnode Kiln. A. Press shown from the ceiling. B. Press shown from the floor of the baling room. The doors come down to provide the proper size shoot for creating the 200 lb. hop bales. (Terri Towner, 2010)



Figure 133. Pete Dufualt Hop Press. It was more modern than the Gendron and Patnode kilns. It is recessed into a pit. (Terri Towner, 2010)

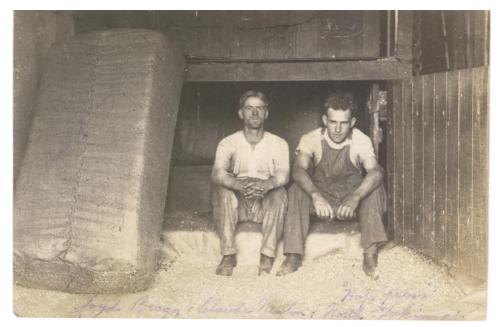


Figure 134. "Hop press," North Yakima. Lloyd Bragg and Claude Newton, rest after pressing and sewing a hop bale. Accession #2008-131-2917. Barbara Beane Photo Collection. Date unknown. Photo on (Yakima Valley Museum., n.d.) http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,16039



Figure 135. Baled hops. Yakima County, Washington. Each bale weighs two hundred pounds. Price at this time thirty cents per pound. Yield per acre ten bales. (Russell Lee, 1941)

Transitional Years 1940 – 1950

A number of factors launched the transition from using human labor to using machinery during harvest. As the number of acres of hops increased each year, so did the need for more pickers during harvest. Seeing an influx of more than twenty-thousand people into the Valley at harvest took a toll on the entire community and with more people came the need for better living conditions in the camps where they stayed while picking. Hop growers often had only the same amenities as those picking, yet regulations began to dictate what should be available to workers. Another factor was WWII. More of the Valley's young men went to serve their country, leaving many hop growing families without the labor-force they so desperately needed. Male family members usually did most of the supervision of crews and workings within the kiln.

Necessity being the mother of invention brought forth many different advancements in hop picking and processing. Over time, the need for human labor decreased so much that the hop camps growers once spent much time, money, and effort on, were no longer needed. Yet, it was not until well after the 1950s that the complete transition from hand picking and horses to tractors and mechanization occurred.

Hindrances included tractors not being readily available until after WWII. Most often, a lack of money for new facilities and equipment kept growers doing things the old way. Social norms dictated that people live within their means and did not borrow money they could not easily repay; hence, people would save their money to purchase new technology with cash. Many photos for this portion of the chapter were taken by Russell Lee and Dorothea Lange, who photo documented agriculture in the Valley for the United

States Farm Security Administration and Office of War Information (FSA-OWI). I believe their photos of the Moxee Valley were taken in the 1945-1946 period as they conflict with what is known about the Valley and other photo documentation.

One thing to keep in mind is that change happened slowly and during this period hand-pickers (people), portable hop-pickers and stationary hop-pickers were all in use. Larger ranches with capital to purchase new equipment were the first ones to acquire the new technology. Smaller growers were more inclined to opt into a coop with other farmers to purchase a piece of equipment and share it. The first invention was the portable picking machine (see Figure 136). Emil Horst was the first to patent his invention in California and Jesse Lindeman (see Figure 137) modified the Horst Portable Hop Picker for use in the hop yards of the Yakima Valley, creating the Lindeman Hop Harvester (LHH).



Figure 136. Lindeman Hop Harvester working in hop yard (mid-1940s). Date unknown. (Yakima Valley Museum Online Collection, n.d.) The tracked tractor is a Lindeman tractor that was designed and manufactured just for orchards and fields with rill irrigation here in the Valley.



Figure 137. Lindeman Power Equipment Company, Mack Trucks, and Holt Caterpillar Tractor Company of Yakima, WA. Date unknown. (Yakima Memory, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

Lindeman sold his company to the John Deere Company of Moline, Ill., December 13, 1946. (I was unable to find patents for the Lindeman Hop Harvester). Lindeman was a master at modifying all types of machinery to fit the agricultural needs of Yakima Valley farmers.

By the 1940s, the original founders and many relatives of the large Moxee Company, Scudder, and Hiscock Ranches had retired or died. The Moxee Company had completed its mission to sell off lands it had put into production. The final General Manager of the Moxee Company was Scudder's son-in-law, Charles A. Marsh. After his death, his widow, Bessie P. Marsh, and the remaining stockholders officially dissolved the corporation on June 9, 1955 (Wilbur & Lynx, 2009). The Valley's remaining hop growers were predominantly French families with small operations.

One ridge over from Moxee, the lower Yakima Valley, now held the large hop ranches of the late 1940s – 1950s. Many were relatives of those in the Moxee Valley. From photos of the time, Yakima Chief (see Figures 138-146) was one of the technologically advanced operations. They were the epitome of the "new" large hop ranches of this period and the reason I include them is to show what technological advancement was. The Moxee Valley held ranches with operations half this size or smaller (see Figure 138).



Figure 138. Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Toppenish, WA. The ranch's kilns and processing buildings are at the top of the picture. Housing for workers encompasses the rest of the picture, where hop yards do not. The archive is dated 1941, but with the lack of technology elsewhere in the Valley, I believe it to be around 1950. (Washington State Historical Society)



Figure 139. Kiln at Chief Hop Ranch, Yakima County, Washington. This ranch has 700 acres in hops. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 140. Hop kiln at Yakima Chief Hop Ranch. Yakima County, Washington . (Russell Lee, 1941). I believe this photo to be \sim 1950 or later because of items in the picture.

Yakima Chief utilized both portable hop pickers and at least one stationary hop picker (see Figures 141-146).



Figure 141. Portable-type mechanical hop picker. Yakima County, Washington. (Russell Lee, 1941) Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Toppenish. WA.



Figure 142. Hops coming from portable-type mechanical picker, Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Yakima County, Washington. Man empties bags of green hops picked by portable Hop-picker onto conveyor to go through re-picker. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 143. Hop vines going in stationary-type mechanical picker. Putting vines on hooks to begin their journey through the stationary picking machine, where fingers comb hops off the vines. Yakima Chief Hop Ranch. (Russell Lee, 1941), believed to be ~ 1950 or later.



Figure 144. Feeding hop vines into stationary-type mechanical picker. Yakima County, Washington (Russell Lee, 1941)

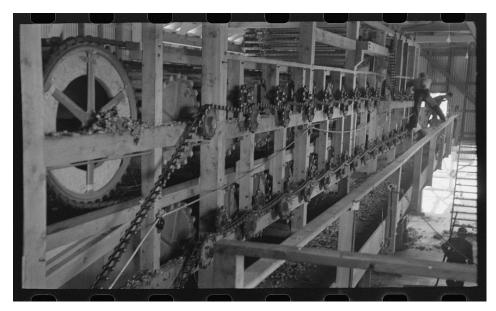


Figure 145. Machinery used in stationary-type mechanical hop picker, Yakima County, Washington. Hops are brought in from the field to the machine to be picked. Today, this is the way most hops are processed. Yakima Chief Hop Ranch. (Russell Lee, 1941), believed to be ~ 1950 or later.



Figure 146. Men who work on mechanical hop picking machines have lunch at the company restaurant, Yakima Chief Hop Ranch, Yakima County, Washington. (Russell Lee, 1941)

The evolution of Roy Farms operation, taken from Gary Hellums book.

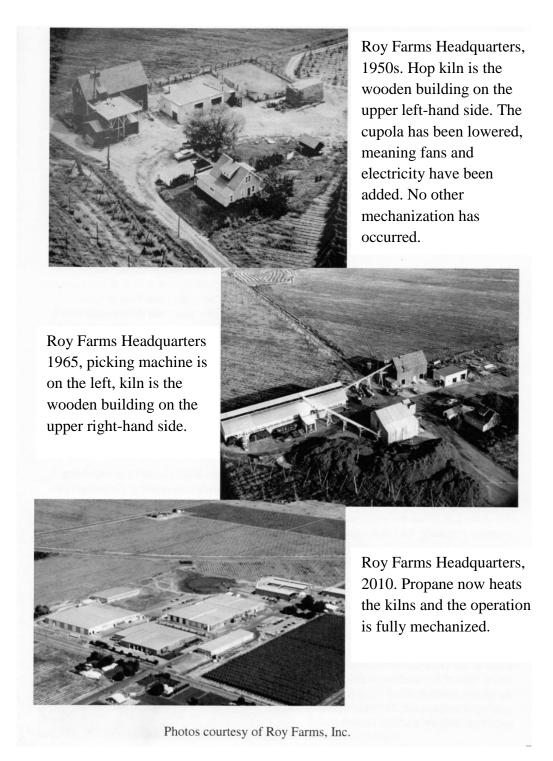


Figure 147. Roy Farms Evolution from the 1950s to 2010 (Hellums, 2015, p. 73)

Most hop growers were in a period of mechanical transition during this time. The Gendron Hop Ranch employed hand-pickers and then later contracted to have their hops picked by portable hop-pickers. The kiln was retired in 1953 and their hop yards leased to other growers until they decided to sell them. The Jeff Gamache family installed their first stationary hop-picking machine in 1958, recalls Larry Gamache who was in grade school at that time. The pictures of Roy Farms (Figure 147) lead one to believe that their picking machine was built in the fifteen-year period between 1950s-1965. Roy Farms bought up hop yards as people retired, and purchased the Gendron hop yards. The following pictures come from the time between 1940-1950, and were indicative of the many different harvesting methods employed (see Figures 148-159).



Figure 148. Kiln, sacked green hops in foreground. Yakima County, Washington Double hop kiln still using tall cupolas for natural draft, yet a tractor is employed and the car (left-hand side behind the deck legs) in the picture dates it. (Russell Lee, 1941) LC-USF34-070242. Date may actually be much later.



Figure 149. Tents of hop pickers, kiln in background. These tents are furnished by the grower. Yakima County, Washington. This was one of the most common sights. It appears that a line of electricity was strung throughout the camp. By the geography of the surrounding ridges this kiln might have been located on Birchfield Rd., between Mieras Road and Beauchene Road. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 150. Teepees set up right next to hop kiln. Date unknown. (Margaret Keys Photo Collection, n.d.) This may be Yakima Chief Hop Ranch.



Figure 151. Hop pickers. Yakima County, Washington. Single hop kiln similar to the Gendron Ranch kiln. Hop yards with people picking. Notice this hop yard is not that tall. They are picking into baskets, and the kiln is heated with slab wood as seen under the deck loaded with sacks of green hops. Russell Lee, 1941. Photo may be later than this date.



Figure 152. Hop pickers in Yakima County, Washington. Practically all hops in the U.S. States are grown in Oregon, Idaho, and Washington. The pickers are using slatted wooden baskets held together with wire. They were common in the 1940s-1950s. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 153. Hop pickers. Yakima County, Washington. These are local people. This was a very common scene in the hop yard. Several generations of women and children often picked together. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 154. Re-pickers, who pick over the hops after original picking by portable-type mechanical picker. Yakima Chief Hop Ranch. Hops picked by portable hop-pickers and stationary hop-pickers needed to be gone through by humans to obtain the quality required for commercial use. (Russell Lee, 1941)



Figure 155. Baled hops waiting to go to the buyer. Date 1940s-1950s. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

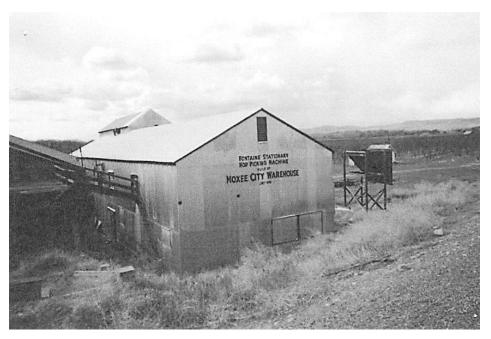


Figure 156. The Fontaine stationary picking machine was the first to be built in the area. It was located near Parker on the old Yakima Valley Highway. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 157. Ovide Brulotte standing by his wagon loaded with hop bales. Each bale weighing approx. . . . 200 lbs. each. The Ovide Brulotte Ranch is located on Bell Rd., just down from the O. J. Gendron Ranch. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

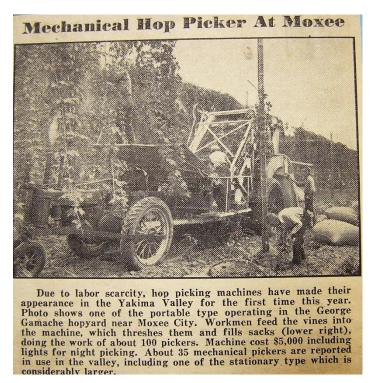


Figure 158. Mechanical hop picker at Moxee. Date of article unknown. The article mentions George Gamache and Figure 180 mentions the first Portable Hop Picker being used by Gamache Ranches in 1942. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Operated by Elie Patnode. Local Moxee men on portable picking machine from left to right in front Leo Figure 159. First Portable Hop Picking Machine brought to the Yakima Valley by William Gamache. Fortier, Les Lacoursier, Elie Patnode, Clarence Stikell, and James Fortier.

One of the reasons that I doubt the date on Russell Lee's photos is because of the information and pictures such as this Portable Hop Picker. Russell Lee's photos claim that it was 1941 when Yakima Chief Ranches had portable pickers and a stationary hoppicker. Yet, the information given in the "French Connection" photos and documents by local people, show that it was 1942 when the first Portable Hop Picker was brought to the Valley. Robert Benny's painting (see Figure 160) depicts hop harvest during this time.



Figure 160. Painting of hop harvest in the 1940s-1950s using a Lindeman tractor and hop harvester by Robert Benny. Date of painting unknown. (Caren Sauve Benny, 2010)

Moxee Hop Festival

In 1946, the idea to have a community festival came about through a newly formed men's business group. The suggestion to build a city pool and park had been made, and the festival became the vehicle to help fund these city projects. The annual festival has helped to fund many city projects since that first year.

In 1947, the first hop festival was held in the early part of August. Most of the necessary preparations for hop harvest were done by then and harvest was only weeks away. Hops being the dominant crop of the Valley, it was decided to call the affair "The Moxee Hop Festival." Jack Bledsoe was the first Hop Festival Chairman. Tickets were sold by the candidates running for the honor of being the first queen. She was chosen by the number of tickets sold. Miss Marie Bergevin was the first queen. In Alice Toupin's 1970 book "MOOK-SEE, MOXIE, MOXEE" she writes:

... A parade was planned and other communities were invited to take part. A three-mile parade was made up of beautiful floats. Many depicted the good old hop picking days and mode of travel. W.E. Rivard was chairman of this parade. His assistants were Kenneth Duffield, Ernest Rivard, Ted Regimbal, and Ross Dwinell. The same committee continued for more than 15 years for the annual festival.

A tour of the Moxee Valley hop fields and kilns for out of town guests were arranged by Mr's. Rivard, Dwinell, Champoux, Balm, Gendron and Duffield...

Food and game concessions were put up by the various Valley organizations, under the Chairmanship of Arthur Toupin, J. Durand, A. Cain, and Floyd Jenkins. Victor Belaire, O. J. Gendron, and Leslie Brooks arranged the program for horseracing and the parade of horses.... Hervey Brulotte and Ira Schonewell were selected to arrange the teenage baseball game.

Mrs. Arthur Toupin opened her home to the visitors to relax and more than 150 persons accepted her hospitality as they gathered to meet friends.

What an experience was derived from the first hop festival where about 3000 people were expected. There was an estimated crowd of 8000 attending. This event proved so entertaining and successful, that one would look forward to it every year and many came from far distances to meet their friends and have a day of fun.

After two or three years, a carnival was added to the festivity.

After twenty-three festivals ...the pool was completely paid for. An outdoor kitchen and a wading pool has been built and Moxee can boast of a very nice park where many families come for a swim and picnics. OUR BIGGEST REWARD WAS TO HAVE TAKEN THE CHILDREN OUT OF THE DANGEROUS IRRIGATION CANALS.

It is important to remember the events and people mentioned in Toupin's book, as life is much different today. The following pictures are from the first hop festival parade in 1947 (see Figures 161-169).



Figure 161. Local jokesters having fun. First Moxee Hop Festival, August 1947. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum).



Figure 162. The Royal Court: Darlene Gamache, Lou Ellen Balm, Elise Beaulaurier, First Moxee Float, Moxee Warehouse, W.E. Rivard, 1947. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum).



Figure 163. Guys having a spoof of the Queen & Court. Driver, Roy Beaulaurier, Queen: Le Roy. Others include Virgil Carter and Donald Riel. Model T Ford owned by Joe Desmarais. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).



Figure 164. First Moxee Hop Festival, 1947 Buick. Left front in car Bob & Dorothy Fortier. Driver is Russ Duffield. Princess is Marjorie Brulotte. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).



Figure 165. W. E. Rivard on his Palomino horse. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).



Figure 166. Princess Estelle Champoux in 1947 Chrysler. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).



Figure 167. Queen Marie Bergevin. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).

The Royal Court



Figure 168. First Moxee Hop Festival Queen and Court in dress. From the left: Princess Jean Dixon, Dorothy Zelkie, Teresa McAuley, Lita Cain, Queen Marie Bergevin, Estelle Champoux, Marjorie Brulotte, and Anita Desmarais. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).



Figure 169. Auditorium where the Queen and Court were chosen. "The French Connection," (Yakima Valley Museum, 1947).

The first hop festivals were more of events to raise money for things the community needed, and not something to celebrate that hop harvest was about to begin. It is the same today. From Alice Toupin's excerpt, it took many people, doing a lot of work to put the festival on and it still does today.

Life in Hop Camps

After picking was finished each day, hop camps (see Figures 170-174) teemed with the busyness of people starting a fire, making dinner, taking care of children, and doing laundry. Many growers built small stores (see Figure 174) on site to keep people from having to go into town to buy necessities. They knew that if people left for town, they often did not come back to pick the next day.

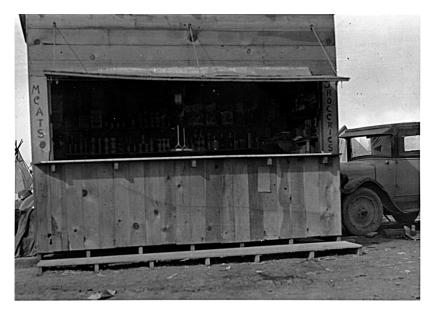


Figure 170. Little grocery store set up at a hop camp during hop harvest. The Signs on the front of the store indicate it sold groceries and meats. Date unknown. Accession # 2001-800-173. (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.) http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,181



Figure 171. Hop camp at the Morrier Ranch. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection. Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 172. Hop camp at a Moxee Valley hop ranch. Date unknown. (Gendron photo collection, n.d.)



Figure 173. Hop camp, possibly at the Gendron Ranch or Ovide Brulotte Ranch. Both young O. J. and Stella are in this picture. Date unknown. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)



Figure 174. Hop camp at a Moxee Valley hop ranch #2. Date unknown. (Barbara Beane Photo Collection, Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)

When evening chores were done, people got together to visit with others (see Figures 172-174) until the wee hours of the morning. Men played guitars and fiddles, while others sang and danced. Margaret Keys explained that Native American men would play stick games (see Figure 176) and gamble all night long; often gambling everything their family made this harvest.

Many indulged in alcohol. If someone became too inebriated and loud, the grower would throw him or her into the homemade jail for the night, to sleep it off (see Figure 175). There were lines of people at the hand pump for water. In addition to, lines at the outhouses. Still, everyone enjoyed the evening time, visiting and getting to know those who were around them. It was a time many looked forward to, all year long.

Native Americans were a major factor in bringing in the hops harvest each year. Their contributions made harvest a success (see Figures 176-181). It did not matter what nationality or ethnicity a person was, everyone contributed at this time.





Figures 175. The George Desmarais hop camp jail. A. The jail still stands at the farm on Desmarais Road. It has been resided and reroofed to keep it from deteriorating. B. The insides of the jail are original. People who were too inebriated and rowdy were put in here to sleep it off. (Terri Towner,



Figure 176. The ancient stick and bone game persists whenever Indians gather. Native American people at Hop camp in Moxee. The men are playing Stick games. www.yakimamemory.org (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 177. Indian horse tethered to hop pole during hop harvest. Accession # 2003-801-100. http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,4917 (Yakima Valley Museum., n.d.)



Figure 178. A group of Indian women picking hops, Yakima Valley. Note children came along. Accession Number 2002-851-376. www.yakimamemory.org (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.) http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/relander,1344



Figure 179. Indians picking hops. Date unknown. http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,4930, (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 180. Indian Chief Snake River's teepee on B.D. McKehleer's ranch. 1939-1940 [Photograph]. (n.d.). Teepee. Date unknown. http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,10292, (Yakima Valley Museum, n.d.)



Figure 181. Indian encampment during hop picking season, Washington. http://www.yakimamemory.org/u?/memory,13506 (Yakima Valley Museum, 1920)



Figure 182. Hop camp in the Moxee Valley. Young O. J. and Stella are in this picture. Date is before 1916. (Gendron Photo Collection, n.d.)

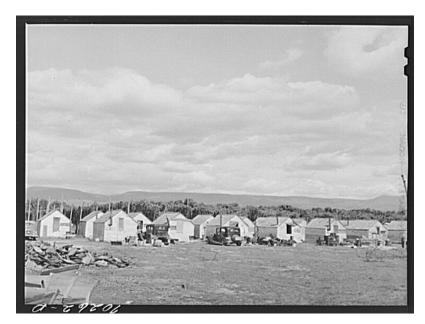


Figure 183. Housing for hop pickers and workers, Yakima County, Washington. Growers of hops provide some type of housing ranging from tents to fairly comfortable cabins; they provide wood, electricity (in some cases), water, sanitary facilities, and in some cases potatoes. (Russell Lee, 1941) http://photogrammar.yale.edu/records/index.php?record=fsa2000046944/PP

In the mid-1940s, hop camps began to disappear. With the new harvest mechanization methods, not as many people were needed to harvest the hops. Different types of farm labor camps became common in Yakima, as the hop camps dwindled in the Moxee Valley. One government Farm labor camp, Schwarders Station, was located on the Carpenter Ranch (Wildwood), where the Ahtanum Youth Park is currently. It opened in 1939 and closed in 1971. Many families in the area remember living there as children.

CHAPTER IX

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this ethnography was to collect, study, and preserve local history, in addition to collecting primary source material to create the Gendron Ranch Living History Farm (GRLHF) and its programs. Living history seeks to portray all things, as accurately as possible. According to the executive summary in a March 2013 report prepared by Britain Thinks for the Museums Association, "the public believes that which it sees." The actual words of the report give insight into "why" it does so.

Museums hold a unique position of being trusted, which is particularly important given the perceived lack of trusted organizations in society such as the government and the media. Both of these are seen as biased and operating under agendas. Members of the public who took part, see museums as the guardians of factual information and as presenting all sides of the story (2013, p. 4).

The conclusions of the report include:

The essential purposes (of Museums) – care, preservation and display of heritage; entertaining education for all children; and trustworthy information for all adults – explain why museums are held in such high regard. They help to define what a museum is and, furthermore, constitute desirable goals which museums are extremely well-placed to achieve compared to other societal institutions.

Museums are uniquely positioned to care for, preserve and display shared heritage, with items of historical importance otherwise either lost to private owners or altogether for want of storage facility. Similarly, museum visits, particularly to modern and interactive, hands-on ones, are perceived to be an inimitable way of encouraging children to learn and to enjoy learning, especially compared to formal schooling. Finally, museums are in a rare position of being trusted to provide accurate and reliable information in a national conversation increasingly dominated by bias and vested interest (2013, p. 26).

This is one major reason for undertaking an oral history project. The Farm will be this thesis brought to life, as best as can be accomplished.

The GRLHF is a heritage, educational, and tourism project. To be more precise, it is an open air, hands—on, interactive farm museum that provides the visitor a fun, immersive experience where learning about history, agriculture, animals, culture, and science come to life. This will be accomplished by providing "ah-ha!" moments that ignite the visitors' imaginations, and encourage participation by making the past relevant to the present.

The period the Farm seeks to portray is between 1917- 1923. This is after WWI and before the Depression. The reason for this is that the buildings have minimal electrification, and mechanisms such as the hop press and hay sling, as they utilized horse-drawn power. Once established, the Farm may portray later time-periods.

Themes for the Farm that thread through thesis chapters center around women's work, men's work, children's help on the farm, animals, water, the socialness of things and farming. Unlike static Museums that can choose a specific theme for the month and display accordingly, a farm Museum depicts daily life. Daily life does not have single-minded themes, but multiple, ongoing themes. These may change depending on the day of the week, the time of day, and even the season. Docents can choose to discuss different themes with visitors, while completing their daily work. It is a multifaceted endeavor.

Themes will be presented using the Farm's seven buildings. For example, if we are portraying "Monday" and if Monday is washday, women will be in the washhouse firing up the wood cook-stove, heating water in large washtubs, washing and wringing the clothes outside and hanging them to dry on the clothesline. While they work, they could strike up conversations with visitors as to why the wash is hung in a certain way, the process of washing, bleaching and bluing, and why they washed clothes on Monday. At the same time, men will be in the barn, feeding, brushing, harnessing and hooking up the workhorses along with a cultivator to go out into the field to take care of weeds. Children will be doing chores such as splitting wood, milking the cow, cleaning out the hen house, gathering eggs, and teaching a calf to lead. Someone else may be in the hop kiln, readying the press for harvest, or sewing bales of hops, or stacking slab wood in front of the kiln stoves for use during harvest. Many different conversations and topics may ensue between docents and visitors.

At times, women and children will go out and work in the garden; planting, weeding, watering and harvesting its produce. They will can fruit, vegetables and meat on

the wood cook-stove in the washhouse or out in the yard, or butcher a chicken for dinner, scald it in the washtub, then pluck it and cut it up to cook for dinner. The iceman may show up with his horse and buggy to deliver blocks of ice for the icebox, carrying them in with big ice tongs. Neighbors may stop by for a visit at lunchtime, or men may come to do business with the husband and stay for lunch, as was commonly done. It is the conversations that our staff members have with visitors while portraying a specific character that make it imperative they know this material well. For instance, if a visitor is talking with docents portraying the father and older son, while they brush and harness the horses, the son could explain how he will be working for his dad until the age of 21 and why. He will not feel that it is unfair, or out of the ordinary, but a well-accepted practice.

Chapter Themes, Lessons, and Their Depiction

The highly detailed information contained in this thesis will allow staff and interns to create programs on a multitude of subjects and in a variety of ways. Placing information into themes will be helpful in determining program objectives. Themes from Chapter I, *Introduction*, might include environmental factors such as soils, sun, climate and water, which are the reason for the Valley's success in farming. Docents could talk with visitors about the factors that create such unique conditions for growing more hops per acre, than anywhere else in the U.S.

In Chapter II, *Study Design*, family ties might be the theme here as participant sketches show the close relatedness of the French community. Everyone was related to everyone, and it was best to hold your tongue, when considering mentioning something

not constructive about a person. This was a negative aspect, yet there were many benefits to having numerous relatives living nearby. The Gendron Ranch was purchased by an uncle, who sold it to his brother, who sold it to another brother, who finally sold it to O. J. Both the positive and the negative aspects could be portrayed when neighbors or family come to visit the Farm. One idea is to have specific days set aside to celebrate certain families, such as Gamache Family Day or Champoux Family Day. People from that family could portray and dress as members of their family that lived during that time, and the public could come and learn about that family and its role in the community. The entire family could have a picnic in the pasture!!

Chapter III, Farming in the Valley, describes two different types of farming, unmechanized and mechanized. Un-mechanized farming dominated most of this period. It was the last five years, from 1945 to 1950 that mechanization came into the Valley. Not all farmers could afford it. The un-mechanized era, began with Eastern businessmen buying large amounts of land from the railroad, to sell for profit, once it was cultivated and in production of irrigated crops. The only problem was that the labor associated with putting land into cultivation and production cost more than the crops brought in. These large farms were a drain on their owners' bank accounts until they sold the land. One reason for this is that these large farms and ranches had to hire people outside the family to run them. Labor is always costly.

Those who worked for the large hop-growers and farmed on the side and those who farmed on their own, are today referred to as subsistence farmers. These farmers did not call themselves that as everyone was in the same situation and saw themselves as "no

different from any other farmer," just trying to survive. Though farm size and farm products were often different, most families still had to contend with similar problems. These families reduced their cost of labor by having large numbers of children and banding adult siblings with parents to create a larger family farm. In essence, these work assignments allowed a family to earn more profit and slowly increase the acreage farmed as their numbers grew. With little mechanization, farming continued to be extremely labor-intensive. In the 1940s, the introduction of mechanization allowed the size and scale of farming to grow exponentially because of the decreased need for human labor. By this time, the large Eastern owned ranches had sold their lands and were nearly defunct.

O. J. Gendron was part of the second group, the small farmer, who banded together with his parents to create a much larger farm. This type of farming was most prevalent in the French and Dutch districts. The theme could be "Labor costs, hiring vs. having." The lesson learned is that labor is expensive; limiting the size and scale farming. The lack of money and labor created a dependency on others, increasing the social interaction of the surrounding community. It brought them together, cementing the cohesiveness between neighbors, no matter French or Dutch. On the other hand, mechanization was expensive, yet had the ability to increase the size and scale of farming while decreasing labor needs. However, it decreased the need for social interaction and dependency on help from the community, weakening community cohesiveness over time.

The second half of Chapter III, Harry Boorsma, a Dutch farmer, described his entire farming year. However, any farmer describing the farming year, described it

similarly. The cycles of planting, growing, and harvesting are the same today, as they were for Harry. Mechanization has made no change in this; environmental factors are the same today as they were in 1915. Preparing the soil, planting the crops, tending and harvesting them still follow the same pattern. The cycle shows how different crops demand different labor at different times to get the crop to the point of harvest. Farming multiple crops and animals demanded much planning, effort and cooperation, to bring in each farmer's harvest successfully.

Chapter IV, *The Household*, describes the differences and commonalities of households in the Valley. The main differences included the number of children a family had, the language they spoke, and the faith they practiced. The commonalities were more prevalent than the differences. Most family situations were comparable, in that they were poor and trying to provide for their family, while not losing the farm. Their homes lacked modern conveniences, yet it did not seem a terrible thing as everyone had food to eat, few clothes to wear, and a warm home to sleep in. The theme for this chapter might be "Rural Households – so much in common." Lessons learned were that you can live with little, if you have just enough. If everyone is living the same way, you don't know you are poor. Households thrived despite hardships.

Depiction of this shared situation at the Farm is straightforward. The house currently uses an oil-heating stove, and a wood/oil cook-stove will be used in the kitchen, and will have a pot of coffee on at all times. Lighting fixtures currently use pull chains and a period phone will be installed. There is a water hand-pump above the well in the yard that will be used by the public and the staff. The house is a small farmhouse with the

bathroom added after the time-period being portrayed. It will be roped off with signage stating it was added in 1930. The original outhouse currently is a two-holer and will be available for viewing, not using by the public. On Saturday, we can heat water on the wood cook-stove in the wash house for people to take baths in the washtub. The icebox will have ice and food in it. Chickens, rabbits, and pigeons for meat dishes will be raised on the Farm, specifically for that purpose. The Farm will have a large garden, fruit trees, and a hive or two of bees to pollinate it all. Docents and staff can include visitors in caring for the animals, and working in the garden. It could house special gardens for children. Classes will be given on how to care for bees or process meat.

Chapter V, *Roles, Gender and Age in the Household*, it explains that the social structure of the family was patriarchal, with the wife deferring to the husband and the children deferring to both parents and elders. All members of the household helped to complete work on the Farm. It was a common societal norm. Everyone had a job to do. This enabled the family to survive and prosper by reducing the workload of both the mother and father, allowing them to do other things to bring in more money for the household. The theme of the chapter might be, "Work Everyone's Job." Lessons learned were that when choosing to farm, work was never ending. It is why the children raised in the 1940s and 1950s, left the farm for the city. Another lesson learned, is that each person in the family had a different role to fulfill. Each role was valued and respected. It gave children a purpose and a reason for being. Things children today may not have.

On the Farm, each docent will portray their role and the work they did, as it was lived out in the past. Each gender will have specific duties, at specific times. Staff who

play the role of the husband will build the fire and feed the livestock in the morning. He will do the farming, the heavy lifting, care of the livestock, repair wagons, and prepare the soil in the garden for his wife each spring. He will take the wagon, horses and children, and head to town for supplies on Saturday. He will make sure there is enough wood available for the family to use from fall to spring. He will conduct farm business on the farm with a handshake, and train his sons on how to repair all that he works on.

The wife's work will complement her husband's work. Each day she will have specific things to accomplish such as laundry day, ironing day, bread-making day. She daily prepares and serves breakfast, dinner, and supper at the same time. She will serve the meal and welcome guests, then clean up the table while her husband goes out to work again. The old adage, "A woman's work is never done," will be portrayed. There will be staff to serve as "friends and their children," who will come for a visit and much laughter will ensue as they play croquet and other games or sit and chat.

Volunteer, 4-H and paid school-age children docents will not be on site when school is in session. Children ages 11 and up will have the opportunity to work after school and on the weekends, and when school tours are onsite. They will be assigned farm and household tasks. Girls will portray caring for younger children, cooking, doing household work and gardening. Boys will help with work on the farm, including gardening. It was common for young men to go to work full-time on the farm after the eighth grade. When there were no sons at home, daughters often took on farm chores. Girls who do not go to high school will apprentice with a seamstress or work for well-to-

do households in Yakima. Older teenage girls can take on personas that are away from home apprenticing.

Chapter VI, *The Community*, began in the 1890s, when individuals moved to the area to work for the Moxee and Scudder Ranches and wrote to family about their new home, describing it as "the land of milk and honey." Since that time, it has continued to grow and prosper. Families, friends and neighbors, along with community organizations, brought people together, giving them a feeling of connectedness and belonging. Themes for this chapter include "Family, Friends, Neighbors, Churches, and the Grange: Holding it all together," along with "Schools and Sports: It's all for the children," and "Saving the Farm Family through the Grange."

Communities are formed of family, friends, and neighbors, who come together for specific reasons, such as overcoming a problem or filling a need. Two distinct districts emerged, one where French families chose to farm and live, and the other where Dutch families settled. Families worked together to make ends meet and to keep their farms.

Working together provided a sense of community within their own family.

Neighbors held nearly the same level as extended family. Neighbors needed neighbors. Farming demanded it. Times were tough with wars, depressions, epidemics, and the lack of mechanization. Farmers traded equipment or used each other's equipment as needed. Crews of neighbors came together, buying a silage chopper and blower, then going from one farm to the next processing their corn into silage to feed their cows through the winter.

Churches filled the need the community had for connectedness in many ways, as did schools and organizations such as the Grange. Lessons learned through this chapter include when the community was small and there were few people to fill the needs, many wore different hats to fill those needs. Dairyman, Ken Duffield, also worked for the telephone company by collecting payments from customers at his home. The Water Master for the ditch might also be the local veterinarian. It was a community norm well into the 1950s, when mechanization became more common and some forms of labor could be done by machines.

Family entertainment included listening to radio programs, attending Friday or Saturday night card parties and dances put on by friends and family members with the biggest house, and attending family lunches and church picnics on Sunday afternoon.

The Ditter Hall in Moxee City held public dances. Yakima movie theaters were a special treat on Saturday afternoon when a family traveled there to buy supplies. Children often played at home and lay in the grass looking up at the clouds trying to find the shapes of animals or objects. They made up games to help pass the time; hide and seek was always a favorite game. In the summer, teens worked in the fields until early afternoon, going swimming at Van Wechel's on the Moxee Drainage Ditch, where the ditch went under Beauchene Road.

Ethnicity and religion often determined the people with whom a family associated. Typically, the Dutch were of the Dutch Reformed Faith and the French were of the Catholic faith. Adults kept company with whom they felt comfortable, which was family, church members, or those from organizations they belonged to and held a sense

of community. Children too chose friends from the same circles as their parents or from their classmates at school. If a child went to a Catholic school, their friends were mainly French, and if a child went to a public school, their friends might be Dutch or another ethnicity. Yet, no matter whether they knew each other or not, their lives were very similar in terms of subsistence farming, common daily chores, lack of conveniences, lack of family finances, along with common weather events and economic conditions.

Church was the focal point for the family. Their faith was the foundation from which they operated and its tenants helped them to make everyday decisions. The church body provided a sense of community for its members through Bible Study, Sunday school, social gatherings and recreational activities, youth groups, women's ministries, and men's groups that brought people together for a specific purpose. Often lifelong friendships began at church. No matter what church a family attended, the church filled its members' emotional, spiritual, and physical needs.

Language barriers were dealt with by having different services in different languages, eventually all services were done in English. The three churches eventually dwindled to two churches when in 1927, the Congregational Church folded and its building was purchased by the American Legion. Only the Dutch Reformed and Holy Rosary Catholic Church remain.

A good education was something all parents wanted for their children, and they made school a high priority. The original placement of schools allowed children to walk to school. The public schools that were walker friendly included the Old Moxee School for the Mortimer F. Thorp children, the Riverside School for the children of parents who

worked for the Scudder Ranch and Moxee Company, and the Black Rock School 30 miles east of Moxee City, for the Van Deist Family who owned a livery stable and inn, where fresh horses for a wagon could be rented and travelers could rest on their way between Moxee, and White Bluffs, and the Hanford area. Children walked to the private "French School" on Laframboise Road and other area public schools. When the Yakima County School District consolidated Moxee Schools in 1910, these schools were eventually closed. This created the need for children to be picked up and dropped off.

Regardless whether the school was Catholic or public, the entire family usually participated in the life of the school. Fathers participated on the school board, coached a sport, helped with building maintenance or additions, or provided materials such as wood for heating the school. Mothers joined together to take care of the teacher, providing her with whatever she needed and making sure the students respected the teacher and had what they needed. The whole family attended school functions. Schools brought people together, creating a sense of connectedness within the community.

The Grange as an organization was the collective voice of the farmer and for farm families, it offered a place to connect with other farm families through meetings, dances picnics, education, friendship and projects to help members in need. It extended to them a sense of belonging that many farm families needed desperately. As members' children grew up, they too took on leadership positions in the Grange. It often was a multigenerational organization. A majority of those participating were the non-French families that farmed crops other than hops. The Terrace Heights Grange still stands on the spot where the Riverside School once stood.

Family continued to dominate every aspect of community entities. Businesses and establishments were more than likely run by entire families. Mom and pop shops were common. Many people conducted business from their home or farm. Men were the ones who conducted business and went to town. They had to learn to speak English to be able to do this. The business owner was often your neighbor or friend. Community was a personal thing, as everyone knew everyone.

The years between 1915-1950 held many events that tested the fledgling community--- social upheaval, diseases, epidemics, wars, and economic depressions. No one was immune from being affected by them, or from knowing someone who was. It seemed like everyone was in the same boat, which produced a greater sense of cohesiveness in the community as they worked together to make sure people's needs were met, their animals fed, and their crops harvested. This could be demonstrated at the Farm through special events. For example, church picnics with everyone dressed in period clothing, or mock sheep, hog and chicken shows where 4-H and FFA students dressed in period clothing, could be staged as if it were a real show, preparing for sanctioned shows such as the West Valley Fair.

Chapter VII, *Hop Harvest*, sought to present the people and process of harvest in the field and the kiln, through pictorial description. Words could not adequately describe all that pictures show. Nowhere else in the world was harvest and processing accomplished the way it was in the Moxee Valley. The history would be lost if not presented in this manner. People today could not fathom the work that took place and the enormous undertaking that ensued each September. I hope I have done it justice.

During harvest, the reciprocity displayed by the local community made it the largest annual multiethnic social gathering to occur within the U.S. at that time. This harvest event continued to grow as the demand for hops increased throughout the world. Since mechanization took hold in the late 1940s, the labor needed to complete it significantly diminished, as it no longer required such large gatherings of people to work.

This event is unconceivable today, because nothing like it occurs presently. It is difficult to imagine the occurrence of twenty to thirty thousand workers descending on the Valley for an entire month of camping, hop picking, and socializing. The Gendron Farm and surrounding hop yards can help to depict aspects of an earlier harvest time in the history of the Valley. Prior to actual hop harvest, the Farm can set up a hop camp for those who pick its hops. The Yakama Nation and hop farming entities will be invited to partner with us in this depiction. The pasture next to the kiln will be mowed for the camp, and all that a picking family might need readied. Teepees and Canvas tents with sheepherder stoves will be set up and placed in rows, with wood in a pile, depicting the scenes in historical photographs. Readying activities will occur while visitors are at the Farm so they can witness all that a farmer and his family might do to prepare for harvest. They will be invited to help, too! What fun it would be to learn how to put up a canvas tent or teepee!

Bags of potatoes will be placed at each tent, the outhouses cleaned and readied, the hand water pump in the yard will be posted, and an onsite store stocked with goods picking families might need. A small jail will be readied for those too inebriated to sleep it off. The objective will be to convey the farmer's goal to keep workers on site by

meeting their needs. Picker docents will live in the tents and teepees and can explain to visitors that if pickers left for town to buy groceries, they often did not return.

Families of relatives and neighbors (docents paid and volunteers), will be on site to supervise picking crews and run the kiln. Others will depict local and migrant pickers picking hops in the hop yards. Visitors will have the opportunity to learn how to pick alongside docent pickers. The Farm will attempt to portray that, "there were never enough people to pick as the acreage to be harvested increased each year and that it took the entire community and people coming from British Columbia to California, and all the way from Montana to pull off harvest each year."

Along with the opportunity to experience hand-picking, bagging, and hauling the bags in with horse drawn wagons, visitors will be able to walk through the kiln, learn how to bale and sew a bale of hops, and how to load the kiln furnaces with slab wood. They will be able to put bags of fresh hops on the conveyor that runs up to the deck of the kiln drying room. Inside the baling room, besides baling the hops, they will be able to weigh the bale to see if it weighs 200 lbs. There will be stamps to stamp the bales with, marking them with the Farm's name and the weight. Samples of different varieties of hops will be available to touch and smell.

The tent city in the pasture will come alive in the early evening with people making dinner on the wood stove, pumping water in the yard, men playing guitar and harmonica, children playing, groups of women talking, Native American men playing stick games and other Native American gambling games. Much laughter will emanate throughout the camp, dancing and singing being a common sight to behold.

It will be a production, yet one with purpose. It will take many to portray what one newspaper article headline states, "Half of Indian Tribe Signed To Pick Hops."

Apparently, in June of 1937, representative Smokie Same of the Yakama Reservation, was able to sign up half of the tribe from the Coeur D'Alene Indian Reservation, to come and pick in Moxee (Yakima Herald Newspaper, June 1937).

The Farm will not present later periods at this point, yet the history of later times, is worth great value. On our website, we can present stories of later times and how pressure from increased acreage to harvest and the lack of farm labor during WWI and WWII, inspired the invention of portable hop-pickers. When the war took the Valley's best men, mechanization became essential. The lack of money played a major role in the growers' ability to purchase any type of mechanization, yet after 1955, mechanization became the norm instead of an extravagance and the need for large numbers of human laborers during hop harvest disappeared.

It is hard to imagine what pre-mechanized harvest looked like. Today, people driving through the area during harvest, do not see all that is going on in the fields. It seems to happen magically. One day the hop vines are up, and the next, the hop poles are the only things standing. The harvesting of hops before mechanization, including the knowledge of hops processing contained in this thesis are so different from any other time, or place in the world, that preserving it is imperative. The cultural story of the peoples who moved to the Moxee Valley and how they became a cohesive community, despite their differences, is one that will inspire future generations. It is my privilege to preserve and share this history.

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