

A LAND OFFICE BUSINESS

Homesteading in Northern Idaho

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Figure 1: White Pine Timber Homestead in Northern Idaho¹

¹ Photograph courtesy Museum of North Idaho, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

1. Homesteading in American History

"Homestead"²-- the very word invokes the vision of frontier America. Homesteading is such an important part of the American Frontier mystique, that Congress designated the very first homestead claimed under the Homestead Act of 1862 as a National Monument³. So basic to American History is this concept that,

... interference with the free movement of colonists into the country west of the Appalachians was resented by southern and New England colonies alike, and constituted one of the major causes of the American Revolution (Robbins 1942: 3).

It is this restriction that Thomas Jefferson protests against in the Declaration of Independence with the complaint that the English King arbitrarily raised "the conditions of the new Appropriations of land"(Friedenberg 1992 150). This was contrary to Jefferson's republican ideals which

... defined the essence of liberty as independence, which required the ownership of productive property. A man dependent on others for a living could never be truly free, nor could a dependent class constitute the basis of a republican government . . . Jefferson envisaged an ideal America of farmers and artisan producers who owned their means of production and depended on no man for a living (McPherson 1988: 23).

The United States has a unique history in dealing with its' public lands. After 1776 Congress gave, sold or otherwise transferred its' ownership of nearly two thirds of all public lands. The U. S. Constitution gives Congress the power to dispose of public lands as it sees fit. Article IV, Section 3, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the United States of America states, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States". The U. S. Supreme Court repeatedly affirmed these powers of Congress in the last 200 years.

Public lands or more properly "public domain" consist of those areas acquired by the government through treaty, capture, cession by States, conquest or purchase that were subsequently subject to disposal by the government (Hibbard 1924: 7). The United States Government disposed of approximately 1.2 billion acres of the public domain in the last 200 years. Initially the government concentrated on disposing of public lands to generate money for operating expenses and to pay the national debt. Fostering settlement through land disposal remained a secondary objective until the early 1800s.

Western congressmen persistently argued that settlers in the west performed a service to the nation by expanding the lands occupied by its' citizens. As the national debt disappeared it became an axiom in the 1800s that the United States would eventually

² Meaning literally "home place" according to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

³ Homestead National Monument, located in southeastern Nebraska, is about 40 miles south of Lincoln, Nebraska. The National Monument includes the original Homestead Act land claim of Daniel and Agnes Freeman.

expand all the way to the Pacific Ocean. This view of the inevitable expansion of the United States became known as its' "Manifest Destiny" and such thinking pervaded the

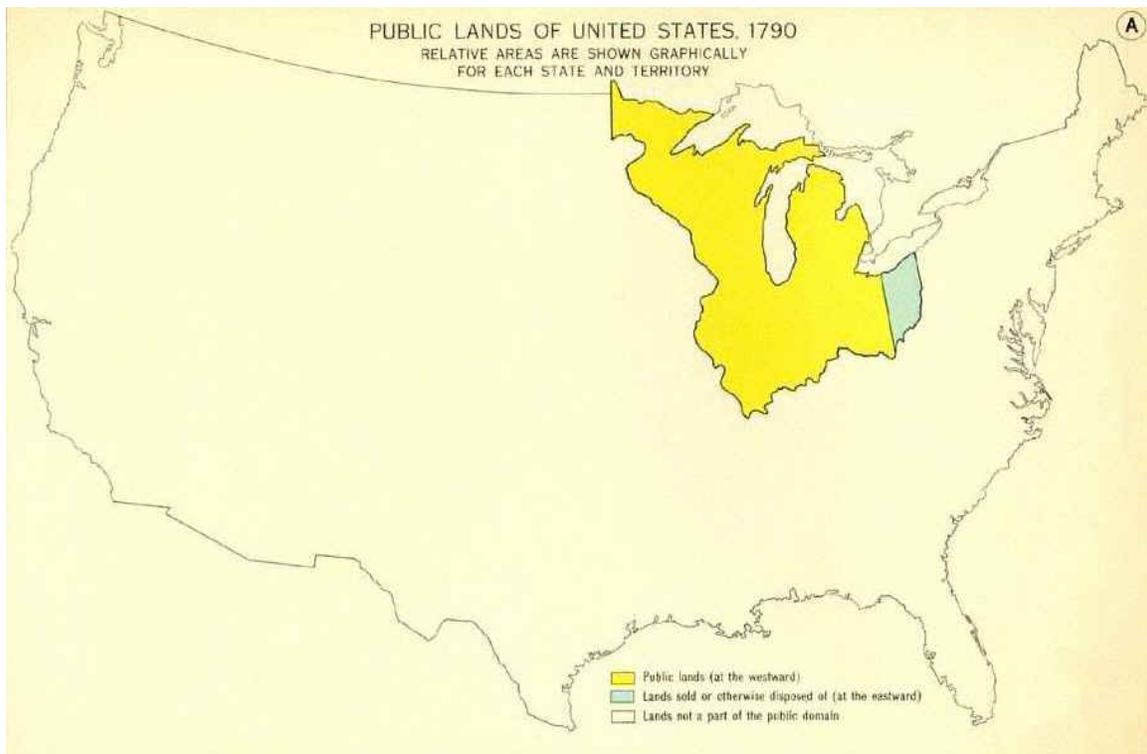


Figure 2: Public Lands in the United States in 1790⁴

⁴ Map source: On line file maintained by Ancestry.com at: <http://www.ancestry.com/search/rectype/reference/maps/freeimages.asp?ImageID=481>. Original source: Paullin, Charles O., Carnegie Institution of Washington. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. Baltimore, MD: A. Hoen & Co., Inc., 1932.

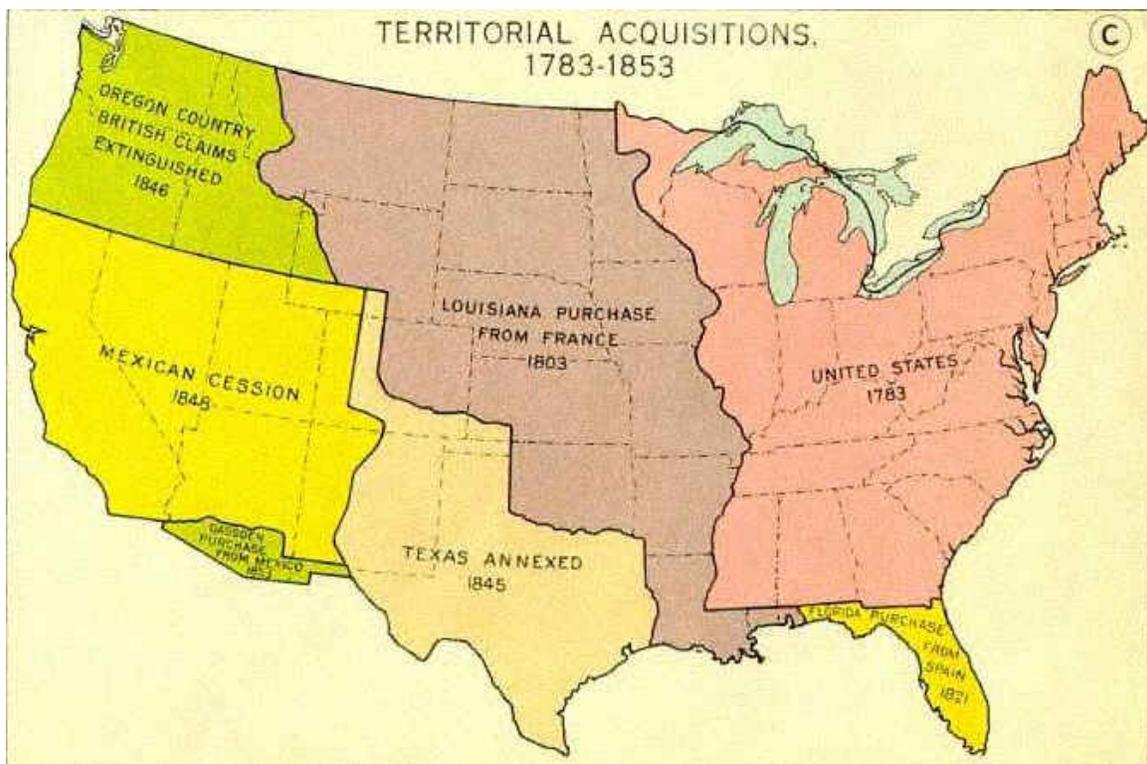


Figure 3: Acquisition of the Public Domain Lands by the United States⁵

⁵ Map source: On line file maintained by Ancestry.com at: <http://www.ancestry.com/search/rectype/reference/maps/freeimages.asp?ImageID=498> Original source: Paullin, Charles O., Carnegie Institution of Washington. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. Baltimore, MD: A. Hoen & Co., Inc., 1932.

government, the press and the public at large, providing strong political support for giving public land to settlers. The speed that this migration actually took place surprised everyone. What Thomas Jefferson thought would take one hundred generations, took just five.

Another factor favoring individual settlers was the belief held by many that free land provided a social "safety valve" to drain off potential labor unrest during times of economic hardship⁶ (Schwantes 1983).

Nevertheless, the early land policies of the government often favored land speculators and corporations over the interests of individual settlers. The fear on the part of factory owners in the East that cheap or free government land would draw off the supply of cheap labor was a major political restraint on the government⁷.

Slaveholders in the South comprised another element⁸ favoring the transfer of large blocks of land to companies or to wealthy individuals rather than small family farmers. Southerners reasoned, no doubt correctly, that white working class individuals flooding into the west would vote against slavery in these territories and thereby diminish the power of the slaveholders in Congress. Another factor influencing the attitude of the southern congressmen derived from the nature of slavery itself. Any study of the institution shows that this was an incredibly inefficient form of labor. This situation developed

Because [the slave] had no incentive to produce . . . One Virginian who moved north said that a white farm hand in New Jersey did as much work as he expected to get from four slaves. In all, farming with massed gangs of slaves was one of the most inefficient systems known to history. It was possible only because there was ample, cheap, virgin land (Donovan 1964: 24).⁹

To keep the supply of "ample, cheap, virgin land", flowing the southern congressmen worked diligently to allow slavery in the new territories and to maintain the advantage of wealthy individuals in obtaining large blocks of public domain in these territories. This culminated in the congressional battle over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which eventually brought to national prominence Stephen Douglas who championed the bill and Abraham Lincoln who deplored it. But as Stephenson (1917: 168-9) points out

In its immediate effect the Kansas-Nebraska was probably the most important bill of the time, but the great sectional struggle, which raged around it, was due in part to the existence of a vast public domain in the West. In the large, the homestead bill, although not enacted into law until eight years later, was one of the most important bills of the Nineteenth Century and in order to understand the momentous struggle in Congress and its historic consequences, the homestead and Kansas-Nebraska bills must be studied together. Leaders on both sides understood that a squatter

⁶ Schwantes 1983 argues convincingly this safety valve is a political myth.

⁷ A proposition quite the reverse of the "safety valve" argument mentioned previously.

⁸ Developing after 1840.

⁹ It is difficult to sort out 19th Century abolitionist rhetoric from cold objective economic analysis.

Economists today are certainly divided in their opinions about the rationality of the slave economy in the south (McPherson 1988: 97-8). Judging by the numerous successful planters across the south it is evident that slavery could be cruelly efficient given a planter without scruple and an overseer liberal with the lash.

sovereignty law followed by a liberal homestead law and railroad land grants would have been of little benefit to the South . . . The task of the south in counteracting the greater facility of colonization by the men from the free States was great enough without the added handicap of a homestead system.

Southerners continued their opposition to homestead legislation until they walked out of Congress at the commencement of the Civil War. For their part, the Republicans in the presidential campaign of 1860 did not run on a strong antislavery plank. Donovan has found that (1964: 72).

In 1856 the Republicans had campaigned strongly against the extension of the evil and had been beaten by better than two to one for the Presidency and had failed to carry either House. In 1860 they had a rather mild plank in their platform opposing slavery in the territories; but the planks that brought cheers from the floor of the convention were those endorsing free homesteads in the West and a high protective tariff.

Horace Greeley, a well known abolitionist newspaper man of the era, advised his fellow Republicans that the key to the election of 1860 was the upper Mississippi Valley and the issue to win the area and the election was free land to settlers. Greeley may have even written the homestead plank in the party platform (Robbins 1942: 203).

In the second year of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln signed both the Emancipation Proclamation and the Homestead Act of 1862. Fittingly, the first became final and the later became effective on January 1, 1863. Lincoln is said to have said (Vichorek 1987: 8) that the Homestead Act "will do something for the little fellow". Having grown up on his father's marginal farmsteads in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, he knew better than most what he was doing. Lincoln was well aware that the previous federal land policies helped to perpetuate slavery in the United States¹⁰, so it must have been with some satisfaction that he could sign a land policy act that helped kill slavery once and for all.

The Homestead Act of 1862 declared that any citizen or intended citizen could claim a quarter section (160 acres) of surveyed public domain land. The claimant "proved up" on the homestead by making improvements on the land including building a dwelling and clearing the land and planting crops. After five years the original filer could obtain a patent for the land free and clear. In subsequent land laws, Congress intended to encourage, assist and reward ordinary Americans for opening the frontier lands and settle the West. Two of the most important laws to western states included the Desert Land Act of 1877 and Timber and Stone Act of 1878. However, Congress, reacting to all sorts of public requests and political pressures, enacted a bewildering 3,500 land laws by 1880 (Szucs and Luebking 1997: 248).

¹⁰ Feiedenberg (1992: 356-7) makes the case that the large land bonuses received by Revolutionary War officers prompted them to lobby for the continuation of slavery so that they could use the system on their newly acquired plantations. The combination of existing plantation owners and officers with large land bonuses provided enough of a force to make sure the constitutional convention allowed for the institution in the Constitution in 1808.

Inevitably corruption, bribery, fraud, outright thievery, widespread land speculation and an occasional murder came to characterize the government's "land office business". Large lumber companies maintained a position in the forefront of these nefarious dealings and their large land holdings were the cause of public suspicion. By 1890, the general public began to realize that the supply of public lands was not inexhaustible and ordinary citizens were not the primary beneficiaries of the liberal land laws. At the same time, the press increasingly exposed the blatant fraud associated with the existing land laws. Two laws resulted from this public concern and pressure and these laws in turn formed the basis of the Forest Service today. These laws included the General Revision Act of 1891 and the Organic Act of 1897. These acts authorized the establishment and management of Forest Reserves (later National Forests) out of the remaining public domain.

On the surface, homesteads and the National Forests appear to be on opposite ends of the political spectrum. Homesteads, in this view, represent free will of individuals where as the National Forests represent government control. Seen in the broad history of American land development, however, it is clear that homesteads and National Forests are part of the evolution of American thinking about the environment, natural resources, public land use and the role of the federal government.

It is understandable that many residents of western states opposed the establishment of the Forest Reserves. In February 1909, Idaho Senator Heyburn expressed (USDA, Forest Service 1905: 7) what many of his constituents were saying at the time.

The system [Forest Reserves] as now executed is paralyzing the growth of the State of Idaho. Businessmen and mining investors will not invest money within a forest reserve. They will not place themselves in a position where they must ask permission to do that which they in other parts of the country may do without permission of officers. American citizens prefer to have their legal rights established by law and not by consent.

The Priest River Reserve was created on February 22, 1897, and contains 645,120 acres. This reservation contains a vast amount of land fit for home making and settlement.

In response to such sentiments, Congress passed the Forest Homestead Act of 1906. This act authorized the opening of the Forest Reserves to free settlement. This act specifically opened agricultural lands within Forest Reserves not needed for public purposes. The Forest Service implemented this act by opening lands only in response to specific homestead applications. Many in Congress interpreted the Forest Service actions as obstructionist and passed an amendment to the 1906 law in the 1912 Appropriations Act. This amendment mandated the Forest Service "*select, classify, and segregate, as soon as practicable, all lands within the boundaries of the National Forests that could be considered appropriate for settlement*" (quoted in Miss 1994: 134).

By 1919 the Forest Service completed the mandated land classifications in all but Alaska and identified 2.5 million suitable acres. Of these, 1.8 million acres were eventually patented under the Forest Homestead Act of 1906. Another related affect on the National Forests resulted from the classifications. The Forest Service recognized 12 million acres of National Forest System land that offered minimal forest resources and public use

benefits. These lands were removed from the Forest Reserves and returned to the public domain.

In spite of politicians, economics often dictate the eventual outcome of policies. So it was with the politics and economics of agriculture in the marginal lands of the public domain. After 1830 large numbers of New England farmers abandoned their marginal farms for the rich public domain of the Midwest and the marginal New England farms reverted to forestlands. In this case, the New England farmers were undone by a combination of advancing technology in the form of the McCormick reaper and the improving system of railroads that made midwestern farming products cheaper than New England farm products. Later this economic process repeated itself further west when farmers abandoned large numbers of farms in the Great Plains during the dust bowl days of the 1930s and many moved further west. Again the process repeated itself in parts of northern Idaho when settlers moved on after patenting their claims and selling the land and/or the timber to Lumber Companies.

Schwantes (1983: 10) quotes President Franklin D. Roosevelt as saying in 1933, "Today we can no longer escape into virgin territory . . . We have been compelled by stark necessity to unlearn the too comfortable superstition that the American soil was mystically blessed with every kind of immunity to grave economic maladjustments . . .". The diminishing availability of good agricultural land in the public domain and the persistent problems farmers faced with existing marginal farmland prompted president Roosevelt on February 5, 1935 to finally withdraw the remaining public domain from private entry.

The 1930s, with the depression, the dust bowl and the withdrawal of the public domain from private entry marks the final break with the early land policies of disposal. As Everett Dick (1970: 1-2) notes

To the venturesome get-ahead ahead individual, "out West" was the land of new beginning, and during the centuries of its existence it continued to be synonymous with opportunity. Glowing reports of rich bottomland, woodlands teeming with game, spring site building locations, dam sites for mills and natural town sites were great cities would grow up to enrich the one who had the foresight to lay out the urban community--all these lured the venturesome . . . The urge to own land in colonial days was not based wholly upon economics, however. There was a political and a social basis. Just as gaining an education is the surest way to rise in society today, in colonial days the acquisition of property was the key to moving upward from a low to a higher stratum. The property holder could vote and hold office, but the man with no property was practically on the same political level as the indentured servant or slave.

The growing industrialization and urbanization of the early to mid-1900s combined with the demands of World War II, changed our society and our measure of success, making land ownership less of a focus today for people in the United States.

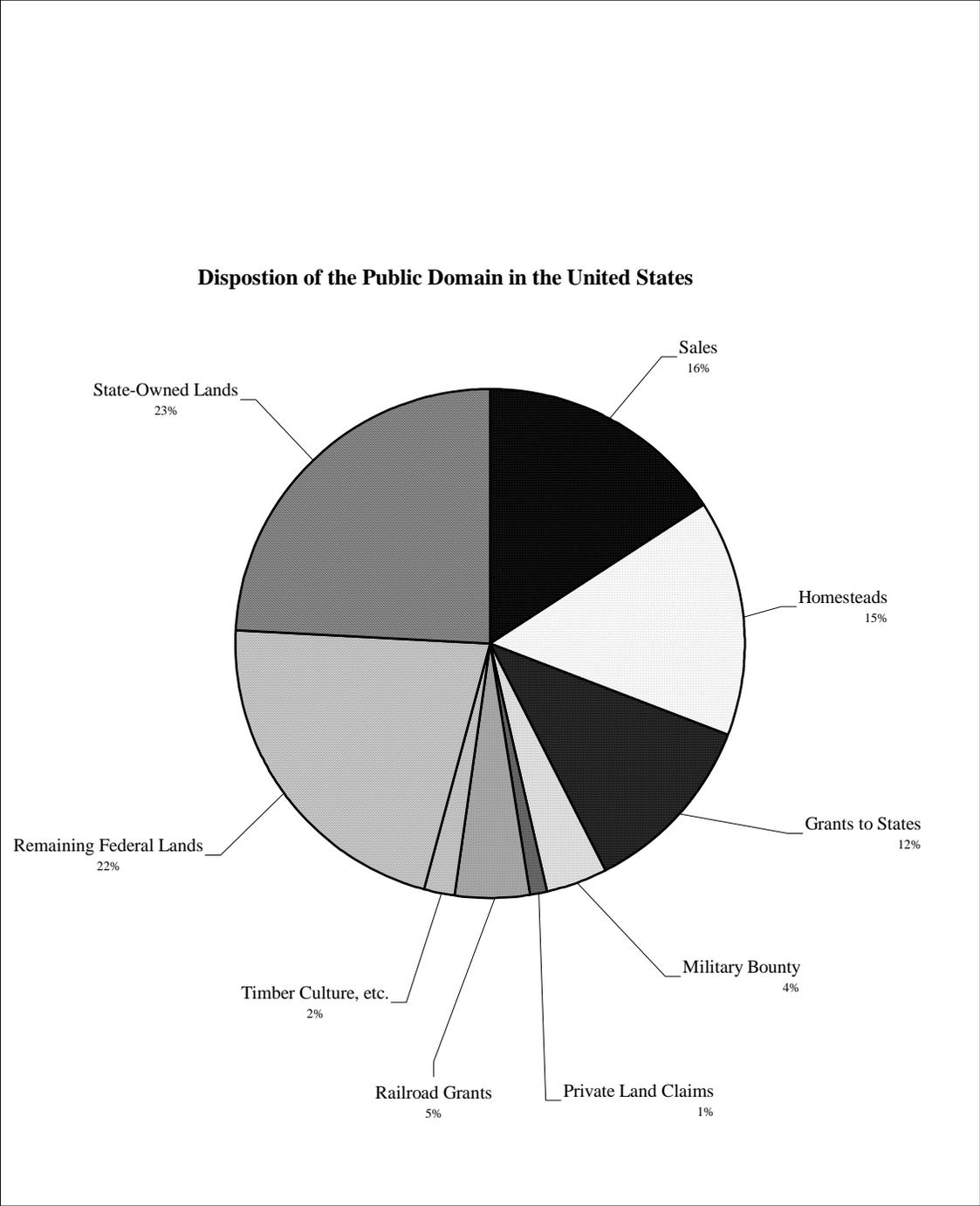


Figure 4¹¹

¹¹ Based on information in Hibbard (1924) and Robbins (1942).

2. Homestead Entry Requirements and Surveys

The original intent of the Homestead Act of 1862 and subsequent homestead acts--to distribute small tracts of free public land to settlers—actually promoted settlement and expansion of agriculture in the western territories of the United States. To insure that applicants carried out this intent of the law, they had to meet certain requirements. These requirements included being personally familiar with the land before making initial entry and "the settler must personally go upon and improve or establish residence on the land he desires" (Richards 1906: 188).

In 1866 the law was changed to require both residence on the land, improvements and cultivation. The loose definition of "improvement", "residence" and "cultivation" left a lot to be interpreted by both land office officials and entrymen and thus left considerable room for fraud or at least half-hearted compliance with the law. A good faith entry for a homestead could not mistake the intent of the instruction issued in 1906 (Richards 1906)

The residence and cultivation required by the homestead law means a continuous maintenance of an actual home on the land entered to the exclusion of a home elsewhere, and continuous annual cultivation of some portion of the land. A mere temporary sojourn on the land, followed by occasional visits to it once in six months or oftener, will not satisfy the requirements of the homestead law, and may result in the cancellation of the entry.

No specified amount of either cultivation or improvements is required, but there must in all cases be such continuous improvement and such actual cultivation as will show the good faith of the entryman. Lands covered by homestead entry may be used for grazing purposes if they are more valuable for pasture than for cultivation. The fact that lands covered by homestead entries are of such character that they cannot be profitably cultivated or pastured will not be accepted as an excuse for failure to either cultivate or graze them.

Actual residence on the lands entered must begin within six months from the date of all homestead entries . . . and residence with improvements and annual cultivation must continue until the entry is five years old, except in cases hereafter mentioned, but all entrymen who actually resided upon and cultivated lands entered by them prior to making such entries may make final proof at any time after entry when they can show five years' residence and cultivation.

To enforce the requirements of the homestead acts, government officials faced an infinite variation in the character of homesteads--real and fraudulent--a huge number of applicants, and thousands of square miles to administer. What seems clear in the above instructions, turned out to be murky in actual application, particularly when government officials could not visit the claims. The testimony of S. A. D. Puter (Puter and Stevens 1908: 80) offers an example in Oregon of how the requirements could be easily circumvented.

After explaining his plan, Mays assured me that if I followed his prescriptions carefully, that there would be no ill effects from my shady operations in connection with the lands in question. His plan contemplated a charge of \$150 against each entryman as a location fee, taking a mortgage on the claim as security, and any time after final proof had been made to get some outsider to purchase, subject to the mortgage; but under no circumstances to have anything to do with

suggesting a purchaser, or offering to buy the claims myself, and for me to caution the entrymen at the time I filed them on the lands that the only interest I had therein was involved in my location fee; also, that anyone desirous of paying for his claim with his own money, was at liberty to do so, by allowing me my location fee of \$150, and that anyone who did not have the money to prove up on, could borrow a sufficient amount from me for the purpose by giving me a mortgage on their holdings for a year or so. I was also to warn them that in the event of my hearing that any of them had offered to sell their claims before proving up, that I would decline to loan them any money.

In another Oregon scheme, Puter (Puter and Stevens 1908: 23-5) recalled that

The next move was to find people to locate on the land, and in short order we found all we wanted in Portland and Albina, a suburb of the latter city. We then proceeded to enter into a contract with each person, whereby we agreed to locate them on the land, we to pay all expenses in the way of railroad fares in going to and from the land, besides the land office fees, and to advance the money to pay the government at the time of final proof. In return, the entrymen agreed to deed the land to Joes and myself, as soon as final proof was made, for the sum of \$750 a claim, all costs and expenses in procuring the titles to be deducted there from, and the balance to be paid to each one upon receipt of his deed.

The understanding was that each person was to file on two claims; one under the Timber and Stone act of June 3, 1878, and the other under the Homestead law, the latter to be commuted to a cash entry after 6 months' residence. The cost of each claim was about as follows:

COST OF HOMESTEAD ENTRIES:

Building cabin	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 10.00
Filing fee, advertising and final proof and Land Office	-	-	-	-	-	25.00
Government price of land	-	-	-	-	-	200.00
Total	-	-	-	-	-	<u>\$235.00</u>

This amount, deducted from \$750, left a balance of \$515, which was to be paid to the entryman upon receipt of a deed to his homestead.

COST OF CLAIM UDER TIMBER AND STONE ACT.

Filing fee, advertising and final proof at Land Office	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 30.00
Government price of land	-	-	-	-	-	400.00
Total	-	-	-	-	-	<u>\$430.00</u>

This left a balance of \$320 to be paid to the entry man upon receipt of a deed to his claim under the Timber and Stone Act. After having a fair understanding with all of the men, contracts were drawn up and each one signed them, Jones and myself retaining the documents. In all, forty persons were contracted with in this way, each to take two claims as indicated, making eighty claims in all, or a total of 12,800 acres.

The next move was to locate the people on the land. Two trips were necessary in doing this, twenty persons being taken at a time. The land had previously been surveyed, but not accepted, so there was no trouble in locating each party on the particular tract previously contracted to file on. The location consisted in laying the foundation for a cabin; four poles in the form of a square, and a notice posted on a tree. At the same time, each person made an examination of the quarter section he was to file on under the Timber and Stone Act.

The next proceeding was to build the cabins on the different quarter sections, calculated to be filed on under the Homestead Act. We hired two Swedes at \$1.50 per day, each, and furnished them with a tent, provisions and tools, and set them to work constructing the shacks, or cabins, after which we initiated efforts in the directions of having the survey of the township approved by the government.

This type of flagrant fraud, resulting publicity and increasing interest in conservation brought appropriate scrutiny of claim, more money for administration of the land laws and prosecution of major offenders.¹²

For a homestead located in a surveyed township with appropriate subdivisions, an entryman could describe his tract by aliquot parts (e.g., NE 1/4 of the NE 1/4 of Section 14). In the event that aliquot parts could not describe the tract because the area was not surveyed or if the homestead tract was an irregular fractional part of a section, then the entryman needed a separate homestead entry survey. The Forest Service instructions (USDA Forest Service 1908) for surveyors of homesteads in 1908 included:

When the tract is included in a Government survey, it must be tied to an established survey corner whenever it is possible to locate such a corner When a tract is in un-surveyed and unmapped country a traverse line should be run from the initial monument to some outlook where compass or plane table bearings may be taken on a number of peaks or definite landmarks, which may be visible. The estimated distance to these landmarks should be given.

Instructions (USDA Forest Service 1914) for surveyors issued in 1914 became more detailed. This memo discusses the degree of accuracy, methods, connections, corners, blazing, rights of way and field maps. During this work the surveyors produced a field map.

A rough but complete and accurately scaled and protracted map of claim should be made as the work progresses showing all temporary reference points established, soil (differentiating merely between agricultural and nonagricultural) and type boundaries, fences, buildings or other improvements, if any, as well as any other data capable of being shown graphically which may have a bearing on the listability of the land.

¹² The Three Year Homestead Act passed in 1912 made the required improvements explicit in the form of 1/8th of the claimed land to be under cultivation.

3. Homesteading in Northern Idaho

The population of northern Idaho [the original Kootenai and Shoshone Counties] in 1890 totaled 9490 people¹³. Ten years earlier the population of this area stood at just 970¹⁴.

The growth of the population between 1880 and 1890 is directly related to the opening of the mines in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. Early visitors did recognize the agricultural and lumber potential of lands in northern Idaho. However, difficult access prevented most from pursuing these opportunities. Livingston-Little (1965: 53) observed that

About the only deterrent to the rapid settlement of the undeveloped agricultural lands of North Idaho was its remoteness. In this regard, the difficulty of access and the fear of Indian dangers were outweighed by the purely economic considerations; there simply were no really sizable markets for the large crop potential of the region, and since most of their clothing and implements had to be imported, it was imperative that their crops be sold in an outside market. The development of large-scale agriculture, therefore, was dependent upon transportation facilities capable of getting the crops to a distant market at a reasonable cost.

The completion of the Northern Pacific through North Idaho in 1883, the Great Northern in 1893 and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul in 1909 removed this barrier to settlement and the lumber industry. The 1900 census of the area then covered by Kootenai County included 10,216 people and Shoshone County contained 11,950 people. A large percentage of Shoshone County's population worked in the mining industry, but Kootenai County's increase in population resulted from agricultural development (Livingston-Little 1965: 63).

Many settlers moved to northern Idaho because of the availability of inexpensive Northern Pacific grant lands. The railroad had a total of 1,256,615.76 acres in Idaho within 60 miles of their right-of-way.¹⁵ The railroad began to sell these lands as soon as its construction crews began to grade the line into Idaho in 1881. Land sales proceeded slowly and remained small scale until 1897. After 1897 railroad land sales escalated reaching 16,041 acres that year and jumping to 48,799 acres the next year before dropping back to 35,986 acres in 1899. Then land sales skyrocketed to 104,672 acres in 1900 (Livingston-Little 1965: 64).

At about 1900 the lumbering industry arrived on the scene. The development of the timber resources in the area indirectly resulted from the depletion of the stands of white pine in the Midwest (e.g., Maybee 1959) and the improvement of the railroad transportation in North Idaho. The jump in the population of the Kootenai/Bonner county area in 1910 to 36,335 reflects both the influx of settlers and the beginnings of the lumber industry. By 1920 this same area contained a population of 42,286 (Idaho Department of Commerce and Development 1963: 231).

¹³ 4108 in Kootenai and 5382 Shoshone

¹⁴ This includes transient railroad construction workers.

¹⁵ This includes the first and second indemnity lands



Figure 5: Successful Homestead on the Forest Edge, Kootenai River Valley, northern Idaho.¹⁶

¹⁶ Photograph from Decamp (1917) Land Classification in the Pend Oreille National Forest.

The public land laws that had great influence on the character of the settlement of northern Idaho include the original Homestead Act of 1862 and the Timber and Stone Act of 1878. The settlement of northern Idaho coincided with the passage of acts that constituted the end of the disposal period in the history of public lands in the United States. These laws included the General Revision Act of 1891, the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, the Forest Land Act of 1897 and the Forest Homestead Act of 1906.

The availability of land on the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation also influenced settlement in northern Idaho. The aboriginal area of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe extended north to Lake Pend Oreille, east to Montana and west into a short distance into Washington. The Coeur d'Alenes gave up the areas beyond the current reservation in a treaty ratified by Congress in 1891. This opened a large area of land suitable for agriculture just at a time when transportation to outside markets made agriculture in the area an economical undertaking (Henderson, Shiach and Averill 1903: 759). Not satisfied with these concessions, white settlers in the area agitated for the application of the allotment act (General Allotment Act of 1887 also called the Dawes Act) in regard to the remaining Coeur d'Alene lands. Allotment of Coeur d'Alene lands finally took place in 1908 and the rest of the tribal lands were thrown open to white settlement in 1909. Of the original 600,000 acres in the Coeur d'Alene Reservation, the tribe and members now own about 70,000.

Even with this huge reduction in Indian lands, the local newspapers (e.g., North Idaho News [NIN] October 13, 1908) wined about what they received.

First Choice to Indians
Red Men are Rapidly Acquiring Best Land of Coeur d'Alene Reservation.

W. B. Sams, special allotting agent for the Coeur d'Alene Indian reservation, states that there are in round numbers 600 Indians on the reservation. The act opening this reservation gives each man, woman and child of these Indians 160 acres of land, an amount much more liberal than ever heretofore allotted to Indians. Formerly an allotment was given to the head of each family.

The Indians will have first choice out of some 100,000 acres of the reservation lands, and the balance of some 400,000 acres will be thrown open to entry within some four to six months after the allotments are made to the Indians. Already 320 of the Indians have made choice of lands and the balance are locating at the rate of from 24 to 26 per week. Mr. Sams expects to have the allotments all made by December, also enabling the opening of the balance of the lands in the spring.

The Indians, of course, will select the choicest lands, especially the best for agricultural purposes but much good agricultural and timber land will be left for white settlement.

Mr. Sams has been in Boise to learn the intention of the state relative to selecting lieu lands within the reservation before it is opened to replace lands of sections 16 and 36 of which the state may have been deprived for some reasons.

Lewiston had the first land office in the northern part of Idaho. In 1885 the Government Land Office opened an office in Coeur d'Alene. The only two entries that year consisted of a preemption filed by a squatter and a homestead on land within what is now the city of Coeur d'Alene. By 1902 settlers and speculators had entered on 1,177,534 acres in North Idaho through this office (Henderson, Shiach and Averill 1903: 769).

For the relatively recent settlers, speculators, lumbermen, miners and local businessmen of North Idaho, President Cleveland's action in 1897 came as a total surprise. As Henderson, Shiach and Averill (1903: 773) states

February 27th, 1897, President Cleveland issued a proclamation creating the Priest River forest reserve. This reserve occupies the northwest portion of the county and spreads over the state line a few miles into Washington. It is fifty-five miles long, with an average width of about twenty miles. It contains 650,000 acres, of which, according to government surveys, 10,000 acres are agricultural lands. Prior to the creation of the reserve about sixty settlers had taken up homesteads, which are located mostly in the Valley of Priest River. The tying up of this immense area has proven disastrous to the settlers, who are isolated, with no prospects of the development of the surrounding country and with no opportunities for bettering their conditions. Progress has been retarded in the towns along the north of Pend Oreille Lake and river and in many other respects the creation of the reserve has been a detriment to the county

Unknown to the residents and politicians of Idaho, this was just the beginning. When Theodore Roosevelt took office in 1900 the Priest River Forest Reserve was still the only withdrawal in northern Idaho. Gifford Pinchot, then the head of the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, became close friends with the new president. Pinchot influenced Roosevelt to make two "temporary withdrawals" for consideration as future Forest Reserves in northern Idaho. These withdrawals included the Coeur d'Alene Reserve in 1903 and the Shoshone Reserve in 1905. The withdrawals triggered even greater protest than the original withdrawal of the Priest River Forest Reserve. In a letter to President Roosevelt dated July 15, 1904 (USDA, Forest Service 1905: 26) Idaho Senator W. B. Hayburn states if he

. . . did not believe that there was a threat of great injury to the State of Idaho in the creation of these forest reserves, I certainly should not urge these objections, but I know whereof I speak, and all of the theories and reasons from the standpoint of those who are seeking to find reasons for tying up these vast areas of the State fall to the ground in the face of practical experience and observation.

In keeping with Pinchot's ideas of wise use, Pinchot and Roosevelt orchestrated the transfer of the forest reserves from administration by the Department of Interior to the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. Soon after, the Forest Reserves were renamed National Forests and the Bureau of Forestry became the Forest Service.

Despite strong western objections, Roosevelt continued to establish National Forests. In northern Idaho he proclaimed the Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene in 1906. In the following year he created the Cabinet National Forest. By 1908 Congress imposed a requirement¹⁷ that any new additions to the National Forest system would need Congressional approval. Before signing this law, Roosevelt added 20 million acres to the system. The local

¹⁷ Forest Service nemesis, Idaho Senator W. B. Hayburn, pushed this requirement through Congress.

reception of these new forest reserves was less than cordial. As an example, the Bonnors Ferry Herald (BFH January 20, 1906) published the following front-page article.

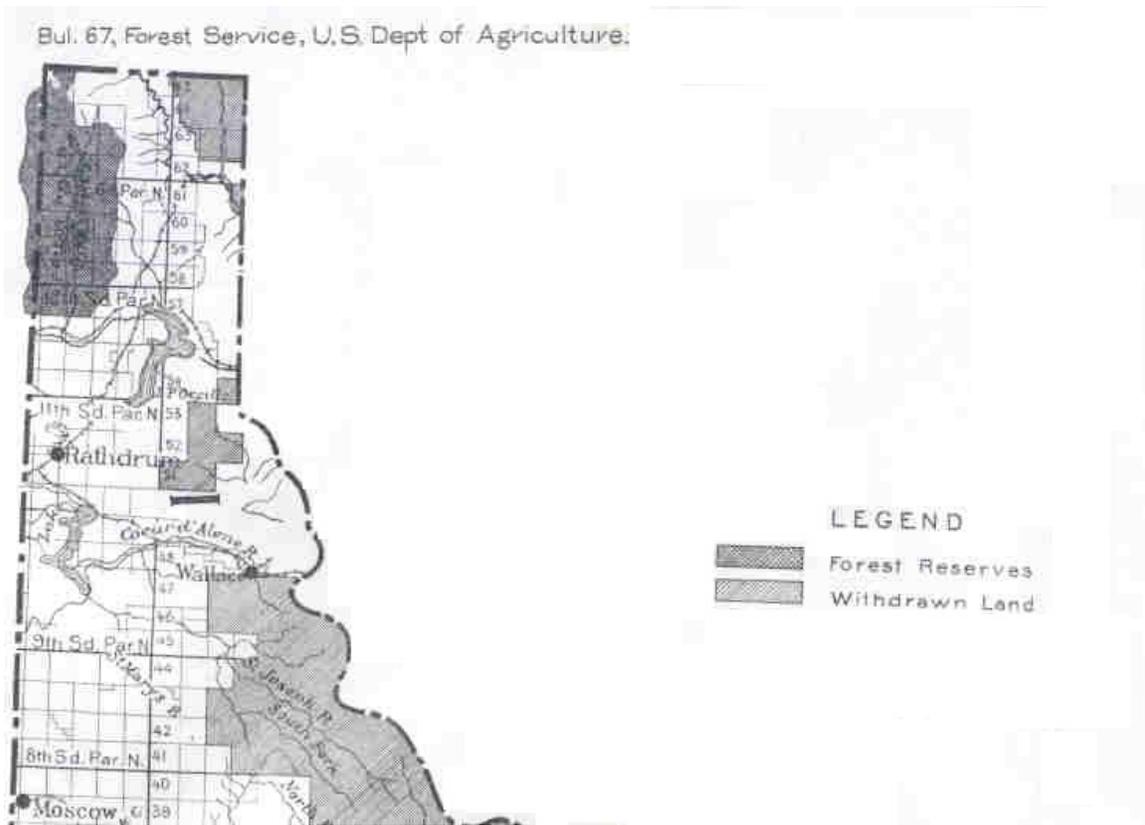


Figure 6: Areas withdrawn for Forest Reserves or established Forest Reserves by 1905 on northern Idaho.¹⁸

¹⁸ Map from United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service. Forest Reserves in Idaho. *Forest Service Bulletin 67*. 1905.

Another Rank Forest Reserve
Another Dead Line to Progress Within Two Miles of Bonners Ferry.

Like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky yesterday came the announcement that a large area of country situated south and east of Bonners Ferry had been withdrawn from settlement for the purpose of creating the "proposed Cabinet Forest Reserve." The line comes within two miles of Bonners Ferry, the Northwest corner of the reserve being near the top of the hill on the bench road to Cow creek. The proposed reserve extends to the Montana line on the east, to the Pend d'Oreille Lake on the south, and in most places to the Boise Meridian on the west.

It had been hoped that the government had reached the limit of reserve business in North Kootenai when it withdrew lands for the proposed Kootenai Reserve, after establishing the Priest River reserve.

The people of this locality will begin to fully appreciate the efforts of Senator Heyburn to prevent our tributary and contributing territory from being tied up in reserves . . .

The Coeur d'Alene Press a few months later (CDAP March 3, 1906) published the following analysis.

Creating Forest Reserves
How Selections Are Made
Beardless, Cigarette Snobs Unable to Distinguish Tall Tamaracks from Sagebrush Visit Land Office and Create Reserves From Plats.

. . . For a long time it has been no great secret that some of the young men 23 to 27 years, who make frequent pilgrimages from the east and whose ability to consume abnormal quantities of cigarettes seems to be their only qualification, visit the land office. They are dressed in the height of fashion, with immaculate shirtfronts and black-ribboned cuffs, beardless and with lily-white hands. With all the importance that attaches to an official position commissioned to such an individual, the plats and records of the land office are searched, the young chaps look wise, and after awhile take from their vest pocket a lead pencil, and, being supplied with blank sheets of paper proceed, with the deliberation of an old woodsman, to create a forest reserve. The streams and mountains are sketched from the plats and the imaginative young cigarette fiend from some technical school of forestry, who is out for practical experience - at the expense of the government - returns to the east with a report favoring the creation of a forest reserve which he has never seen and could not penetrate for a distance of 2 (mile) miles without becoming lost . . .

Even with the establishment of forest reserves in northern Idaho large tracts of timberland passed from the public domain into private hands. Strong and Webb (1970: 30) concluded that timber companies continued to obtain large blocks of timberland that after 1900.

The Forest Homestead Act of 1906 provided a way for agricultural lands within the forest reserves to be obtained by settlers. Local newspapers (e.g., BFH May 19, 1906) greeted this act with guarded optimism.

Homesteaders in Forest Reserves.

Congress has passed a bill enabling settlers to locate lands in forest reserves, under the homestead laws. We understand that the land may be located by metes and bounds. The law has merit. We understand that the president has approved the bill. This will permit the selection of many good ranches adjacent to Bonners Ferry.

In addition Strong and Webb (1970: 31) noted that the State of Idaho auctioned off blocks of timberland that it had acquired through statehood grants and that the Northern Pacific sold much of its timberland and lieu land scrip to lumber companies in northern Idaho.

At the present it is possible to take two entirely opposing points of view to what occurred in the early 1900s. The first is that robber barons from the Midwest moved to the northern Rocky Mountain States and amassed vast timber empires by fair means and fowl, all the while preaching the doctrine of *laissez-fair*. Strong and Webb (1970: 31) state the other point of view.

Very little of the land and timber patented to individual claimants under the different acts remained long in the ownership of the original patentees. Most of such lands and timber was sold immediately to one of the big buyers. Ultimately, nearly all of it came into the ownership of the lumber companies. Most of the claims, particularly Timber and Stone and Forest Homestead claims, were extremely inaccessible and lay in rugged mountain terrain. Moving forest products from these claims to market by the individual claimants was impractical and in most cases impossible . . . At that time, the companies believed that the only way they could secure their large investments, or planned investments, was to own large blocks of land and timber. In this they were undoubtedly right.

Frederick Yonce (1978) makes a strong case that in the State of Washington and by extension in the surrounding states, lumber companies came by their timber holdings legitimately. The primary vehicle that transferred public domain lands from government to private ownership was the Northern Pacific grant land and the associated scrip that the government issued the railroad which subsequently sold much of it to lumber companies. Yonce (1978:14-17) makes a number of informative observations.

Though federal land officials and agents confidently characterized preemption and homestead entries of valuable timberlands as "fraudulent" and "collusive," no evasion or perjury was required to make these laws operate toward these lands, though in the absence of an adequate system of inspection to insure more than minimal compliance with requirements, there was a good deal of both . . .

In 1892 in *United States v. Budd*, a case originating in Washington, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that an entry and purchase made with intent to sell at an advance if the market improved, and with no intent to use the timber itself, was not a "purchase for speculation." Indeed, the act's only prohibition was against making, before application, an agreement or contract to transfer the title to some other person. Once the sworn application and filing were made, the entrant might immediately contract to sell as soon as the required publication, proof, and entry were completed, sixty to ninety days later.

Many, perhaps most, individual entrymen purchased land on their own initiative with their own money, expecting to make an early sale at a profit or to hold for a rise in value . . .

While not providing a settler's woodlot in western Washington, the act often did accrue to his benefit by providing a sort of settler's subsidy. The Public Lands Commission study found that many entrymen used the profits from sale in acquiring or improving homes, either in farm or town property. The "subsidy," of course, was not limited to settlers.

The Timber and Stone Act has been frequently criticized for aiding timber companies to assemble large holdings, which it did, and for promoting concentration in the private ownership of timberland, which it did not . . . The Timber and Stone act was ostensibly not intended to provide timber for large commercial enterprises, but, in the absence of legislation that did, it was so used.

Lumber companies wandered the line between legal land acquisition and participation in fraud. In one case, the land acquisition by the Barber Lumber Company near Boise, Idaho¹⁹, even the legendary Idaho Senator William E. Borah and the former Idaho Governor Frank Steunenburg became briefly suspect (Wells 1985). Homesteaders managed to hold on to their claims even in the face of determined opposition from some lumber interests (e.g., Spokesman-Review [S-R] June 18, 1902) only to later sell out to the same or other companies after receiving patent to their claims (e.g., S-R June 6, 1911)

Settlers claimed the lands most suitable for farms first, leaving the marginal lands for later immigrants. Many of these later settlers and others held the notion, based on the limited knowledge of the environment at the time, that the forested lands of the northern Idaho need only be logged off to make it suitable for agriculture. This sentiment occurs again and again in newspapers of the area and in comments by the local and state officials. For example, in a clumsy defense²⁰ of his previous actions to limit the funds for National Forests, Idaho Senator W. B. Heyburn stated that the 1910 forest fires in northern Idaho were "divinely inspired to get the land ready for the homesteaders" (Cook 1971: 15).

Everett Dick (1970: 154) considers unrealistic expectations of homesteaders as the fundamental problem with homesteading in general.

The principal weakness of the Homestead Act, even where the act was legitimately applied, was that it made farming seem very simple and success a certainty. Its requirement of building a shanty, breaking a mere ten acres, and living on the claim a brief time until it became the settler's property seemed simple, a "sure-fire thing." The ability of a claimant to buy the necessary equipment, his aptitude for farming, and the climatic conditions were not taken into consideration. Many who had never owned or tilled land supposed that by coming into possession of land, their fortunes were automatically made. When drought, grasshoppers, blizzards, and sandstorms came, they became utterly discouraged.

¹⁹ Now Boise Corporation.

²⁰ After the devastating 1910 forest fires in northern Idaho burned down part of his hometown of Wallace, Idaho

The act promoted the impression that homesteading could succeed with free land and without capital. Successful homesteading took money, which many of homesteaders could not obtain without burdening their land with debilitating mortgages.



Figure 7: White Pine Timber Homestead on the St. Joe National Forest in 1910.²¹

²¹ Photograph courtesy Museum of North Idaho, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

Certainly there were legitimate settlers with sufficient capital who wished to take up homesteads for their intended purpose of providing small farms to families. But Congress conceived the homestead acts with the eastern environment in mind, that of 160-acre farms of deep bottomland which could support settlers' families. That concept of the environment did not, for the most part, fit the actual situation in the west, including northern Idaho. Parts of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation did fit this notion of the environment and both Indians and white settlers on these lands established very successful farms.

But even on the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation the lack of capital caused hardship. Immediately after the opening of the reservation to homesteading, some of the settlers began to complain about the lack of money, the high valuation of their property for tax purposes and they banded together to ask Congress for an appropriation of funds to relieve the settlers of the obligation to pay the Indians for the land (Spokesman-Review [S-R] January 27, 1911; April 26, 1911).

Moving from the marginal lands to the purely timberlands containing valuable old growth white pine, the character of the homesteading and land claims had little or no regard for actual settlement. An illustration of this can be found in the 1905 report (USDA Forest Service 1905: 79-85) of a special agent for the General Land Office on his investigation of the claims on three townships in the St. Joe River drainage.

Special Agent H. H. Schwartz found that in Township 47 North Range 6 East there were twenty-two claimants, none of whom had ever lived on the land that they were claiming. In Township 47 North, Range 4 East the agent found twenty-nine claimants, of which twenty-seven had never lived on their claims. The two exceptions included one who actually had about 5 acres cleared for a crop and the other who acted as the caretaker for the area settler's association. This last one, by the way, turned out to be the only one that eventually obtained a homestead patent in the area. In Township 47 North, Range 4 East, the special agent found forty-eight claimants all of who had never lived on the lands. In Township 47 North Range 4 East the special agent (USDA Forest Service 1905: 84) states that

There is a small log house or cabin on each of the above claims. Most of the cabins were built by William Fisher on a general contract at \$25 each. They were never worth \$25 in labor and materials. With the exception of Frank Herdman's claim and Fred Uhlman's claim, these claims are not used for any purpose, neither mining, agricultural, nor grazing; and no clearing, fencing, or other work has been done preliminary to any of such uses.

It is apparent that the intention of these "homesteaders" was to encumber the land so that it could not be entered by anyone else until the properties could be obtained under the authority of the Timber and Stone Act. In the testimony of Special Agent Schwartz (USDA Forest Service 1905: 81)

I call your attention especially to the letter of Charles E. Scriber, of Colfax National Bank, of Colfax, Wash., who, speaking for the thirty or forty claimants in township 47 north, range 4 east, B. M., says that they made the claims in good faith so they might file on same under the "timber and stone act;" also the affidavit of P. F. McGovern as to the Slate Creek settlers; also a list of railroad people, several of whom told me that if they could not "timber and stone" the land they would have to lose it.

The conditions throughout the entire withdrawal do not differ from those in the four townships especially indicated by you.

Appendix C presents abstracts from a 1914-1915 classification of lands within the region of the St. Joe National Forest for the purposes of the Forest Homestead Act of 1906. This appendix contains the abstracts concerning settlement in each of the 52 classified townships in the study area. Based on the abstract from the classification report and old forest maps, each township is assigned a "settlement type". Twenty-three of the townships (44%) contained no evidence of settlement while in 14 townships (27%), timber acquisition comprised the highest and best use for the settlers. Thus 71% of the townships considered had either no settlement or the settlement was for the purpose of obtaining timber rights.

Of the remaining 14 townships (29%) considered in Appendix C, 11 (21%) contained at least one homesteader who struggled by on a marginal agricultural tract at the subsistence level. Three townships (6%) held the homesteads primarily to provide a residence for their families while making a living off the homestead. Just one township (2%), could be considered truly agricultural. Located just south of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation it could be expected to provide the best chance of agriculture among the townships examined.

A brief examination of Figure 12 shows the close relationship between the character of the settlement activities recorded in Appendix C and the character of the landscape. There is a clear progression from the Palouse River drainage agricultural lands east to the purely timberlands of the upper reaches of the St. Joe River drainage.

In the northwest corner of the Idaho panhandle, an area of immense value as timberland, the situation did not differ. Speaking of the Priest River Forest Reserve in 1899, Leiberg (1899 241) states that

All of the partially clear or grassy tracts are held by settlers, as are some of the alder and willow swamps. The natural meadows are utilized for hay production, the sedges and grass furnishing a sort of coarse hay. In a few cases small patches of the boggy meadowland have been ditched. In such cases crops of oats, potatoes and common garden vegetables have been raised. Along the Lower West Fork a few acres of the natural meadows have been seeded to timothy. Nearly all these lands are subject to frost at any time during the growing season. Crops of potatoes or garden vegetables are therefore never certain. There is no market for farm products within the reserve. Were such articles produced in greater quantities than the home demand required they could not be shipped. There is no cheap transportation available to the railway, and if there were the producer would come into competition with like articles from other sections where they can be grown much cheaper . . .

The actual values of all agricultural improvements in the reserve to date are insignificant. There are many squatter's claims, but only a minimum of cultivation has been done on any of these. There is not a single holding that produces nearly enough for the support of even a small family. Agricultural settlements date back seven years, but the total of all lands in the basin brought under the plow since that time does not exceed 70 acres. Of this, perhaps 30 acres represent brush



Figure 8: Abandoned Homestead Near Cocolalla, Northern Idaho.²²

²² Photograph from Decamp (1917) Land Classification in the Pend Oreille National Forest.

clearings, 20 acres ditched and drained meadows and bogs, and 15 acres clearings on bench lands burned off by forest fires . . .

While Leiberg had grounds for taking this viewpoint, he ignores the economic and social pressures that influenced people to homestead marginal land. During the depression and dust bowl days of the 1930s, a new wave of settlers flocked to northern Idaho (USDA Bureau of Agricultural Economics 1941). Sixty percent of these settlers came from the dust bowl states of the northern Great Plains. What is interesting is that most settled on cut over timberlands. Lack of money and promotional activities by landholders induced many to settle on lands that were unsuited for agriculture. There is little reason not to believe that the earlier settlers were any less convinced that they could make it on their timber homesteads.

In 1917, Decamp (1917: 7) recorded that

The agricultural exploitation of the region has turned the attention of many unable to purchase the privately-owned lands, to the homestead areas within the Forest. Due to the fact that the valuable white pine timber thrives best on the agricultural soils, the more accessible of the arable areas were alienated prior to the creation of the Forest, in timber claims. What remained were rapidly taken up under the homestead laws, until now there is very little land of value for agriculture remaining. What there is is mainly isolated strips along the creeks or the dry upper bench soils, formerly passed up as non-agricultural. The demand for homestead lands within the Forest has been so heavy that in instance after instance lands have been filed on, partially cleared, and then abandoned because the agricultural value would not justify even the small amount of cultivation required under the Homestead law. Especially is this true of lands in the vicinity of Lake Pend Oreille, where the homesteader, blinded by the wonderfully beautiful scenery, in too many cases undertook to wrest a living from poor soils, and failed: his abandoned claim standing as a sad monument of lack of foresightedness, both on the part of the settler in demanding such lands, and on the part of the Forest Service in granting them.

In the early to mid-1930s, the Resettlement Administration acquired large numbers of these timber homesteads and resettled some of the homesteaders on land better suited to agriculture. The agency located a large project on the Kaniksu National Forest on the west side of the Pend Oreille River in Washington. It involved hundreds of timber homesteads in an area about 15 miles wide and 60 miles long. Due to the poor economic conditions,

. . . the County Commissioners of Stevens and Pend Oreille Counties believed that most of this land would become county lands due to non-payment of taxes, that the counties could not afford to maintain the roads or pay salaries of school teachers . . . and there was a lot of local political support for a federal program to acquire all these lands from the remaining homesteaders (Hansen 1972: 11).

Even though northern Idaho's economy was depressed, the Resettlement Administration acquired a large tract of land in the Kootenai Valley, which they divided up, into 100-acre farms. As A. K. Klockman (1990: 103) remembered, the agency began by

. . . locating young experienced farm families on the land, building for them a home and barn, furnishing them the necessary machinery and livestock and giving them forty years to pay for it at a very low rate of interest.



Figure 9: Example of a Successful Dairy Operation near the Kaniksu National Forest.²³

²³ Photograph from Decamp (1917) Land Classification in the Pend Oreille National Forest.

This more in depth care in the choice of land and settlers lead to many successes. In 1997 (Flynn 1997) noted that,

Today, many of the Resettlement homes, barns and outbuildings remain in good condition as testimony to the care given them by tenants. Some of the 100-acre tracts of land have changed hands but others remain in the hands of first Resettlement owners.

This type of practical settlement and objective administration of land was rare and applied only late in the government administration of the public lands. This is not to say that the misty eyed view of homesteading did not persist even through the great depression. Nelle Portrey Davis' *Stump Ranch Pioneer* published in 1941 extols the virtues of the simple homestead life. In the introduction to the 1990 edition to the book, Susan Hendricks Swetnam (1990: viii-ix) reveals,

Stump Ranch Pioneer told Americans what they seemed to want to hear in 1941 and 1942: that they were resilient, and that many of them still held to the tried and true code that had brought them through earlier crises. They worked hard, helped their neighbors, were loyal to their families and content with homemade pleasures, and shunned extravagant, effete modern "needs." The book is full of cheerful hope, depicting a sort of populist paradise of pioneer workers without unions, a place where Edenic conditions exist (animals are not afraid, raw materials and food grow in abundance, the goats that one buys are likely to be pregnant) and resilient human beings rise to them . . . She champions the opportunity of the Pacific Northwest, encouraging others to settle there. One newspaper story about her quotes an emigrant as saying: "she's probably sold more real estate through her book than any real estate company."

Following generations know very well that this "back to the land" optimism never died and cropped up anew in such places as *Mother Earth News* and the *Whole Earth Catalog*.

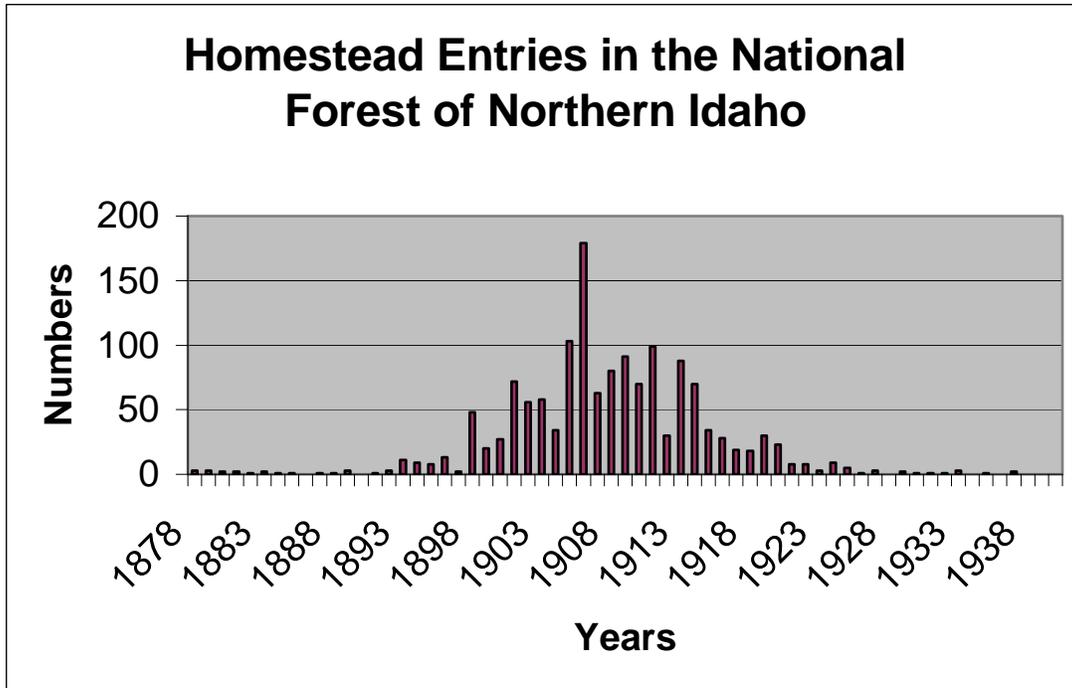


Figure 10: Numbers of Homestead Entries by Year and by National Forests, see Appendix K and L.

Year	St. Joe	Coeur d'Alene	Kaniksu	Totals
1878	3			3
1879	3			3
1880	2			2
1881	2			2
1882	1			1
1883	2			2
1884	1			1
1885	1			1
1886				
1887	1			1
1888	1			1
1889	3			3
1890				

1891		1		1
1892	3			3
1893	11			11
1894	7	2		9
1895	6		2	8
1896	10	1	2	13
1897		2		2
1898	21	3	24	48
1899	16	2	2	20
1900	25	2		27
1901	57	7	8	72
1902	41	10	5	56
1903	40	4	14	58
1904	24	4	6	34
1905	49	42	12	103
1906	62	103	14	179
1907	11	22	30	63
1908	4	37	39	80
1909	40	20	31	91
1910	1	49	20	70
1911	2	53	44	99
1912		7	23	30
1913	5	49	34	88
1914	8	21	41	70
1915	9	4	21	34
1916	2	12	14	28
1917		6	13	19
1918		6	12	18
1919		6	24	30
1920		10	13	23
1921		4	4	8
1922		3	5	8
1923		1	2	3
1924		1	8	9
1925		2	3	5
1926			1	1
1927			3	3
1928				
1929			2	2
1930			1	1
1931			1	1
1932			1	1
1933			3	3
1934				
1935			1	1
1936				

Figure 10: Continued

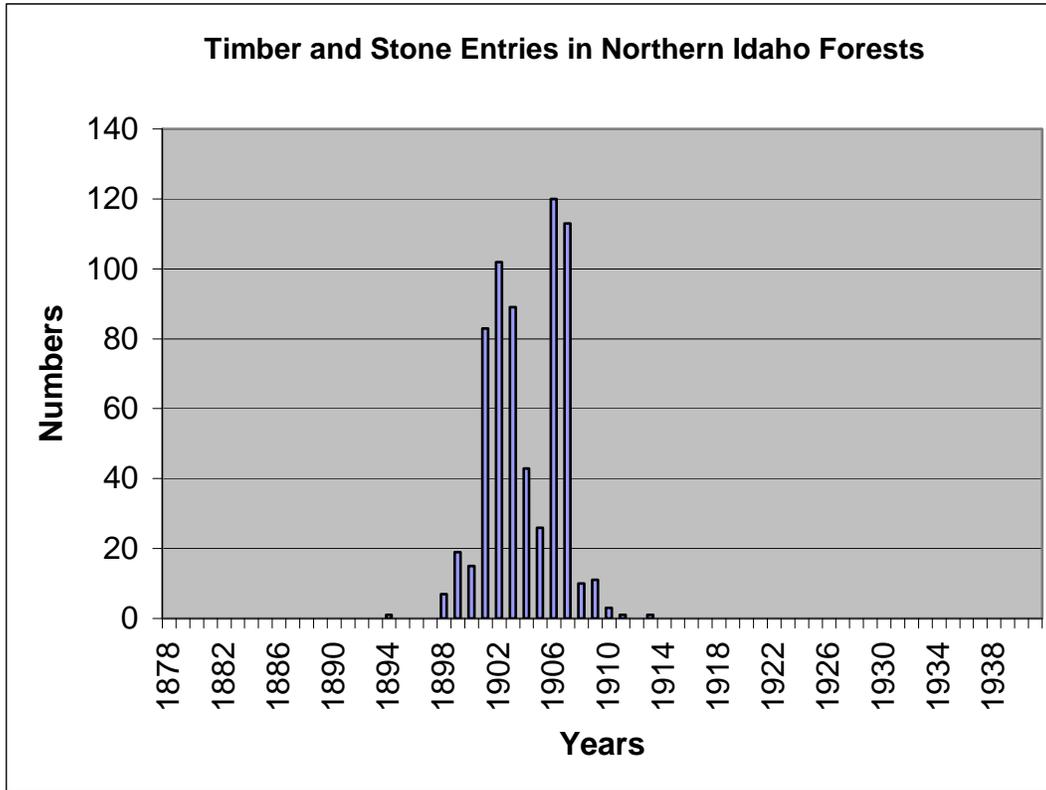


Figure 11: Number of Timber and Stone Entries by Year and by National Forest, See Appendix K and L.

Year	St. Joe	Coeur d'Alene	Kaniksu	Totals
1894	1			1
1895				
1896				
1897				
1898	7			7
1899	19			19
1900	15			15
1901	77	2	4	83
1902	100		2	102
1903	77	6	6	89
1904	29	1	13	43
1905	9	9	8	26
1906	79	35	6	120
1907	27	82	4	113
1908	5	5		10
1909	2	9		11

1910		3	3
1911		1	1
1912			
1913	1		1

Figure 12: Character of Settlement on the St. Joe National Forest

Figure 13: Character of Settlement on the Coeur d'Alene National Forest

Figure 14: Character of Settlement on the Pend Oreille National Forest

Figure 15: Character of Settlement on the Kaniksu National Forest
4. Homesteaders' Stories

The picture of life preserved in the stories of homesteaders illustrates the variety of ways that the Homestead Act and the Timber and Stone Act functioned in the forests of northern Idaho. The homesteader's stories also illustrate the diversity of life styles on a timber homestead in northern Idaho. Marie Covington (n. d.) tells a particularly enlighten tale.

Washington D.C. had opened up land in northern Idaho in the Coeur d'Alenes for settlement, so Will and his father, Daniel D., together with some other settlers, applied for claims and were given permission to homestead this land. The government had not considered the fact that this land was covered with valuable timber - white pine, cedar, and fir - a beautiful place . . .

Will and his father each filed a homestead claim on 160 acres at Marble Creek, and because it was necessary that they live on the land a portion of the year, they built small cabins on their claims. When the richness of the land was discovered, the government attempted to cancel out all homesteads. Some of the settlers lost out, but not Will Thomas. He fought it thru the courts and won his case. He insisted on being his own counsel for defense, and a good one he was, too. As soon as the lumber companies found out about it, they also tried to beat them out of it - the Rutledge Lumber Co. being one. They would buy railroad scrip and put it on the land to try to hold it. Again, some of the settlers did lose out to them.

Grandpa Thomas was left on the homestead while Will returned to mining to earn living expenses. It would be several years before they could prove up and take lumber of their claim . . .

I cooked at the mine part of that summer of 1908, then Will had to go back to the Coeur d'Alenes to take up residence on his homestead. He had to live on it part of each year to prove up, so we packed up and left - Grandpa Thomas was already there. We stored our belongings at St. Joe [City] and sorted out just what we absolutely needed to take in with us. We didn't take in any more than the minimum the law required. It was 25 miles in to our homestead and we had to go in by pack train.

Grandpa and Will had batched together, but each had a cabin on his own homestead. This was for the benefit of the inspectors who would come in to check on them. The cabin on our place was hardly big enough to live in, so Will built me a new cabin that summer. It was a nice cabin with a room about (28') long.

Will was an expert with an axe. He cut green cedar logs, then bark them. He would walk along on top of them and cut the bark with the axe, then he would take a crowbar and go along and slide the whole thing off. He could roll them into place himself. Then he split cedar shakes to make the roof. The floors were made of the cedar logs split in half and then hewed off with an axe to make them walkable. Cedar is soft and the men had hobnails on their shoes so they wore the floor down. Every time I would sweep I'd sweep out a lot of those shavings, and after awhile my floor was as smooth as any floor can be. When it was finished it was a nice big cabin, and the most beautiful one in the woods. Another year, Will built a bedroom on the back, and we were the only ones among the settlers who had a two-room cabin . . .

We lived in our cabin until late in the fall. Dan was due to be born in January, so we had to get out of there, as the snow was sometimes eight feet deep. We had a terrible time getting out of the

woods. It poured down rain on us all the way out. We stopped one place and stayed all night with some people Will knew and got dried out so we could go on the next day. We picked up our belongings at St. Joe and went on . . .

We stayed in the woods that summer, then Will had to go back out to earn some money to pay for the grub stake. I stayed in the woods and grandpa stayed with me. It took a lot of money for grubstakes - it cost \$3.50 per hundred to pack supplies in on pack horses. We would buy a sack of potatoes and pay \$4 and \$5 per hundred, then we paid \$3.50 more to get them packed into the woods. The packhorses ran all the time when people wanted anything, but you had to pay the price. Many times Will packed supplies in on his back the 12 miles from where the mule train would leave supplies. They had big knapsacks for their backs, and could carry quite a large load. Will made many trips in and out . . .

The time spent waiting to be able to start logging was not wasted. During this time between working in the mines, Will had built the bedroom on the back of the bunkhouse for the loggers. I believe this is the one Grandpa Thomas and Will were building in the picture we have. The family was spending more time in the woods - winter and summer. Will took pictures of Marie and Dan in the snow at Marble Creek. It was during this period, also that Will had fallen down the mine shaft and injured his leg, and had taken up photography to earn a living.

There was a supply shed where all the provisions were kept (I believe this to be the small cabin will had first built when he applied for his homestead). All the food and supplies were kept there, and among them would be cured hams and bacon. One night they heard a big noise and when they went outside to see, a bear was tearing the boards off the back of the shed trying to get at the meat. Will got a gun and fired a few shots to scare it off.

Will made many trips out on snowshoes to pack in supplies on his back. They had large knapsacks to hold the load and they would be very heavy. In the winter the pack trains could not get in there. Sometimes the snow would be eight feet deep. One winter Will nearly lost his life. He had gone out just before Christmas to bring in extra supplies and his pack was unusually large. He was on snowshoes, but the snow was exceptionally deep. He became exhausted and laid on the snow for several hours before he could regain enough strength to go on. Included in his pack was a sleigh for Daniel.

The time was almost up so Will could start logging, and Mr. Harrick of the Harrick Logging Co. told Will that he could start cutting the logs along on each side of the creeks and they would hold so much money back until he got proved up and got his title - which would be soon. It was just a company; they didn't own any timberland. The timber on each side of the creek didn't belong to anyone, so they gave Will a scale rule so that he could scale and measure the logs he cut and float them down the creek. Marble Creek emptied into the St. Joe River, and the logs then floated down to the sawmill.

The other homesteaders were also cutting the timber on their property, putting their stamp on their logs and floating them down the river. Will helped some of these settlers and made a little money that way. This, was the advance from our own logs, gave us money to live on. Besides that, the creek banks were cleared out to make it easier when he started logging. (I feel sure this was 1912 - MC)

At last Will got his title and could start logging.²⁴ He made a trip out to purchase horses and supplies, then hired two Swedes to come in and hand log for us. These hand loggers made a lot of money because we boarded them and they didn't have any expense.

²⁴ The Forest Service status books show the year of patent for William Thomas' homestead as 1917, so Will logged the property before getting clear title.

There was a new route by then - the railroad would go as far as the siding called Harrick, then it was only 16 miles in by pack train instead of 25 miles on the old route. All supplies were brought to the siding at Harrick to meet the pack trains.

The slopes were so steep the loggers could roll the logs right down into the creek [Marble Creek]. It was necessary to have large, well-trained horses and expert teamsters. Huge tongs were hooked into the log and the team would snake it to the edge of the slope. The team had to be turned at the exact moment to release the tongs, or the log could drag the team down the hill with it.

On the other side of the hill, the timber ran into Buzzle [Bussel] Creek, a small creek which emptied into Marble Creek a little further down. Will hired another fellow to come in and run a crew on that side - an expert on chutes. This side wasn't as steep, and they had to build chutes for the logs to get down to the creek.

The Rutledge Lumber Company owned the timberland on the other side of Bussle [Bussel] Creek.

Will was selling his logs to the Rutledge Lumber Co. Even though the logs would not be in the creek, they trusted him and he could take the "scale rules" (Martha's words, but not understood - MC) to them and they would advance money to him. They would give him around \$1000 each month to cover his expenses and pay his loggers. They would pay him the balance when they received the logs.

We were spending more time at Marble Creek - winter and summer. Every 4th of July all the homesteaders would be together for a picnic day, and Will would take pictures of the group. Everyone looked forward to this day of visiting with their neighbors.

Grandpa Thomas had his cabin about two (2) miles from ours. Although he was now 76 years old (1914) he always kept busy. One of the chores he had assigned himself was to keep plenty of wood chopped at both cabins. He always had one side of the woodsheds neatly stacked high with stove length wood. Will had made a cradle, and grandpa would sit and rock the babies in this cradle to keep them quiet to help Matha. . .

In 1915 Will had a carpenter build us a new home in St. Maries. Helen was expecting in December, also it was time for Daniel to be in school and I would need to be out of the woods in the winters. All the lumber for the house was from Will's own selected lumber. It was quite a good house - kitchen, bathroom, living room, two bedrooms downstairs and one up. Helen was born there in December.

With the children going to school winters, each summer we would return to the woods - myself, the children and a hired girl. We had about ten loggers by then and I would cook for them. We would pack in and out on packhorses.

Grandpa Thomas passed away in St. Maries in May of 1916 at the age of 78. His wood chopping had finally turned out to be his enemy. He got a sliver in his thumb, and not being a complainer, didn't say anything about it. When it finally became unbearable, it had turned to blood poisoning. We found big red streaks up his arm and it was too late to save him. It was a very painful death. Grandpa had been with or near us all of our married life, had stayed with me many times while Will was away working, and had been so kind and gentle with the children.

When Marie was about six years old (1918) she had the measles and got an ear infection. We had to have an ear specialist treat her, so we sold our home in St. Maries and moved to Spokane, Washington. Maxine was born here on April 29, 1919. The older children were going to school here, and again we returned to Marble Creek in the summers.

Will had contracted with a fellow - an expert on chutes and logging - to go in and cut logs and have them ready for spring, then Will would go in and when the high water came they would float

them out. This fellow was to get a percentage when the logs were sold. There were a lot of logs backed up. We never did get them out. This fellow had quit - didn't think he was making enough money - and before Will could get in and take care of them, Rutledge Lumber Co. went in real early and got them out. They were a crooked company - tried to steal everything they could. They were supposed to buy the logs but they didn't - they said, "Well it was time to get them out and we had to do it," we couldn't do a thing about it and lost a lot of money on that pile of logs. I believe it was \$4,000 we had to pay that fellow for his share of those logs.

We had lived and worked on our homestead for 12 years. Will's health was failing and he was not able to do hard labor any longer. Father and Edwin had convinced him to buy a farm [in Blackfoot, Idaho] in the Thomas area as most of my family lived there.

Mamie Dittman (Russell 1979: 196-7) recalled that her husband Henry Dittman did a lot of packing for the homesteaders in the St. Joe River Valley.

Henry had filed on a homestead up Big Creek and he done a lot of packing for other homesteaders using Jack Drummond as a helper. He charged \$500 to locate homesteaders on their ground, survey it and build their cabin. Walt Hess and Will Kennedy homesteaded right near where we did. To go upriver they forded the Joe just below where the St. Joe Bridge sets now. There was a shallow bar there at the time. Walter came up to the horses' bellies.

Another packer (Lansdale 1944: 125-7) remembered his experiences in the Marble Creek area dealing with homesteaders.

In 1901, Mrs. Landsdale and I moved to the forks of the St. Marie River, to what is now Clarkia. I hauled in groceries, supplies and equipment of pack trains to handle the timber rush of lumber companies and local people after homesteads and stone timber claims. Our first customers were the C. W. Weyerhaeuser and two sons, Mr. Rutledge and agents of the Howard Lumber Company with their cruisers to look over the Marble Creek drainage and Elk Basin. Then the local people from Moscow and Lewiston began coming. Plenty of locators waiting for them. The three Fry brothers, three Therault brothers, three Mix brothers, and Foly and Robinson. Fees ranged from \$100 to \$300 per claim. It was very common for two and three to be located on the same 160-acre tract - where the timber was thick and the ground rough . . .

The Stone Timber Act and the homesteading were sure a joke in the Reserve. I have packed homesteaders to their claims that did not know they were theirs. The peeled cedar log cabin in Elk Basin was where many applicants took their witnesses to look over the corners before proving up . . .

Newspaper articles (e.g., The Times, [TT] Wallace Idaho, February 20, 1907) about the trial of one of the murderers of timber homestead claim jumpers in Marble Creek provides an interesting story. In testimony at the trial one of the witnesses stated

"The last I saw of Tyler was on August 10, 1904, at my cabin at supper time."

"Boule returned August 19 and reported that Tyler had not been seen at Santa. Griffiths and I were going out to look for Tyler further and Boule had just started back on his way to Santa again on business when we heard the shots fired that killed Boule". . . .

"He left my place August 20, on his way to Santa", said the witness. "His last words to me were 'If the roundhead gets me on my way out bring me back and plant me on my claim.' By 'roundhead' he referred to Engstrom, the president of the Jumper Killers' association, and who had threatened Boule the night before that if ever he came over the trail again he would kill him."

"You say you heard the shots fired at the time Boule was killed. How did they sound?" asked counsel Richardson.

"There were two volleys," replied Mr. Phillips. "The first was a regular fusillade of about fifty shots. This was the time that Boule was killed. I should judge that there were four guns in play and I believe one was an automatic gun on account of the rapidity of its fire. The second volley was at the time that Lindsay came back shot through the arm. This time there were three shots from the same gun" . . .

Griffiths and I hurried up and found Boule lying dead and his companion shot thorough the arm. I went to Santa for the Sheriff and returned two days later with him. Boule had five bullet holes through his body. "I heard nothing more of Tyler's whereabouts until I read of the finding of the remains in the summer of 1905" . . .

"Was it not true, Mr. Phillips," queried Mr. Richardson, "that your cabin was blown up in the summer of 1904?"

"Yes it was. The cabin was blown up about August 27, seven days after I had left there, and \$300 worth of goods . . . went with it. It was blown up by dynamiters, I think. By dynamiters I mean, not the settlers, as I had no trouble with them, but people hired to come in there and blow up my cabin." [the accused, Steve Adams, was a "enforcer" for the Western Federation of Miners and had a reputation for using dynamite].

Gordon Needham (1971) presents a very different picture of homesteading as it took place on the west side of Lake Pend Orielle north of Lakeview.

Charley had a sister at Dayton, Wash. who was a widow with three children, she came to Lakeview to visit Charley and during this visit met Jack Needham, after a courtship of a few months they were married at Hope, Idaho on Nov. 4, 1897, Zora T. Magee Martindale became Mrs. Needham and moved with her three children to the homestead at Cedar Creek. The children were Viola Mae 12, Alma Ellen 7, and Franklin Wesley 5, this called for a school as another homesteader had 4 children, a site was selected about 3/4 of a mile from the Needham homestead and a log cabin was built on public land, the logs were cut in heavy timber near the site of the building, it was near a good spring and there was plenty of wood for the cutting. At this time the Needhams had a five room log house, a barn and other out buildings, a good bearing orchard, a horse, two cows, a dog, a cat and 20 hives of bees . . .

On Sept. 8, 1898, I Gordon Alvin Needham, joined the family, as there were no Doctors handy, my Mother was attended by two neighbor women, Mrs. Crisp and Mrs. Schroeder from Granite Creek.

In October of that year it was time to get the years supply of groceries so my father rowed his boat to Steamboat Landing (Button Hook Bay now) walked the wagon road to Rathdrum, 22 miles, purchased the supplies which consisted of 8 barrels of flour, which was 32 49 lb. Sacks, 100 lbs of white sugar and 100 pounds of brown sugar and 25 pounds of coffee and the many other small items that are needed for a home. A team and wagon was hired to take the load to the lake and then to transport it by row boat to Cedar Creek, most of the supplies were stored in a building at the landing and many trips with 350 lbs in the boat was made to Cedar Creek, then old Billie was hitched to the go devil and the supplies was hauled to the house and stored under the stair way, it took about two weeks to get the trip for groceries completed. Just a few weeks later on Dec. 22, the house caught fire in the up stairs and completely destroyed the house with everything in it, only a few items could be saved among them a sewing machine and a few dishes. The family moved in with Christian Jones a bachelor who was our next-door neighbor. When the steamboat came in, the captain was told that Jack Needham had burned out, he told this at every stop on the

lake and stated he should be back. At 1 o'clock the next morning the whistle of the boat was heard and my father and Jones went to the lake, the boat had made the trip stopped at each landing on the lake and picked up food clothing bedding and dishes and everything needed to start housekeeping again.

The following day the workshop was cleaned out, partitions were made from burlap gunnysacks, and the Needhams lived in it for more than a year. My father started cutting timber for the new house, it is built of logs standing on end and all hewn with a broad ax, there are more than 600 hewed pieces in this house, the original house consisted of six rooms, three bedrooms were added later and were made of sawed lumber. The living room was 18 x 20 feet with a big bay window which Mother had filled with flowers, they were often removed and a three piece orchestra moved in, we really had good dances there, at one of them we had 103 people . . .

There was always plenty of work to be done, wood to cut, garden to plant, weed and harvest, fruit trees to prune and spray then to pick the fruit when ready. Between times we could always clear more land for cultivation. All told we had about 60 acres [out of the 160 acres on the Needham homestead] in cultivation.

In the Priest Lake area (Simpson and Simpson 1981: 40-2) farther north

In 1919, Alva and Myrtle Allen filed on a 90-acre homestead in Sec. 32 T 63, N, R 4W, along the south shore of Upper Priest Lake. They built a log cabin approximately 200 yards south of what is now called Plowboy Camp Ground, along the Beaver Creek-Navigation Trail #302. Substantial remains of the cabin are still standing.

At the time the Allens selected the building site, the view up the lake extended to the mouth of Upper Priest River and the Hughes Meadow valley. By the late 1930s, the trees and underbrush had all but hidden the cabin from the casual sightseers who hiked along the trail.

Over the years, the couple completed the cabin with their own hands, using native timber. They split the shakes for the roof and hand-hewed the boards used for the floor, the trim, and front porch. Mr. Allen built all the furniture from birch limbs and cedar shakes. A spring south of the cabin was walled with rock. The water was machine tub and the main boiler from an old still. The two tubs had holes punched in the bottom and were installed in the sand which produced filtered water of excellent quality . . .

The Allens had no living relatives and rather than sell their homestead to developers, they deeded it back to the people of the United States, on October 25, 1934. They granted the deed with the proviso that they would have life tenancy.

Settlers claimed the best lands first, but once in a while they overlooked a parcel. The North Idaho News in Sandpoint, Idaho (NIN, September 1, 1909) reported just such a case as front-page news.

Locates Homestead Just West of City
Jack Eamon Files On quarter section and Will Move Family There

Last week John Eamon located on a homestead of 160 acres less than four miles west of this city on section 18 of this town and range. There is nothing out of the ordinary about such a transaction, but to think that a piece of land with between two and three million feet of saw timber to say nothing of the thousands of ties on it, was lying so near the city without an entry being made long ago, as such is the case.

Sam Perry well known to nearly all the residents of Sandpoint, was in Coeur d'Alene not long since at which time he looked the matter up in the land office in that city and discovered the fact that a part of section 18, township 57, range west was unoccupied and open to entry for homestead. He immediately told discovery and they at once located and now many old timers as well as some of the newer ones are wondering how the land happened to remain unsettled on for so long a time and so close to the city.

The land in question is about three and one half miles from the center of the city and joins the Woodward claim. A fairly good wagon road is already built to the claim, which makes access comparatively easy. Jack says a good creek runs on the property and can be converted to irrigation purposes with a small amount of work as well as piped into the house.

Last week lumber was hauled to the place and Mr. Eamon started the erection of a house on the newly acquired property. By the late part of this week the family will move to the ranch and will make their home there in the future. A cow and the necessary chickens have already been taken to their new home. Needless to say all of Jack's friends which are many are extending congratulations for this good fortune.

On the upper Coeur d'Alene River a few serious homesteaders took up residence. Frank McPherson (Russell 1984: 160-2) recalled that

In 1920 there was a depression following the end of World War I. Sugar went up to \$17 a hundred. The spring drive had went thorough and there was no more working the woods for summer. Herb Stone and I shacked up at the forks of Teepee and the East Fork. We went fishing further upriver and Stone talked to Pearson that owned the homestead up at the meadows.

Stone said to me, "I got some money and you got some money. Why don't we buy old Pete out? We'll have 160 ranch and good hunting and fishing. We'll have a place to raise hay and to winter mules. Then we'll be independent." I said, "You're right! If we don't invest the money we'll be broke by fall."

So we bought out Eric Pete Pearson who had owned it for 28 years on May 15, 1920. The place was a quarter mile wide and a mile long.²⁵

. . . There was a 91.3 acre piece downriver that was first homesteaded by Ferguson and then by George Hamilton and was abandoned. I got to thinking that as long as I was making this my home I might as well prevent somebody from crowding into my back yard. So I filed homestead rights on it. Then I moved downriver and built a one room cabin for myself . . .

Those years I made my living at a lot of jobs. First in the spring I'd cut out trails for the Forest Service until time for haying. Then after haying I'd do a little packing during the summer and fall, sold a few of my cattle and when winter came I earned the rest of it trapping marten, mink, beaver, coyotes and weasel.

Oscar Blake (1971:30-2) vividly describes the opening of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation in 1909.

I was tending hook for the Cone Lumber Co. at Black Rock in 1909, when one Sunday in July or August, someone brought a Sunday paper in the bunkhouse. I was reading it and saw where the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in Idaho; also the Colville Reservation in Washington, and Blackfoot in Montana, were to be opened for Homestead entry. The registration would start August first.

²⁵ The homestead records show that Erik Pearson actually filed on the homestead in 1913 and obtained a patent in 1917, so he had it free and clear only 3 years before selling out to McPherson.

When I showed this article to some of the boys in the crew, they really got "hopped up" about it, and suggested that we quit and head north to Spokane and sign up on all three.

They quit and headed for Spokane, Washington and then

. . . we all went to Colville and registered. There were so many visitors in Spokane, it was impossible to get a room, so we slept in the depot.

The next day, we went to Coeur d'Alene to register. We rode on the electric train and missed a very bad wreck by about two trains. There was one every hour over this thirty-two mile track. There were dozens of people killed and injured. Some operator goofed, and two trains met head on at a mile a minute.

Coeur d'Alene was really booming. There was dozens of booths where you could register all over town. It only cost twenty-five cents, but there was thousands of visitors--in all, I believe there was one hundred thousand from all over the United States, Canada and some foreign countries.

From Coeur d'Alene we took a fine boat ride on the steamer, Georgia Oaks, down the Coeur d'Alene Lake and up the shadowy St. Joe River to St. Maries. From there we rode on the cushions of the Milwaukee to Missoula, Montana . . . So we had registered on all three reservations. Now all we had to do was wait to see who would be lucky. The drawing was done in Coeur d'Alene, I think about the last of August.

It was one Sunday afternoon. Most everyone was asleep in the shade of the straw stack when I heard someone calling for Blake . . . Sure enough, the letter was there from Coeur d'Alene Land Office, notifying me that I had drawn number 410, and had to file not later than October . . . I had about two weeks to file on the claim I picked. I bought a map of the reservation, then after talking with certain homesteaders, went on the passenger boat, the Georgia Oaks, up the St. Joe River to St. Maries. I had to have at least three claims picked out--first, second, and third--in case someone ahead of me with a lower number happened to choose my first choice. I had heard that there was pine timber on Benewah Creek, so I went down to Silver Tips Landing on Benewah Lake, about ten miles down river from St. Maries, and started up the Benewah Creek trail that went from St. Joe River to Tekoa. I had a pack of about sixty pounds of provisions, blankets, 41 colts, compass, axe, etc.

About six miles up the trail, I thought it was about time to follow a section line to see where I was. When I got to the section corner, or quarter post, it was getting pretty late, and I wanted to make camp before dark, so when the section lines crossed a nice, small creek which was later named Blake Creek, I decided to make camp . . . The next morning I followed the section line going north till I came to the quarter post between S. thirty-four and thirty-five, and found fine Yellow Pine timber along the line to the northeast corner of section thirty-four. Also took readings from witness trees, and found the northeast quarter of section thirty-four, township forty-six, north of ranges three, west of the Boise Meridian. After looking the one hundred and sixty acres over thoroughly, I decided that would be my first choice, and northwest quarter of section thirty-five (forty-six, three) as my second choice. I couldn't make any improvements until I actually filed on my claim, so I loaded up my pack next morning and went back to Silver Tip Landing . . .

So I was all set to file when my name was called, of which I did file on my first choice. Most locators charged one hundred and fifty dollars or more to locate any one on a claim, so I figured I had saved that much by locating myself. I paid sixteen dollars filing fee. I didn't care to start my residence until later, so I thought I would get a job for a month or so in Coeur d'Alene . . .

I had a list of tools and groceries that I would take out to my homestead and commence my residence, so on December tenth I took the boat to Silver Tip's Landing. I had spent twenty

dollars for "grub", also had bought a used crosscut saw, nails, hammer, etc.--altogether I had spent about thirty dollars and had twenty dollars in my pocket when I landed at Silver Tip's at the end of Benewah Trail. There were two Indians camped along the lake who were fishing and hunting. They had three ponies, and Silver Tip said, "I'm sure you can get them to pack your goods up the creek for you." I went up to their camp and there was only one of them there, and when I offered him five dollars to take my supplies, he jumped at the chance . . .

The next morning, the first thing I had to do was to find a building site on my one hundred and sixty acres. Where I had my present camp was about one-half mile from my claim, and I figured I had better establish a permanent camp as close to where I would build my cabin as possible. So I had to run a line through the center of section thirty-four as I wanted to build as near Benewah Creek as I could. I started at a quarter post and compassed south one mile to the other quarter post and only missed it about sixty feet . . . On my way back to my "home" camp, located a fine building spot near an open glade, and in a small thicket of Tamarack trees just large enough for cabin logs. Knew I had to build the cabin alone, so I picked a spot where I could nearly fall each tree across the cabin site. I didn't plan a residence that would be at all elaborate. I didn't require the services of an architect, as I had helped build cabins in the Siletz Basin in Oregon for homesteaders.

A charming story of the experience of four girls (Brink 1977: 5-35) on a homestead in what is now the south end of the Idaho Panhandle National Forests suggests that the timber homesteads had values well beyond the timber they contained.

My aunt had taken up a homestead in the Clearwater country when I was a little girl. It was twenty-eight miles by packhorse from the nearest outfitting post, and she spent her summers there and often went in for a few weeks in the winter . . . I was wild to spend the summer there myself, and I must have passed the contagion on to my three best friends, for they were as keen for a trip to the homestead as I was.

The four of us went to High School together in Moscow, Idaho, which was then a sober little University town with nothing of the "Wild West" left about it, and we thought that, if we could exchange our several starched petticoats for overalls and go into the woods for a summer, life would be complete. How we overcame family objections I am not sure, but we did . . .

We took a train to Bovill and a horse-drawn stage from there to Clarkia. Clarkia consisted of a hotel, a general store and a post office, several saloons, and a few scattered log houses . . . all wagon roads ended at Clarkia, and we found ourselves at once on a narrow trail where the horses had to go single file between the trees . . . before noon [the next day] we came down by a clear, tinkling stream which ran past aunt's homestead. There were three giant cedar trees at a turn in the trail, and a short distance beyond that we saw Aunt's little log cabin and barn in a clearing. All about the clearing stood the pines, tall and mysterious, waiting to come crowding back into the little man-made meadow.

The cabin was built of large logs chinked with mud. On the inside the logs were roughly hewn, but on the outside they still had their bark. A little rustic porch was on the front of the cabin, and only one large room inside it. There were two windows in the room, two large built-in beds, a cook stove, and some homemade chairs and tables . . .

Paul Bunyan had a real name, but we never used it. It was so much more fun to call him Mr. Bunyan or Paul. He made our barn his headquarters for some time, brought us all the fish we would eat, and gave us a great deal of information about the plants and flowers which he was collecting. But after all Paul really did turn out to be something of a mystery. Although he was ostensibly a young teacher collecting botanical specimens, it was odd that he should have come so far to do it, and it was odd, too, that he should keep a notebook in which he jotted down all sorts of

information about the homesteads and how much work had been done on them and whether they were being lived on.

The government at this time was just waking up to the fact that it must conserve its beautiful forests, rather than let them be lumbered out indiscriminately. There was a great deal of talk of making this section a forest reserve. The homesteaders naturally did not wish this, because then their homesteads would be taken away from them. The government was trying to find out whether the homesteaders meant to continue living on their land or only intended to sell it to the big lumber companies as soon as they could prove up on it. We always suspected that our Paul Bunyan was doing more government secret service work that summer than botanical collecting.

A little over a year later the government put this section into forest reserve, and the homesteaders lost their places. Aunt had put a good deal of time and money into the place and we loved the homestead dearly. Yet it was never really intended as a home, and it is a pleasure now to know, that it remains an unspoiled, virgin forest, part of Idaho's rich heritage.²⁶

Nelle Portrey Davis (1942: 44ff) moved with her family from the dust bowl of eastern Colorado to a "stump ranch" just south of Bonners Ferry Idaho in 1937. A writer, she recorded her experiences in detail.

Knowing we had but little capital, Mr. Chambers directed us to a small tract only a mile away. We were so delighted with it that we looked no farther. It was a forty-acre place. The previous autumn a young couple from Wyoming had purchased it. The husband had cut logs and hauled them to mill, and erected an 18-by-27-foot house. Before completing it he had been killed by a falling tree, and the young widow had gone back to her home state.

Little and plain and box-like, the house stood bravely unpainted under the towering evergreens crowding all around it. The interior was roughly partitioned into four rooms: two small bedrooms, without closets, across one end; the other end divided into two oblong rooms, one of which served as a combination kitchen and dining room, and the other as living room . . .

The growth of timber included only a little jack pine or bull pine, and the ground cover had little thyanosis, or "buck brush," as it is called here. But these facts were not significant to us then. Now we know how fortunate we were not to have put our tiny capital and our efforts into land containing an abundance of these growths, for their profuseness signifies too much sand for cropland.

In another respect, too, we seem to have been just plain lucky. Within a mile of our place there is land, which is frost-free only one month in the year. Anyone foolish enough to plant a garden on such land will find it frosted down in June. If he has sufficient faith to cause him to plant again, he will find the growth cut short by an August frost. The disadvantages of "frost spots", or inferior soil would not be apparent to prairie-accustomed eyes, and have frustrated the hopes of many a stump rancher. These drawbacks make the land unfit for anything but meadow or pasture, and doom to disappointment a homemaker who wishes to grow a substantial share of his living on the soil.

²⁶ The area has been logged and burned so it would now look nothing like the homestead her Aunt once had. Many of the area settlers were able to obtain a patent on their homesteads and they were all subsequently acquired by the Clearwater Lumber Company, now Potlatch Corporation.

5. Documenting Homesteads

Today, the opportunities to document homesteads are potentially greater than for any other group of historic sites. The archival files available to study homesteading number in the thousands. The records available result from the intricate bureaucratic process of the General Land Office. Szucs and Luebking (1997: 251) explain

Each land office was run jointly by two officials: a registrar, who recorded entries and kept track of which tracts were claimed or still open, and a receiver, who handled the money. These officials kept daily journals and account ledgers and sent periodic summaries to the national headquarters--first the Treasury Department and, from 1812, the newly created General Land Office (GLO). The local land office kept a separate file for each entry and two indexes by area: (1) the tract book, which was a written description of each entry on sheets arranged by township and range . . . and (2) a township plat . . . which was a map of entries for each township showing patented tracts.

The resulting files include survey field notes, tract books, township plats, patents, and land-entry case files. The most important documents are in the land-entry case files, which are held at the National Archives. These files consist of all of the homestead entries that were taken to patent. A file can contain a copy of the homesteaders' initial application, documentation that a notice of the claim was published in the area newspaper of record, the documents related to "final proof" which include affidavits of witnesses, and an authorization from the local land office authorizing patent (Szucs and Luebking 1997: 251).

There are published indexes covering Kootenai County, which lists the homestead patented between 1883 and 1938 (Shane and Shane 1985b and 1986). For forest areas in northern Idaho in general, Appendix F and G lists homestead entries that are recorded on the land status maps of the Idaho Panhandle National Forests.

These lists include patented homesteads²⁷. Nationally over 60 percent²⁸ of homestead entries never proceeded to patent. Szucs and Luebking (1997: 252) found that

If the entryman did not obtain title by the deadline for the final charges or complete the homestead residency of five years, then the entry claim was canceled and stored, now available from the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D. C. 20408. However, some went to state and regional federal archives . . . these canceled case files, traceable through the tract books, are valuable records of an [entryman's] . . . life and sometimes give clues about why the claim was never completed . . . [The files should contain] some of the same information as patented case files, plus a date and reason for the cancellation.

²⁷ However, the land status maps do list some homestead claims that were later relinquished.

²⁸ Nationally, 1,185,000 homestead entries were never patented according to Szucs and Luebking (1997: 251).

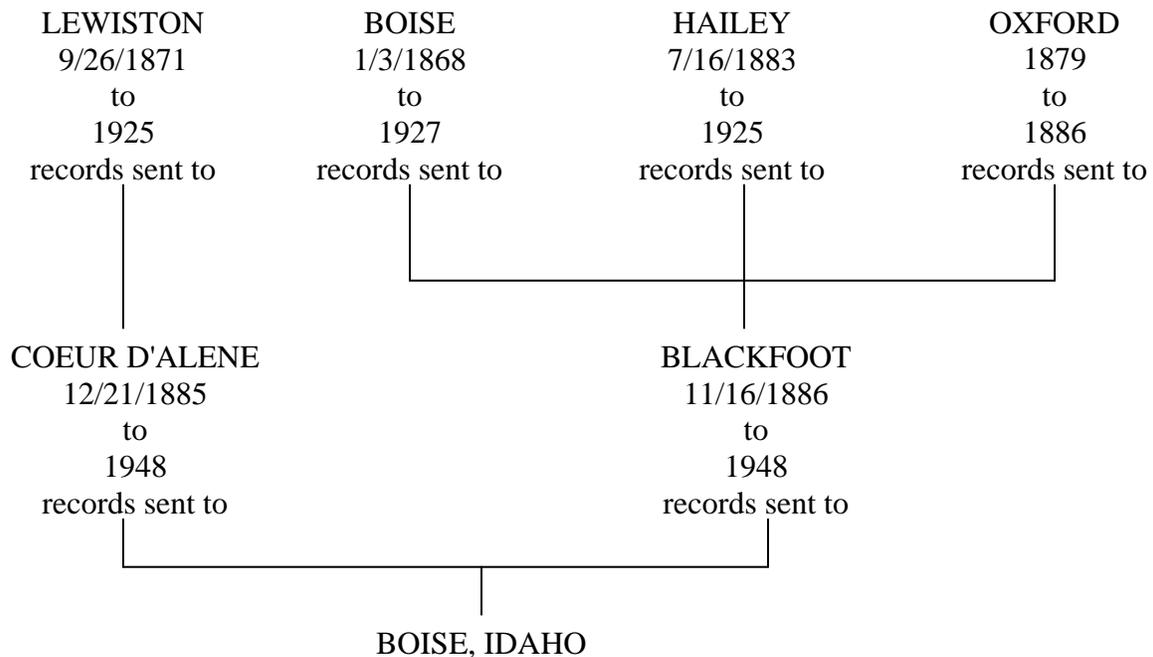
For northern Idaho there is also an index of rejected federal land applications (Genealogical Forum of Portland 1980). This index is an alphabetical list of rejected applications at the Coeur d'Alene Land Office from 1885 to 1948.

The Bureau of Land Management has a computerized master index to federal patents and deeds, which is available on the Internet²⁹. The index is searchable by state and by the name of the patentee. In many cases the digitized copy of the patent is also retrievable on this site. This index provides enough information to locate the related files in the National Archives or in Bureau of Land Management state office files.

Szucs and Luebking (1997: 252) summarize the status of the federal land office records for Idaho.

[Idaho is a] public-domain state with one principal meridian established 1867). Of the five GLO land districts, the earliest offices opened in Boise City and Lewistown in 1867 [actually 1868 and 1871, see below]. The township plats are in the National Archives--Pacific Northwest Region in Seattle. Obtain patents from the BLM Idaho State Office, 3380 Americana Terrace, Boise, ID 83706, which also has copies of the tract books and township plats. The National Archives in Washington, D. C., has the land-entry case files as described in Inventory No. 22 [Yoshpe and Brower 1996] and also the GLO headquarters originals of the tract books and township plats.

Figure 16
LAND OFFICES IN IDAHO³⁰

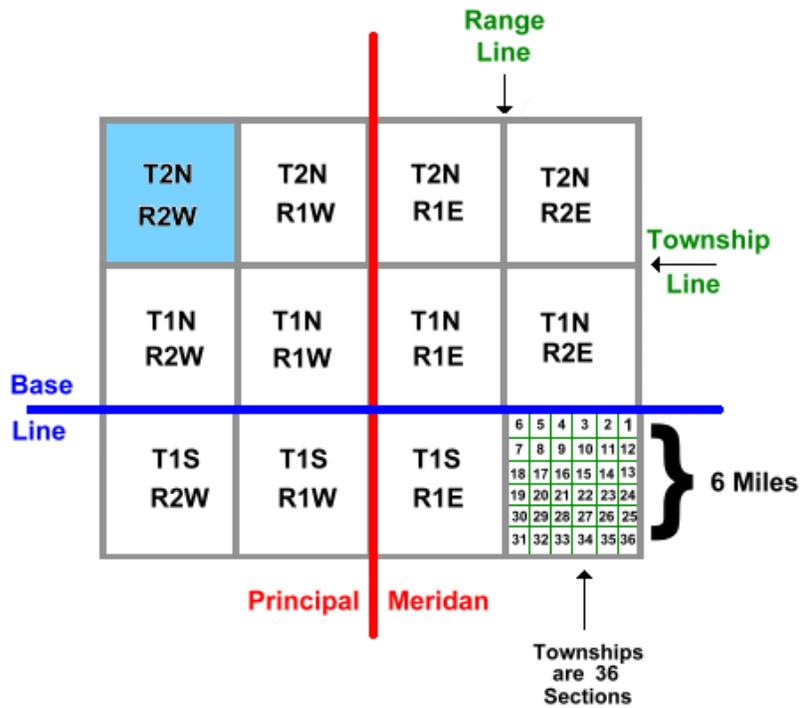


²⁹ <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/>

³⁰ Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon 1980: ii



Figure 17: Location of the Boise Base Line and Meridian³¹



³¹ From USDA Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 1968. *Principal Meridians and Base Lines; Governing the United States Public Land Surveys*, map Washington D. C.

Figure 18: Diagram of the U. S. Rectangular System of Surveys.³²

The National Archives list some of their collections on an Internet site³³ as follows:

GENERAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE AND THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

1796-1981

History: The Federal Government inherited a substantial public domain from its predecessor, the government under the Articles of Confederation. By Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 of the Constitution, Congress was empowered "to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States." In the act establishing the Treasury Department (1 Stat. 65), September 2, 1789, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized "to execute such services relative to the sale of the lands belonging to the United States, as may be by law required of him," and the Office of the Register of the Treasury was designated the agency for the collection and dispersal of Treasury revenues. The Secretary of War, in the act establishing the War Department (1 Stat. 50), August 7, 1789, was made responsible for granting military bounty lands (lands to which veterans of the Revolutionary War were entitled by virtue of their military service). Treasury responsibility for administering the public lands was defined initially in the Land Act of 1796 (1 Stat. 464), May 18, 1796, which provided for the orderly survey and sale of lands northwest of the Ohio River. This responsibility was extended geographically and amended procedurally by additional land laws of 1800, 1803, and 1804. The act of 1796 required the Secretary of State to record and issue patents (titles) to public land. The General Land Office Act (2 Stat. 716), April 25, 1812, created the General Land Office (GLO) in the Department of the Treasury to "superintend, execute, and perform, all such acts and things, touching or respecting the public lands of the United States," including those functions formerly vested in the Secretaries of War and State. GLO transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior under provisions of its establishing act (9 Stat. 395), March 3, 1849. GLO and Grazing Service (SEE 49.6) consolidated to form BLM, 1946. SEE 49.1.

Textual Records (in Seattle): Records of the Boise land office (1867-1927), consisting of registers of cash sales, 1897-1908; and registers of land entries, 1869-1908. Records of the Blackfoot land office (1886-1948) and its predecessor at Oxford (1879-86), consisting of registers of cash sales, 1899-1906; and registers of land entries, 1888-1908. Records of the Hailey land office (1883-1925), consisting of registers of cash sales, 1883- 1909; and registers of land entries, 1883-1908. Records of the Coeur d'Alene land office (1885-1948), consisting of registers of cash sales and land entries, 1885-1908. Records of the Lewiston land office (1867-1925), consisting of registers of cash sales, 1877-1906; and registers of land entries, 1874-1908.

Textual Records (in Seattle): Township plats, 1892-1952. Tract books, 1877-1934. Group survey case files, 1923-70. Serialized case files for canceled and relinquished transactions, 1908-65. Land acquisition files, 1936-38. Public relations files, 1952-75. Unit resource analysis, 1964-82. Cooperative agreements, 1979-90. Resource Activity Plan (RAP) records, 1983-91. History files, 1966-84.

Record Group 49

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT at NARA's Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle)

³² From Internet site Range Maps for Dummies

http://www.rootsweb.com/~ilmaga/landmaps/range_map.html

³³ <http://www.nara.gov/guide/rg049.html>

Records Description

Dates: 1851-1978

Volume: 2924 cubic feet

Records of land offices of the territories (and later States) of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. The records document activities of the surveyors general, deputy surveyors in the field, and the local land offices. They also relate to settlers' requests for land or mineral surveys. Included are applications and correspondence.

Records of the district land offices for Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. The records relate to decisions and actions affecting the sections of each township. They contain the names of purchasers or grantees, the law under which the land was acquired, and plat book maps of each township after the land was surveyed. Included are correspondence, plat books, and tract books.

Finding Aids

Harry P. Yoshpe and Philip P. Brower, comps., *Preliminary Inventory of the Land-Entry Papers of the General Land Office*, PI 22 (1949).

Related Microfilm Publications

M25, *Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the General Land Office, 1796-1889*; **M27**, *Letters Sent by the General Land Office to the Surveyor General, 1796-1901*; **M145**, *Abstracts of Oregon Donation Land Claims, 1852-1903*; **M203**, *Abstracts of Washington Donation Land Claims, 1855-1902*; **M815**, *Oregon and Washington Donation Land Files, 1851-1903*; **M1620**, *Federal Land Records for Idaho, 1860-1934*.

Hone (1997: 171-3) describes a seven-step process for identifying and ordering a Land-Entry file. A brief outline of the process includes:

- (1) Identify the county location of the land-entry under study.
- (2) Get the legal description of the land-entry under study.
- (3) Locate the microfilmed tack book copy of the township in which the tract is located. The microfilms can be obtained from the local Family History Center.
- (4) Determine the appropriate land office for the tract.
- (5) Request a copy of the land-entry case file from:

National Archives
Textual Reference Branch
Washington, D. C. 20408

In the request state (a) the land office, (b) the land description, (c) the patent or certificate number and (d) the type of claim [i.e., homestead, timber and stone etc.]

- (6) The National Archives will then locate the file and notify you how much it will cost to copy or you can provide a charge number and they will automatically copy the file and charge your account.

The patents and other federal records are the initial documents related to the homestead. The history of the homestead after patent can be found in county records. Kootenai County included all of Idaho panhandle (other than Shoshone County) from 1868 to 1907 when Bonner County was created. Boundary and Benewah Counties were created in 1915. Alfred and Betty Shane (1985a and 1993) abstracted some of the information that is available in the Kootenai County records that relate to land transfers. According to Ellsworth (1976: 1)

Most properties have a chain of title that has been prepared by a professional abstractor. Either the property owner or the mortgage holder possesses this document. The abstract is just what its name implies, a brief outline of the essential information about a piece of property. Included are all references to deeds, mortgages, wills, probate records, court litigation, and tax sales--the essential legal proceedings that affect property ownership. This listing reveals who owned the lot of a house [or homestead] how long an individual owned it, and how much the property costs. Occasionally an abstract will include a description of buildings on the property or on an adjoining property . . . Basically, the abstract gives the broad outline of all legal transactions that affect the property. What does the researcher do, however, if an abstract is not available? In that case, one can find most of this information in various departments of the county court house; register of deeds, probate office, tax assessor's office. The basic information needed in order to trace the chain of title is the legal description . . .

Without an index, the search for information in county records is time consuming and may not be feasible for extensive research projects. The Montana State Historic Preservation Office (1982) outlined the basic research and records sources for buildings, which also applies to homesteads. The relevant sources that they identify include: plat records, deed indices, tax assessor's records, county address cards, newspapers, railroad and land developer promotional literature, manuscripts, journals and diaries, oral history, photographs and county histories.

The Forest Service recorded the one hundred and seven sites in Appendix E without the benefit of the Government Land Office township plat books, tract books or land entry case files. Other records, such as the Forest Service land status plats, comprise a weak substitute that contain far less than the primary GLO records. It is apparent from just the sample in Appendix E and the limited comparison possible to Appendix C that in order to efficiently and effectively record and interpret homestead archaeological sites, copies of the GLO records are indispensable.

6. Homestead Archaeology

Archaeologists study human societies by studying the relationship between these societies and the character, location and association of the physical objects. Products of technology found in the debris making up archaeological sites provide archaeologists their most important historical resource. Archaeologists assume that human culture leaves behind this evidence and that this evidence, through appropriate study, can reveal the underlying principals of human behavior. Applying this assumption to homestead history, archaeologists might ask, "What can we learn from the remnants of homesteads that can expand our knowledge of homesteaders and homesteading in general?"

One approach to answer this question begins by developing a written statement of what may be learned from the study of an archaeological site or sites, known as a research design. Such a research design contains the *historic context*, which is a systematic statement of what is known about the location, period of occupation and the relationship of the archaeological sites under study. Out of this statement archaeologists formulate questions that can be answerable through the further examination of these and related archaeological sites.

The first five chapters of this document serve to define the historic context of *homesteading in northern Idaho in the late 1800s and early 1900s*. Within this context a number of research objectives appear to be worth pursuing. These objectives include (1) supplement the historical record with archaeological data, (2) examine homesteads for historical patterns [and by extension human behavior] that are unique to the archaeological record and/or best studied by archaeological methods and (3) define the history of homesteading and related events that can be used in the interpreting this aspect of Idaho history to the general public.

Possible research questions concerning homesteads in northern Idaho in the late 1800s and early 1900s include questions about the character of specific sites and broader questions about the character of groups of homesteads in certain geographical areas.

In exploring the archaeology of specific homestead sites, certain features and types of artifacts represent known time periods. These features and artifacts also represent the domestic activities carried out on homesteads. In northern Idaho, the features marking a typical homestead consists of a residence, outhouse, shed and or barn, shops, hay shed, silo or granary, chicken coop and animal pens, ditches, dams, root cellar, water system, corrals and fences, access road or trail, agricultural fields, orchards and boundary markers.

Artifacts typically associated with homesteads include cans, bottles, cookware, eating utensils and ceramics, tools, clothing, nails, lamps, home furnishings, horseshoes and tack, baling wire, barrels, boxes, window glass, hinges and other hardware, cartridges, tobacco-related artifacts, alcohol related artifacts, coins, grooming related artifacts such as combs, and stoves. The time period occupied by the majority of homesteads in northern Idaho is between 1890 and 1920 and successful homesteads represent an occupation of greater than the required five-year residence.

A combination of features and artifacts, when found in undisturbed context, represent activities that homesteaders carried on at the site and may reflect their economic status, legal requirements and family composition. Later occupation of some sites altered the original context and content of the homesteads, as did salvaging by scavengers, burning by the government or vandals and destruction by natural decay.

The investigation of a group of homesteads within the same geographic area changes the focus of the research. The topography, soil, aspect, forest cover, water sources and distance from routes of travel influenced the general character of homesteading. With the expanded scope, the character of the landscape takes on special significance.

On the site-specific level, individual idiosyncratic human behavior varied considerably. On an area level, similar environments and similar regulatory requirements acted to produce wide similarities in homesteaders behavior. Adams (1977: 2) notes that topography became the dominant influence on the choice of routes of travel to and the character of settlements in the dry Snake River Valley of eastern Washington.

. . . the topography increased distance between homestead and market. The farmer or rancher had a difficult time marketing produce and obtaining supplies. Second, homesteads were located along the valley floors to be near water and to have flat land for buildings. Availability of water was frequently the determining factor of location. Flat land was irrigated for gardens, or if water was not available, used for buildings. Topography was also a factor in land use. Essentially there were three kinds of land use by the settlers: grazing, intensive farming, and extensive farming. The extensive farming consisted primarily of raising wheat in the rolling upland. Hillsides too steep to plow were grazed by cattle, horses, and sheep. The valley floor provided small patches of land, which could be intensively cultivated. Wherever water was available a variety of crops was grown.

In northern Idaho, as in eastern Washington, topography influenced not only the routes of travel and the character of homesteads, but also the sequence of homesteading. The choice lands suitable for agriculture were, when available, taken up first. Gradually settlers claimed less desirable lands until they reached a point when agriculture was not a factor in the selection of lands.

Folklorist, Louie Attebery (1985: 129) divides Idaho homesteads into three groups, the successful ones that prospered and expanded, the failures that did not succeed and finally those in between the first two that scraped by at the subsistence level. Attebery (1985: 142) found that

Washington County [Idaho] has many examples of major agricultural and livestock operations whose core is a nineteenth- or early twentieth-century homestead. These deserve study in their

own right, for in many respects they reflect the American dream of upward mobility. The formula can be expressed as "homestead plus hard work plus thrift equals expansion or success." On the way to success, these entrepreneurs swallowed up small and unsuccessful homesteads, often eliminating fences, homestead shacks, orchards, and other visual evidence of the integrity of the original claim. But of the other kind of homestead [i.e., subsistence]--the small-scale operation that stayed intact--there are few examples . . . [The configuration of this type of homestead] may be described as a clustering of structures around the permanent dwelling, built as needed.

The central feature common to all three groups of homesteads is the residence. The Homestead Acts prescribed that the homesteader establish residence, make improvements and cultivate the land, but did not dictate the exact character of the residence, improvements or cultivation. Jennifer Attebery (1991: 111) notes that

The first farm and ranch houses [on homesteads] . . . tended to be small, frequently the traditional Anglo-American single-cell house of about sixteen feet on each side. These single-room buildings were indistinguishable in plan from the many one-room cabins of isolated mines dotted throughout the states central mountains during this same period.

The one-room homestead, ranch, or mining house was built in at least three versions: the lateral-front single-cell house and two sorts of gable-front buildings: the Anglo-western house and the Rocky Mountain Cabin. Anglo-western houses, single-room houses with the door on a gable wall, were named for their presence in the prairie states. In the Rocky Mountain States the form appears to have developed during the 1880s into a gable-front house with a front roof extension, a type which archaeologist Mary Wilson has named the Rocky Mountain Cabin. Rocky Mountain Cabins are common to mining and agricultural settlements in mountainous central Idaho. By the 1900s, the type began to be constructed with motifs drawn from the Rustic style.

In most cases the original residence is no longer in existence on homesteads in Idaho. They have either been replaced by bigger, more modern structures or have long since rotted away on failed or fraudulent homesteads. The survivors, primarily located on subsistence farms, are rare and are getting progressively rarer.

A classification system of artifacts such as the one advocated by Sprague (1980-1) captures the character of the remains at homestead sites. In Sprague's system, historical artifacts fall into eight broad "functional" categories; personal items, domestic items, architecture, personal and domestic transportation, commerce and industry, group services, group ritual and unknowns. Sprague (1980-1: 253) explains that

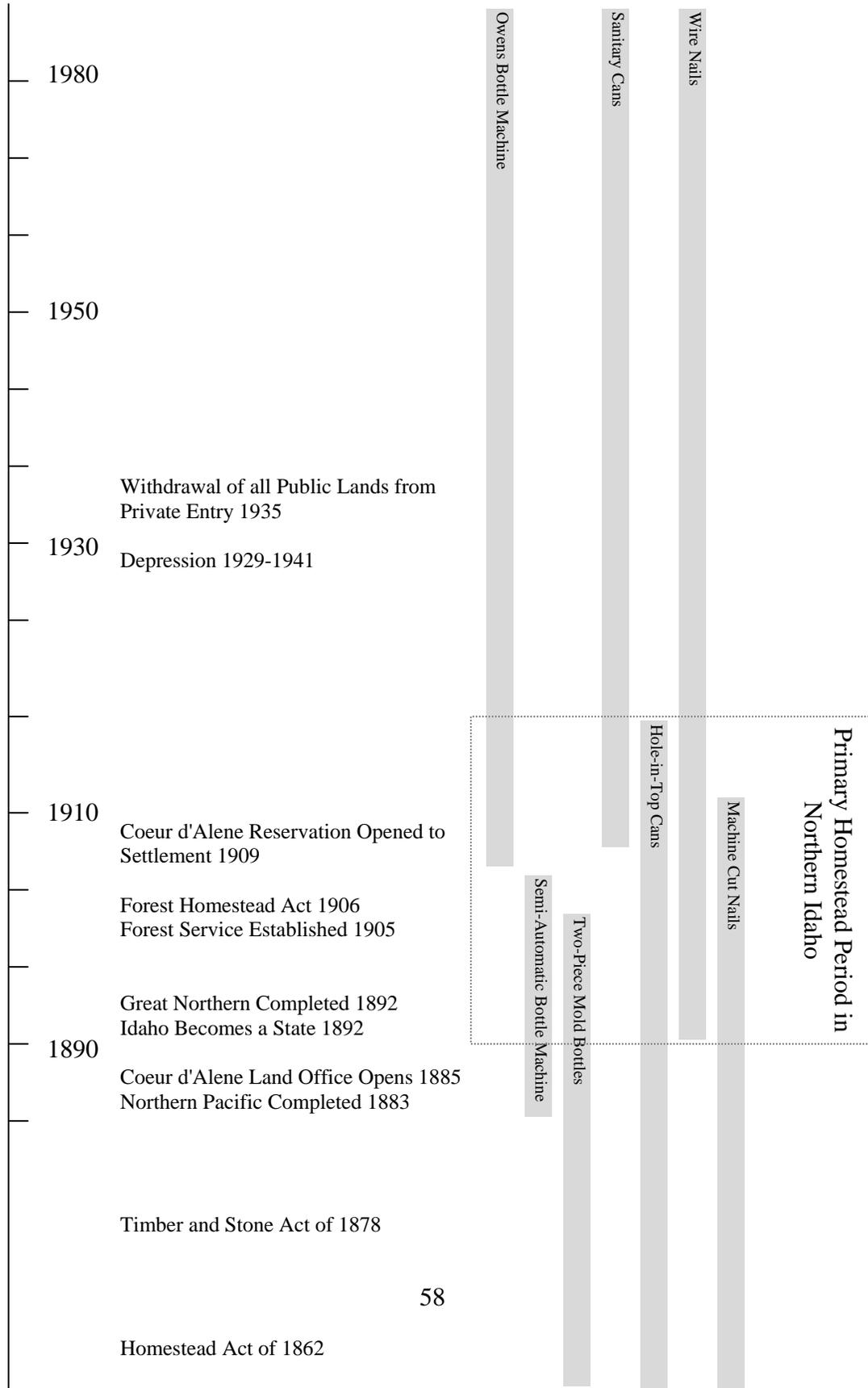
Each artifact is placed in a particular functional category and described in the context of the category. In this way the traditional prehistorian's material groupings are relegated to a lower level or to categories of unknown objects. The function of a cultural element is defined by Ralph Linton (1936: 404) as an expression of its relation to things within the socio-cultural configuration, as opposed to use, which is an expression of its relation to things external to that configuration. In Linton's example, an axe is used to chop wood but it has a function within the needs of the group. The axe helps satisfy the need for wood. In the final analysis, the purpose of a historic site study is to contribute to our understanding of the culture as a whole. This requires a knowledge of the function [in Linton's understanding of the term] of cultural elements discovered in that site.

Some variation of Sprague's categories may provide homestead sites with a more comprehensive functional description. For example, a modified functional system used successfully to describe a Northern Pacific Railroad construction site (Landreth, Boreson

and Condon 1985) uses categories: personal, food, drugs/alcohol, ammunition, structural, construction, farrier, supply/storage, and non-diagnostic/unknown.

Figure 19

Time Marker Artifacts Found on Homestead Sites



—
— 1870

In addition to assigning artifacts to a functional category, some artifacts can also be fitted into a chronological system and used as time markers. Examples of time marker artifacts are illustrated in Figure 19. The extent, content and occupation span place the homestead in one of the three homestead groups proposed by Louie Attebery (1985).

Appendix I contains a summary of one hundred and seven homestead sites and settler graves on the Idaho Panhandle National Forests. The dominant feature of the recorded homesteads is the log cabin. The activity represented by the recorded sites primarily dates to the first twenty years of the twentieth century.

It is not clear how, or if it is possible on the physical evidence alone, to distinguish, in the sample, failed homesteads from fraudulent homesteads. Many of the failures were certain to have been fraudulent. Some may have been actual late settlers making applications on marginal lands, or people seeking solitude and people seeking homes while working in the area.

Distinguishing successful homesteads is simpler because they have left behind a richer variety of structures and a greater evidence of agricultural pursuits. Most of these are not the high level, successful homesteads described by Attebery, but his middle level subsistence homesteads. There appear to be only two high level, successful homesteads in the sample. This situation developed because the homesteads in the sample are primarily those that came back into Federal ownership or, in a few instances, are those surrounded by Forest Service managed lands. The truly successful homesteads, in Attebery's classification, are still in private hands and would not normally be recorded as historic sites by federal archaeologists.

The two examples of successful homesteads included in Appendix I include 10-BR-0069 and a site just across the State Line in Washington, 45-PO-0002, both of which occupy natural meadowlands west of the Priest River. Both of these examples preserve the original structures on the homesteads and have added structures over time and with new owners. Both are farms, which have as their greatest asset, pasturage and the potential for hay production.

In mapping the townships [Based on Appendices C through H] by settlement type [See Figure 12, 13, 14 and 15], there is agreement between landscape and the character of the settlement. On the St. Joe Forest (Figure 12), for example, all of the marginally agricultural townships and the single agricultural township occur west of the St. Maries River. Timber squatters took up residence along the western edge of the proclaimed National Forest east of the St. Maries River in dense stands of old growth white pine. On the eastern two thirds of the St. Joe River drainage, settlers made no attempt to file any type of claims. What this demonstrates is that the landscape not only dictated the location of actual homesteaders but of the location of the fraudulent ones as well. In

similar fashion, Figures 13, 14 and 15 show the townships making up the Coeur d'Alene, Pend Oreille and Kaniksu National Forests can be classified as marginally agricultural and agricultural to timber ground based on topography and distance to markets.



Figure 20: Example of a homestead overlooking Lake Pend Orielle that has been transformed into a summer home by well to do urbanites.³⁴

³⁴ Photograph from Decamp (1917) Land Classification in the Pend Oreille National Forest.

Comparing the contents of Appendix I with the results of early Forest Service studies of homestead potential in northern Idaho, which are abstracted in Appendices C-H, there is agreement between the findings of the Forest Service studies and the work of the Forest Service archaeologists in the last thirty years. As an example, on the St. Joe National Forest (Figure 12), six of the homestead sites and three of the graves recorded by the Forest Service and shown in Appendix I are on townships listed in Appendix C. Grave sites 10- SE-0061, 0120, and 0157 and homestead sites 10-SE-0157, 0381, 0520, and 0861 show up in "timber squatter" type townships. The graves are in Marble Creek, a hot bed of timber homesteading, fraud and claim jumping. The homestead sites consist of nothing more than cabin remnants on timber, not agricultural ground.

Appendix C contains two other recorded homestead sites located on townships listed in Appendix I. The two townships are in the "nonagricultural residence" type. Site 10-SE-0553 is made up of a log cabin remnant and a cellar and appears to have resulted from an unsuccessful timber claim. Site 10-SE-0403 is the residence of Thomas L. Fenlon and later George L Lamb. While they grew vegetables and hay on the homestead it was not self-supporting and provided a residence rather than an income. This was the only such homestead and the only one of the two homesteads in this township that succeeded as far as patent.

Taken as a whole, homesteads listed in Appendix I are located primarily in the marginally agricultural and known timber squatter townships. The character of the resulting homesteads tends toward short unsuccessful attempts or fraudulent timber driven claims or at the most, poor subsistence level farms where the income is derived off the homestead. This further demonstrates the general agreement between the character of the homestead, the topography, location and the agricultural productivity of the area. The character of the archaeological remains can be expected to reflect this marginal agricultural development and timber squatting activity.

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