United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items

X	New Submission		Amended Submission

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation
Date Approved: September 25, 2024
NRIS No. MC100010857
Oregon State Historic Preservation Office

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Black Historic Resources in Oregon, 1788-2002

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Era 1: Exploration, Expedition, and Pre-Territorial Government Actions (1788-1842)
Era 2: Black Pioneers and Government Measures to Exclude Black People (1843-1867)
Era 3: Anti-Black State Amidst a Post-Emancipation Nation (1868-1919)
Era 4: Interwar Years, the Great Depression, and the KKK (1920-1941)
Era 5: World War II, War on Poverty, and the Civil Rights Movement (1942-1969)
Era 6: The Recent Black Past (1970-2002)

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Kimberly S. Moreland, Christopher Ruiz, Ann Craig, Ishalom Keren, Jessica Engeman, Milo Reed, and Erik Hovmiller date 3/1/2024

organization University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History and Continuum Preservation Consulting telephone (503) 986-0690

street & number 1680 East 15th Avenue email Robert.olguin@oprd.oregon.gov

city or town Eugene state OR zip code 97401

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for listing related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

08/09/24

Signature and title of certifying official: Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer — Date

Oregon State Historic Preservation Office
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Black Historic Resources in Oregon, 1788-2002
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon
State

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts
(if more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

INTRODUCTION

This context provides an expansive history of African Americans in Oregon from 1788 through 2002. It begins with the first known Black person to have set foot on Oregon's land and ends with the removal of race-related language from Oregon's constitution. By mapping the people and the places associated with Black history in Oregon across more than two centuries, this context demonstrates that Black Oregonians had a unique and significant role in the history of the state.

The context makes a chronological presentation of Oregon's Black history, as this history is inextricably linked with state-level occurrences. The formation of early laws, the influence of national events like the Civil War, and the effects of international events like World War II will feature as they pertain to the history of Oregon, with, of course, a focus on Black Oregonians. This context is broken into six eras, which include:

Era 1: Exploration, Expedition, and Pre-Territorial Government Actions (1788-1842)
Era 2: Black Pioneers and Government Measures to Exclude Black People (1843-1867)
Era 3: Anti-Black State Amidst a Post-Emancipation Nation (1868-1919)
Era 4: Interwar Years, the Great Depression, and the KKK (1920-1941)
Era 5: World War II, War on Poverty, and the Civil Rights Movement (1942-1969)
Era 6: The Recent Black Past (1970-2002)

The initial presence of African Americans in Oregon tracks closely with the westward settlement of North America by Europeans and Euro-Americans. Small numbers of Black people traveled to the Oregon Country as part of early explorations, fur trapping, and as overland guides, which is described in Era 1. Few of these earliest Black adventurers stayed, however. It was during the next era—the middle decades of the 1800s—when the mass migration of American pioneers brought more Black people in small numbers to Oregon. Some were enslaved while others were free. The essence of the dominant themes of Oregon's Black history developed during this second era before sizable numbers of Black people ever resided in the region. It was heavily influenced by the prevalent attitudes among the white majority population, which gave birth to a legacy of Black exclusion and anti-Black discrimination within the state of Oregon. These desires and acts were prominently formalized in Oregon's earliest legislation and continued through subsequent government measures.

The Civil War begat the emancipation of African Americans and associated changes to the United States Constitution, legally nullifying most of Oregon's early efforts to keep Blacks out of the state. Yet, as Era 3 demonstrates, anti-Black actions and segregation would continue. It took decades, extending into the subsequent eras of this study, for the remnants of official Black exclusion and anti-Black discrimination by the government to be dismantled and for the freedoms of Black Oregonians to be incrementally affirmed and secured. Portland became the home to the large majority of Black Oregonians during this third era, where the rising Black population allowed for the development of a self-sustaining community. While the numbers of Black people grew substantially in Oregon during this era, the next two decades that comprise Era 4 saw a virtual stagnation.

Era 4 covers the years between World War I and World War II, including a short but terrifying resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the Great Depression—a period that hit Black Oregonians especially hard. Next, Era 5 showcases the profound effects of World War II on Oregon's Black history—an event that drew thousands of African Americans to Oregon for wartime work. Afterwards, Black Oregonians, many who sacrificed for the nation's victory in war, marshalled the spirit needed and coalesced into the pivotal movement to advocate for their civil rights. Finally, the context statement ends with events from the more recent past. This last era includes a notable shift in Oregon's Black population to being less Portland-centric, the expansion of employment opportunities, the reformation of laws, and a

racially-motivated murder and ensuing court case. Ultimately, this tragic event and the legal proceedings that followed did indeed set Oregon on a course towards greater awareness of the racism that still existed. Additionally, it brought about progress toward eliminating bias and hate.

Geographically, the context in this MPD demonstrates the extent of the Black community in Oregon and its constituent places. While Black history in Oregon pervades all areas of the state, this MPD intentionally limits the discussion of its largest city, Portland, because the *African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973* MPD covers that context.[1] Given Portland's historical dominance in the state, the largest numbers of African Americans have lived and continue to live in Portland. Accordingly, some events in the city have influenced Black history in other parts of the state. These will be referenced occasionally, but a complete history of the Black experience in Portland is not included here. For historic properties located within the geographical boundaries of Portland, the *African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973* MPD should be used, however, this does not preclude listing a Portland resource under the *Black Historic Resources in Oregon, 1788-2002*, MPD if this document contains the appropriate context or, say, is a historic property with a period of significance before the incorporation of Portland.[2]

Populations of Black Oregonians continually shifted depending on the time and the place. The demographic composition also experienced reconfigurations. Some places in Oregon had sizable Black populations for decades while others had Black residents only briefly—or if at all. In some locales, the Black population peaked early, while others developed later. Regardless, population information is important to this MPD because it establishes where the proportionately few Black Oregonians were living across the eras. Understanding population trends also helps to characterize Black communities and identifies how key events in Oregon's Black history impacted where Black people lived in the state. Key population centers are described in this context to provide specific information about cities, towns, and counties in Oregon that feature prominently in the history of Black Oregonians.

Somewhat differing from other western counterparts, Black people in Oregon were mostly very dispersed, later concentrating in Portland during the 1880s and even more so after World War II. Most other cities and towns where African Americans lived in Oregon did not build the type of autonomous local community that Portland had. Lacking the range of support that a critical mass of people can create, Oregon's Black populations often lacked a sense of cohesive community. While reasons were somewhat unique to each locale, the small number of Black people was the main limiting factor. Of course, other universal factors such as segregation, legal structures, and dominant discriminatory attitudes all imposed significant strictures on the development of community and also limited residential stability, economic security, and upward mobility. Even in cases when only a small number of African Americans came to live in a city or town, proximity to one another and the presence of multiple generations were sometimes enough to surmount obstacles to community-building. Some of the notable population centers in this study did form sufficiently-sized communities that surpassed these strictures. They created community cohesion, mutual support, and autonomy through proximity, physical gathering spaces, business enterprises, shared values, and common causes.

In documenting the varied places where Black people lived across Oregon, their stories are important, especially considering the tremendous barriers they faced. This context statement provides numerous vignettes that aim to illustrate the collective circumstances, struggles, and triumphs of Black Oregonians. They showcase how laws, events, and trends unique to each era manifested in their individual lives. In many cases, these people are associated with buildings and sites that further reflect or embody their significant accomplishments.

[1] For Portland area resources, see Catherine Galbraith, Caitlyn Ewers, Kerrie Franey, Matthew Davis, and Brandon Spencer-Hartle, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973," Washington DC: US Department of the Interior (DOI), National Park Service (NPS), 2019.

[2] As a note, while the MPD applies to properties within Oregon, this MPD does not apply to any historic properties owned by the federal government. Any federally-owned property proposed for nomination under this MPD will have to include the review and approval of the Multiple Property Submission cover document by the appropriate federal agency at the time of nomination.

For Black populations and individuals alike, this context highlights the economic story of Black Oregonians, as the ways in which people are able to make their living is integral to the history of a community. As was common across the country during much of the time frame presented here, African Americans in Oregon were relegated to low-paying and often physically-demanding jobs. These include laborers, porters, servants, laundry workers, and the like. They also commonly worked in mining, timber, farming, ranching, railroading, construction, and hospitality. While land ownership was initially next to impossible, some did acquire and develop homesteads and build their own homes. Many ran boarding houses, restaurants, brothels, barber shops, and shoeshine parlors. Some made their living as musicians or athletes. As the decades went on, Black Oregonians were able to move into more varied positions including in the military, manufacturing, clerical work, and eventually into professional jobs. This context helps tell the story of how Black people made their living, which was integral in the gradual process of integrating into the Oregon economy.

Of particular note in the history of Black Oregonians is the history of racism in the state. As a part of this Euro-American-dominated continent, Oregon has its own cruel chapter in the history of treatment of non-whites. The region's Native American population was decimated with the same contempt, self-importance, and callous disregard as the treatment of Blacks. However, Oregon was not just simply aligned against Black people; it was a state that was formed with a dream of creating an agrarian utopia for white people. From its inception, by limiting the rights of Blacks and other non-white people to exist in Oregon, the state kept the Black population at only 0.2% to 0.3% through the 1930s. It took World War II, bringing thousands of African Americans to Oregon, to cause that population share to rise, yet still only to 0.8%. It has since risen incrementally to 1.6% at the end of this study. Despite the early attempts to create a statewide enclave for white Americans, there was a degree of complexity and contradiction within this pursuit. Exceptions existed to how the white culture predominantly perceived and treated Black people in Oregon, which will be explained in this context statement.

While Blacks were officially and openly unwelcome in Oregon, some persisted in carving out their own existence in the state. Some who came were leaving places more contemptible than Oregon and they decided to take their chances on the western frontier. However, they did so in consistently small numbers. Thus, there was no critical mass to affect societal and legal changes to an effective degree like there was in the eastern part of the country in the 1800s. The relative rarity of Black people early in Oregon's history made them, in some ways, nearly invisible. At the same time, Black Oregonians often filled public-facing jobs such as porters[3], bootblacks[4], and barbers for much of the 20th century, and later as athletes and performers. They also provided essential labor to fuel Oregon's growing economy. As an extreme minority in the state, Blacks faced epic struggles as they made their homes, established their livelihoods, built community, pursued athleticism and artistic expression, and advocated for their civil rights. As will be documented in this MPD, Black people have adventured, thrived, struggled, and created a rising history for themselves within a state reviled for its legacy of excluding them.

Lastly, this Historic Context Statement is written with deep gratitude for all those whose efforts contributed to Oregon's collective knowledge of African American history. This document would not be possible without your hard work and commitment to revealing Oregon's rich African American heritage.

Document Organization

In this context, each era is generally organized by first presenting the major events of the era, such as emigration, the development of government and laws, and so forth. Next, Black population trends and population centers are discussed. Key population centers are called out to provide specific information about cities, towns, and counties in Oregon that feature prominently in the history of Black Oregonians. Then, a series of vignettes will give a snapshot of significant Black people and paint a picture of what life was like for Black Oregonians throughout the state's history. In some

[3] A porter is someone employed to carry baggage for patrons at a hotel or transportation terminal. Specific to the railways, porters would also wait on passengers and act as attendants on sleeping cars.

[4] A bootblack was a common term that referred to a person who cleans and polishes boots and shoes for a living.

cases, such as Era 2, when there are a large number of stories about early Black pioneers, these are temporally organized in the document to coincide with discussion of early laws that directly impacted their lives. Lastly, registration requirements for nominating individual properties and districts to the National Register is provided in Section F.

Population Data

The MPD narrative provides critical information about the changing Black population in Oregon. Decennial United States census records accessed via Ancestry.com were used to review the composition, location, family characteristics, race, professions, and so forth for people in geographic areas across the state. These records also supplemented information on individual African Americans who are referenced in the context statement. Further, the United States government produced reports on each census, which were used as a resource to obtain population numbers for the state, counties, cities, and census districts. These resources are listed in the Bibliography section at the end of this document. In many places within the context statement, analysis of census records is included, mostly to demonstrate the changes in Black population within the state, counties, and cities. Unless otherwise noted, all analysis was conducted by the MPD authors. The most frequent analysis provided in the context statement is a quantification of Black population growth, presented as a percentage. This was done taking the population from one census year, subtracting the population number from the previous census year, and dividing that by the earlier year.

The following table, which shows the growth of Oregon's Black population by decade, can be used as a reference throughout the reading of this MPD.

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1850 to 2000

Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1850s	51	112	119.6%	55	128	132.7%	4	16	300.0%
1860s	112	185	65.2%	128	346	170.3%	16	161	906.3%
1870s	185	300	62.0%	346	497	43.0%	161	192	29.0%
1880s	300	706	135.0%	497	1,186	138.0%	192	480	150.0%
1890s	706	330	-139.0%	1,186	1,105	-7.0%	480	775	61.0%
1900s	330	447	35.0%	1,105	1,492	35.0%	775	1,048	35.0%
1910s	447	580	29.0%	1,492	2,144	43.0%	1,048	1,556	49.0%
1920s	580	634	9.3%	2,144	2,234	4.2%	1,556	1,559	0.2%
1930s	634	565	-11.0%	2,234	2,565	14.8%	1,559	1,931	23.8%
1940s	565	1722	200.9%	2,565	11,529	349.5%	1,931	9,529	393.5%
1950s	1,722	2,100	21.9%	11,529	18,133	57.3%	9,529	15,367	64.1%
1960s	2,100	4,736	100.5%	18,133	26	45.1%	15,637	21,572	37.9%
1970s	4,736	9,605	102.8%	26,308	37,060	40.9%	21,572	27,734	29.9%
1980s	9,605	13,639	42.0%	37,060	46,178	23.3%	27,734	33,530	17.6%
1990s	13,639	20,547	45.7%	46,178	55,662	20.5%	33,530	35,115	3.9%
Year 2000	20,547			55,662			35,115		

Figure 1 - Growth of Oregon's Black population from 1850 to 2000.[5]

The table provides data specific to the study area (which is the statewide population count minus Portland's Black population) and reflects how the population changed by decade. For instance, from 1850 to 1860, the population in the

[5] All population numbers are from U.S. census reports as explained in the Use of Census Data section. Population numbers starting in the late 1800s for Portland and the study area are not precise as Portland's population numbers are not exact due to the need to account for Portland's 2019 boundaries. However, effort was made to accurately estimate the number by a careful review of county precincts.

study area grew from 51 Blacks to 112—a 119% increase. Evident in this table are surges in population as well as reductions, as well as the shift toward Portland being the primary Black population center.

Terms and Definitions

This MPD uses present-day names for locations, unless otherwise noted as being from the era in which an event occurred. Businesses, homes, and other buildings mentioned in the narrative are identified by address whenever known. Demolished properties sometimes include their present-day address when known because, even though no longer extant, the locations of these resources may be useful in locating other Black-history-related properties and/or may have archaeological relevance. Additionally, because this MPD covers all parts of Oregon except for Portland, the phrase "outside of Portland" appears frequently. Specifically, this refers to Portland's 2019 boundaries. Throughout history, Portland has grown, annexing land and other towns into its city limits. The Portland MPD referenced earlier covers the geographic area that is within the city's 2019 boundaries. Often, the number of Black Oregonians living "outside of Portland" are unavoidably imprecise in this MPD but were determined by reviewing census data and noting when a census location was or was not inside of Portland's 2019 boundaries.

African, African American, and Black – The terms "African American" and "Black" are used interchangeably or as appropriate. The term African is used in this context when describing enslaved Black people (for example, "enslaved Africans") or African immigrants. The term **'African American'** describes ethnicity, while **'Black'** often describes race**.**

Enslaver, Enslaved – The term 'enslaved' is used to reflect the condition of slavery that was forcefully imposed and inflicted upon an individual or group of people. 'Enslaved' emphasizes the humanity of a person or group of people while recognizing they were forcibly kept in bondage, rather than the term "slave", which reinforces the idea that the identity of a person or group of people as a commodity or property. The term 'enslaver' is used in place of "owner" or "master" to avoid reinforcing authority and power of the 'enslaver' and to abstain from hierarchical constructs.[6]

Euro-American, European, European American, white – These terms are used, often interchangeably, referring to people of European ancestry.

Indigenous, Native American, Indian, and Native people – Indigenous, Native American, Indian, and Native will be used interchangeably or as appropriate. Of note, staff at Confederated of Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), prefer the term "Indian" to refer to Indigenous people of the Northwest.

Kanakas – The term Kanakas was used up until the early 20th century to refer to Native Hawaiians, as kanaka means person in Hawaiian. Hawaiians were usually enumerated as Black in early censuses**.**

Mulatto – No longer used, this period term described a mixed-race person usually with 50% African ethnicity. Early censuses counted a "mulatto" as Black, though one or two censuses in the late 1800s counted them as white. After that, they reverted back to being enumerated as Black.

Tragedy and Massacre – In the past, these terms were often used in the names of historic events, such as the "Whitman Mission Massacre." In more recent years, the National Parks Service and scholars have phased out words such as "massacre" in favor of more neutral language. Related to the Whitman Mission event, it is now called the Tragedy of Waiilatpu. This MPD adopts this more neutral language related to historical conflicts.

[6] National Park Service, "Language of Slavery," January 28, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/language-of-slavery.htm, accessed March 20, 2023.

ERA 1: EXPLORATION, EXPEDITION, AND PRE-TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT ACTIONS (1788-1842)

Oregon's Pre-European History and Impacts on Native Populations

The current boundaries of the State of Oregon hosted human populations starting over 18,000 years ago.[7] The original inhabitants came to these lands from Asia, populating many parts of the state, but especially along the coast and the major waterways where they were organized into bands and villages. First contact with Europeans happened around 1579 when Native peoples were concentrated along the Columbia River, in the river valleys west of the Cascades, and around coastal rivers and inlets.[8] Their populations began a rapid decline starting in the late 1700s due to European diseases (smallpox, malaria, measles, influenza) that were introduced by those who came on the Spanish ships *Santiago* and *Sonoro* in 1775. Natives were unable to fight these infectious diseases and populations were decimated. Some estimates suggest a pre-contact population estimate of 50,000 to 120,000 and, in a matter of years, their numbers had dropped significantly.[9]

The Willamette Valley was particularly hard hit. It is estimated that the Kalapuyan population of the Willamette Valley may have numbered as many as 15,000 people prior to contact with Euro-Americans. During the period between 1805 and 1830, the Kalapuyan population declined to approximately 9,000. The severity of the epidemics was such that some accounts record stories of entire villages being wiped out. By 1849, the population had dropped to around 600. In 1856, after the Willamette Valley Treaty concluded, many of the remaining Kalapuyan peoples were removed from their ancestral lands and forcibly relocated to the Grand Ronde Reservation in Polk County.[10] Other tribes in Oregon were also forcibly removed from their traditional lands.

The authors of this MPD wish to convey respect, acknowledgement, and the honoring of all of Oregon's Indigenous communities throughout time, including those displaced from other states. There are, at present, nine federally recognized Indigenous Nations of Oregon: **The Klamath**, **Burns Paiute**, **Coquille**, **Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde**, **Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians**, **Confederated Tribes of Umatilla**, **Confederated Tribes of Siletz**, **Confederated Tribes of Coos**, **Lower Umpqua**, **and Siuslaw**, **and the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs**. These Indigenous Peoples have enduring and current relationships with the land, including public lands and spaces where cities, towns, farms, ranches, and timberlands have been built and managed by non-Native settlers. We recognize that Native communities were forcibly removed from the land where we now reside. While recognizing that African Americans and Native American communities have experienced injustices, we also acknowledge that African Americans participated in displacing Tribal communities and culture.[11]

Overview of Era 1

This era of Oregon's history occurred before any form of European-American governance was established. At the era's beginning, Oregon was a region populated only with Native Americans. As people of European descent became more

[7] "Testing Yields New Evidence of Human Occupation 18,000 Years Ago in Oregon, https://www.blm.gov/press-release/testing-yields-new-evidence-human-occupation-18000-years-ago-oregon, accessed January 30, 2024.

[8] William Robbins, "This Land, Oregon," *Oregon History* Project, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/the-first-peoples/the-first-peoples/, accessed January 30, 2024.

[9] David Lewis, "Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/confederated_tribes_of_grand_ronde/, accessed January 30, 2024; "Native American Peoples of Oregon," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Native_American_peoples_of_Oregon#cite_ref-Carey1-47_1-0, accessed January 30, 2024.

[10] Steph Littlebird Fogel, "This IS Kalapuyan Land," Five Oaks Museum, Online Exhibit, 2020, https://fiveoaksmuseum.org/exhibit/this-is-kalapuyan-land/, accessed March 9, 2023; Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999).

[11] This land acknowledgment was inspired by Oregon Wild's Land Acknowledgment.

interested in and capable of traveling beyond the limits of their home and population centers, explorers traveled to the "Northwest Coast"—as it was called then. The European and American discovery of this region brought Pacific Ocean-going expeditions that traveled the coastline. Later, the mouth of the Columbia River was located and identified as a possible route into the interior of the country. Finding such a route was desirable to international trade entities as it furthered access to the markets of Asia via the Pacific Ocean.

For a time, four different nations with territorial ambitions angled to garner enough rights to claim the Northwest Coast as their own. Ultimately, the United States and Great Britain agreed to joint occupation in 1818, calling the region the "Oregon Country." Around that time, ambitions within the growing enterprise related to fur pelts prompted the commercial exploration of the land and its rivers. Additionally, government-funded expeditions originating from the interior of the continent and by sea explored Oregon. Collectively, these travels would contribute to and set the foundation for the eventual western expansion of Americans into Oregon.

After the initial explorations, British and, to a lesser extent, American trapping companies set up the first permanent residences by non-Indigenous people in the form of forts. The Hudson Bay Company was the dominant enterprise early on, making alliances with local Oregon Indians, such as the Chinookans and Kalapuyans. Years later, American missionaries set up in Oregon, aiming to convert Native Americans to Christianity. They established communities that they hoped would serve as outposts for their beliefs and as invitations for more people to join the effort. Their letters sent back East described the land's potential. These descriptions help build American interest in the region and, by the late 1830s, most Americans knew about the area and felt the American claim to it was legitimate.[12] As word spread about the promise of Oregon, the earliest pioneers (those not tied to the fur trade or the plying of religion) traveled to establish homes and farms to sustain themselves in Oregon.

This first era will present the stories of over a dozen Black people who partook in the exploration of the lands and waterways of Oregon. They were a part of the first exploratory travels to the "Northwest Coast" and the "Oregon Country," led by the main European powers (Britain and Spain), and the United States. Black people were employed aboard ships as cooks and stewards but would assume a variety of roles as situations unfolded. Land-based expeditions would include Black people as well, in roles such as guide, blacksmith, or personal servant. People chosen for these land expeditions were typically multi-talented as it was important for skills to be well represented across the group in the event of sickness, death, or desertion. The forthcoming vignettes will demonstrate that Black people were involved in the actions that defined this earliest part of Oregon's recorded history. Some of the people presented were minor players while others had more significant roles. Of critical significance, 89% of Black people in the United States were enslaved at this time (using 1840 data), but some who traveled to and within Oregon were free agents in this land of slavery.

First Phase of Oregon Exploration

Black People Traveling with Sir Frances Drake and Other Explorers

The presence of Black people in Oregon may date back as early as the sixteenth century, during the age of early European exploration in western North America. The first Black people who set foot on Oregon soil likely were those aboard Sir Francis Drake's *Golden Hind* expedition. On June 17, 1579, Drake, an Englishman, found a protected cove to repair his ship and prepare for a return journey across the Pacific Ocean. He stayed there for several weeks and recorded his friendly encounters with the Indigenous people. The location was, until relatively recently, thought to be near San Francisco. However, recent scholarship has argued that the actual landing site might have been Oregon's Whale Cove in Tillamook County.[13]

[12] Thomas Richards Jr., "Farewell to America," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 86, No. 1, February 2017, 114-152.

[13] Melissa Darby, *Thunder Go North: The Hunt for Sir Francis Drake's Fair and Good Bay.* (Salt Lake City, Utah; University of Utah Press, 2019), 67-68.

Included aboard Drake's ship at the time of its landing was an African named Diego (no known surname) who fled Spanish enslavement to join Drake when his company attacked the port of Nombre de Dios in Panama in 1572. Diego became Drake's paid manservant and Spanish interpreter on other voyages including on the *Golden Hind*. While he was not the first known Black circumnavigator (there were Africans aboard Magellan's fleet in 1519-1522), he was invaluable to Drake due to his local knowledge, aptitude for building, language skills, and talent for subterfuge. He was said to have been treated well because of his value the explorer.[14] It was seemingly a much different experience for some of the other Africans on the ship, particularly the one female. In total, there were thought to be four others—a Cimarron man who came aboard at Paita, Peru, a man taken from a courtroom in Huatulco, Mexico, and a woman named Maria and an unnamed man that Drake seized from a Spanish ship off the coast of Guatemala in April 1579. Maria was either pregnant at the time or soon became pregnant aboard the *Golden Hind*. In December 1579, Drake abandoned Maria and two of the African men on an island in Indonesia where they most likely died of exposure.[15]

In the years following Drake's voyage, other Black sailors may have visited the region aboard other European vessels. For example, eighteenth-century Spanish explorer Esteban Jose Martinez described his multi-racial crew to another explorer in Alaska as consisting of Negroes, Indians, and mulattos, while indicating that few were born in Spain. Although details are otherwise sparse, it is clear that European exploration crews were often multi-racial and multicultural.

Markus Lopius Working Aboard the *Lady Washington*

Markus Lopius is thought to be the first documented Black person to set foot in present-day Oregon.[16] He was a Black crew member of Captain Robert Gray—the first American to explore the Oregon coast and the first known explorer to anchor a ship at the mouth of the Columbia River. Gray hired Lopius at his home on the Cape Verde archipelago off the coast of Africa and Lopius would act as a cabin boy and cook aboard Gray's ship—the *Lady Washington*. On August 14, 1788, the *Lady Washington* entered Tillamook Bay near present-day Garibaldi and cast anchor. Crew members, including Lopius, went ashore to acquire provisions and, two days later, while Lopius was cutting grass for the ship's livestock, a local Native attempted to steal his sword. Lopius caught the man, which led other Natives to attack him. He was shot with an arrow as he attempted to run back to his fellow crew members. Upon seeing the violent encounter, the crew retreated to the *Lady Washington* with Lopius's body left ashore.[17] Lopius' death was documented by an officer aboard the ship whose report marks the start of the modern record of Black people in Oregon.

York—A Member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

By the turn-of-the-nineteenth-century, exploration of the Oregon Country also included expeditions from within the continent via its land and rivers. The second confirmed Black person to visit the land of today's Oregon was a man named York (surname unknown). He was a member of the first and most significant exploration of Oregon—the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery Expedition.

York was born enslaved in about 1770 at the Virginia home of William Clark, co-leader of the Corps. Since childhood, York had been assigned as personal companion to Clark, before eventually also becoming his manservant.York would continue to be Clark's personal slave until around 1816, when he was granted his freedom. By the time the expedition

[14] Miranda Kaufmann, *The Black Tudors*. LaVergne: One World Publications, 2017, 131.

[15] Ibid, 135.

[16] Darrell Millner, "The Death of Markus Lopius: Fact or Fantasy? First Documented Presence of a Black Man in Oregon August 16, 1788," *Trotter Review* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1991) 19-23. Note that historian Elizabeth McLagan identified him as "Marcus Lopez."

[17] There is a historical marker for the Robert Gray Landing Site west of present-day Garibaldi, Tillamook County, Oregon at UTM coordinates 10T 427579E 5045464N, see Barry Swackhamer, "Captain Robert Gray Historical Marker," The Historical Marker Database, last modified July 21, 2021 https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=113549.

started in 1804, York had acquired a wide variety of skills as a hunter, cook, woodsman, and fisherman. All of these skills were put to use on the journey, earning him the respect of the expedition men.

The Corps of Discovery entered Oregon in 1805 rafting west (downstream) on the Columbia River. When the Corps reached the end of the Columbia River at the Pacific Ocean in December 1805, York helped to build their winter quarters. While temporary, these were the first known residential structures built by Europeans or Americans in Oregon. **Fort Clatsop**, where members of the expedition resided until March 1806, exists today as a 2006 replica, five miles outside of Astoria.[18] The Corps returned to Missouri in September 1806.

As a part of the Corps' journey, York was responsible for transporting supplies, hunting for food, participating in scouting and side trips, as well as constructing makeshift camps along the way such as the **Rock Fort campsite** near The Dalles. Here they stayed for six days while meeting, trading, eating, smoking, and dancing with members of the Wasco-Wishram tribes.[19] York's presence on the Corps proved to be a diplomatic asset in establishing relations with Indigenous tribes. He was likely the first Black explorer some natives had ever seen, and his presence offered additional curiosity for Indigenous people, who called him "Big Medicine."[20] He also acted as a trader with the Indians.[21]

Despite York's significant contributions to the success of the expedition, he was given little acknowledgement for his efforts. He was the only adult male member of the Corps of Discovery who did not receive 320 acres of land and double pay at the journey's conclusion in 1806.[22] While not the first confirmed Black person to set foot on Oregon soil, York was the first to significantly contribute to the exploration of Oregon.[23]

Trappers and Traders

Early exploration in Oregon was predominately resource-driven and little to no significant non-Native settlement occurred until after York's brief stay in Oregon. Euro-American settlement began around 1810 and was driven by the fur trade. The Pacific Northwest would become a major contributor to the global fur trade/enterprise, which was the earliest significant economic enterprise that Europeans and Americans pursued in western North America. In the decades following the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the British and their Hudson's Bay Company had come to dominate much of what was known as the Oregon Country.

---

[18] Fort Clatsop National Memorial Replica was constructed in 1955 and reconstructed in 2006 following a fire that destroyed the earlier replica shortly before the site's 200-year anniversary. Fort Clatsop National Memorial (NMEM) was authorized by Congress on May 29, 1958 and was entered automatically into the National Register on October 15, 1966. A National Register form was eventually prepared in 1988. The Lewis and Clark National Historical Park was created in 2004 by expanding and renaming Ft. Clatsop NMEM to include additional sites along the lower Columbia River related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Archaeological investigations have been previously conducted at the memorial site but to date these investigations have not conclusively confirmed the presence of an archaeological site [continues on next page].

See Douglas C. Wilson, *Searching for Lewis & Clark at Fort Clatsop* (Vancouver, WA: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, 2006), on file at the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), report no. 22072. Also, see Martha Anderson, *Black Pioneers of the Northwest: 1800-1918* (Portland: s.n., 1980), 51.

[19] The Corps of Discovery had campsites along the Columbia River on both sides of the river when they traveled west to the Pacific and on the return journey. Some of these sites have been the subject of archaeological studies including the **Rock Fort (site 35WS680)** near present-day The Dalles. The Rock Fort campsite was listed on the NRHP in 1980 for archaeological potential. See Kenneth W. Karsmizki, *Rock Fort Site: Report of Research* (The Dalles: Wasco County Historical Museum, 2008), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 22091. See also, "Fort Rock Campsite Oregon," https://www.nps.gov/places/rock-fort-campsite-oregon.htm.

[20] "Indians Consider Negro Slave Accompanying Lewis & Clark Expedition 'Big Medicine,'" *Oregonian*, April 7, 1963, 42.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Clark eventually granted York his freedom around 1816, approximately ten years after the expedition's return to St. Louis. York's final fate is clouded in mystery. One version, offered by Clark, claimed that York grew to hate his freedom and died in Tennessee while trying to return to his old master. Another version, based on a description by an 1830s mountain man named Zenas Leonard, indicated York living out an honored life as a Crow Indian chief in the West. In another version, after Clark freed him, York settled in a comfortable life running a dray service between Louisville and his home in Nashville, Tennessee. See Elizabeth McLagan, *A Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon 1788-1940*, 2nd ed. (Portland: the Georgian Press, 1980, 3-5. Also, see Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998, 48.

[23] "Indians Consider Negro Slave Accompanying Lewis & Clark Expedition 'Big Medicine,'" *Oregonian*, April 7, 1963, 42.

In the early 19th century, the pursuit of fur-bearing animals such as otters and beavers was a lucrative trade, fueled by high demand and growing markets. Between 1820 and 1840, this attracted brave and rugged men to the Rocky Mountains and beyond to the Pacific Coast. They explored and hunted while living in the wilderness through all seasons. Their way of life, made possible by the trapping of animals and the sale of their furs for clothing, was most profitable from the 1810s to the 1830s, with most working in teams employed by the major fur companies. Some were eventually able to become free agents, called free trappers, working on their own, selling direct to the fur companies. They traveled the roads of the time, primitive trails that were wide enough for mule trains to carry furs to distribution points back in the frontier cities of the era. These individuals played a significant role in the Oregon Country's fur trade culture. These mountain men, as they came to be called, were among the first non-Natives to explore the region. In the next era, Moses Harris, an African American, is presented as a significant mountain man working in Oregon.

Once the appetite for beaver and otter fur faded, mountain men either adopted a more settled life, transitioned to scouts for the US Army, or acted as guides and hunters for emigrant wagon trains crossing the western United States on the Oregon Trail.[24]

Astor's Pacific Fur Company and the Black Men on These Expeditions

In an attempt to counter the dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company, American John J. Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company in 1810 and commissioned two expeditions—one by ocean and the other by land. The goal was to establish a trading post, which they succeeded in doing with the construction of Fort Astoria in 1811. The establishment of the Fort piqued the interest of American investors, businesses, and government officials who desired greater control of the Pacific frontier. This marked the first permanent Euro-American settlement in the region and, in the decades that followed, the town of Astoria would be established at the fort's location along the Columbia River.

Each of Astor's expeditions had two Black men, all of whom contributed in large and small ways to the success of these daring journeys and the collective establishment of Fort Astoria—a critical outpost that drove the eventual development of Oregon. The maritime expedition sailed from New York in September 1810 aboard the *Tonquin*. On board was Thomas Williams, a cook, and Francis Robertson, a steward. The other party, called the Overland Astorians, set out from St. Louis.[25] In Wyoming, the overland expedition was joined by guide Edward Rose, a Crow Indian chief, who was born to a white father and a mother of African and Cherokee parents. His knowledge of the West and the Arikara and Crow tribes positioned him as an interpreter, guide, and hunter.[26] The other member of the land expedition was Francoise Duchouquette, who was a Canadian fur trapper whose mother was of French and African ancestry. He was the blacksmith for the journey which, at its end, traveled along Oregon's northern border. After the expedition concluded, Duchouquette remained at Fort Astoria[27] until 1814 following the sale of the Pacific Fur Company to a

[24] For additional context regarding the early Oregon Trail, see Stephen Dow Beckham, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form: The Oregon Trail, Oregon, 1840 to 1880," (Washington, DC: DOI, NPS, 2012).

[25] Larry Morris, "Astor Expedition (1810-1813)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 24, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/astor_expedition_1810_1812/. Also, see William L. Lang, "Fort George (Fort Astoria)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified August 30, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/fort_george/.

[26] Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails 1841-1869,* National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/oreg/learn/historyculture/upload/Sweet-Freedom-s-Plains-508.pdf, accessed February 26, 2024. Moore writes: "[He] joined the Manuel Lisa fur trading expedition to the Bighorn River in present-day Wyoming in 1806. He periodically worked as a guide, hunter, and trapper for several fur-trading companies, but lived as a valued member of two Indian nations, learning their languages and customs. The Absaroka (Crow) nation adopted him in 1807, and the Arikara did so in 1830 in what is now South Dakota. Rose allied himself with the Indian societies against potential enemies and was an important link with world of the fur traders."

[27] It was briefly renamed Fort George when it was under British control in late 1813.

Canadian entity during the War of 1812. Fort Astoria, then under British control, was renamed Fort George. When Duchouquette left Oregon, he was headed to Fort Williams, near Lake Superior.[28]

As additional context, the merchant maritime industry that provided shipments of goods to the Forts and earliest established communities was, at the time, among the largest employers of free Black men in the antebellum United States. Employment opportunities for free Black people were limited in the South, the border states, and the North, but maritime jobs were relatively abundant. The high demand for maritime workers (including sailors and dock workers) created by the expansion of overseas trade, meant that neither American nor British ships could fulfill the demands for maritime labor with crew of only white people.[29]

Following the conclusion of the War of 1812, the Oregon Country was created and defined in the Treaty of 1818 between the United States and Britain. This treaty resolved some of the diplomatic dispute over claims to the region. By the British ceding some of their claims, a geographical area was established that permitted joint occupation and free mercantile trade throughout present-day Oregon and Washington and parts of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and British Columbia.

By the 1820s, the beaver fur trade headed further west out of the Rockies, more fully engaging in Oregon. The Hudson Bay Company took control of Fort Astoria in 1821 but within a few years relocated to present-day Vancouver, Washington where Fort Vancouver was soon established.[30]

Constructed in 1824, Fort Vancouver began as just one of several similar posts in the Pacific Northwest formed with the intention of establishing a foothold in the region. The fort quickly grew in economic importance, with river access, abundant grasslands, woods, and arable lands nearby. It became a fur-trapping and trading post with extensive cultivated lands, the region's first gristmills, and commercial-scale logging, livestock, and shipbuilding industries. It eventually became one of the largest and busiest trade centers in the region by the 1840s. While not in Oregon, the British-owned fort played a vital role with all newcomers to Oregon—providing advice, supplies, seeds for crops, tools, extensions of credit, medical care, and a level of physical protection. In 1842 and 1843, the Hudson Bay Company sent canoes to The Dalles to aid emigrants who were stranded for want of means of ferrying down the Columbia.[31] Nearly everyone, including Black people, who came to Oregon up until approximately 1846 stopped at the Fort.

Peter Ranne with Jedediah Smith's Expedition

Interest in fur was not confined to the northwest part of Oregon. Fur trapping and trading expeditions explored Eastern Oregon for resources during the 1810s and 1820s.[32] Additionally, in 1826, Jedediah Strong Smith of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company gathered a group of men in Utah to search for promising beaver trapping areas and their travels took them into California, Nevada, and southwest Oregon. One of the men in his party was Peter Ranne, listed in the company's records as a "man of color." Unlike York of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Ranne was a free man and

[28] A number of sites have been inventoried in the location of Fort Astoria/Fort Goerge including sites 35CLT00137, 35CLT00138, and 35CLT00139. See Douglas C. Wilson *Emporium of the West: Archaeological Testing of Fort Astoria/Fort George, Astoria, Clatsop County, Oregon* (Astoria: NPS, 2020), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 30839. Also, see McLagan, 7.

[29] Kenneth R. Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017, 24.

[30] Stephen Dow Beckham, "Fort Astoria," State of Oregon Inventory of Historic Sites and Buildings (1974).

[31] Malcom Clark Jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981, 169.

[32] More information about fur trapping and trading in Eastern Oregon can be found in Carlos A. Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1989, and in Stephen Dow Beckham, "Historical Landscape Overview of the Upper Klamath River Canyon of Oregon and California," Klamath Falls, Oregon: Bureau of Land Management, Klamath Falls Resource Area, 2006.

records indicate that he received pay equal to that of the other members of the party. Unfortunately, little else is known about him.[33]

In July 1828, Smith's group, traveling north along the Pacific Coast, reached the Umpqua River and camped at a Lower Umpqua Native American village at Winchester Bay.[34] In the following days, the party traveled with Kalawatset people through the region of present-day Umpqua City, Gardiner, and along the Smith River before relations faltered. When an Indian man stole an ax belonging to the explorers, the expeditioners threatened him harshly to compel the return of the weapon. This led to the Kalawatset people initiating a violent encounter with the expedition two days later near Reedsport.[35] This became known as the **Umpqua Tragedy** (**site 35DO1013**).[36] Ranne was killed along with fourteen others. Four members of the group survived, including Smith.

While the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery and fur trapping/trading expeditions explored the Willamette River, its many tributaries, the Columbia River, the northeastern Oregon region, and the southern Oregon coast for resources during the 1810s and 1820s, the rest of Oregon on the east side of the Cascades remained largely unexplored in any organized fashion.

Earliest Residential Settlements

In Oregon during this era, the non-native population consisted primarily of merchant sailors, explorers, mountain men, and employees of fur trade corporations. As discussed, the numbers of Black people among them was very small, but they were present. While generally not builders by trade, these men often contributed some of the earliest non-Native buildings in Oregon. When some of these types retired or deserted their ships or service groups, they chose to stay in Oregon. In such cases, they became residents and farmers in the Willamette Valley and along the Columbia River.

Winslow Anderson

Winslow Anderson is the first known Black person to reside in Oregon with the intention of staying.[37] Born in Boston, he worked as a sailor and fur trapper. In 1833, he was certified as a Merchant Marine seaman and likely journeyed west, first to California, by sea.[38] Anderson arrived in Oregon in 1834 as part of an American-led party of 19 people. Anderson might have been one of a handful of opportunists who joined the group after starting their journey. Along the way in California, the group had stolen approximately 200 cattle and horses from California (under the jurisdiction of Mexico at the time). After arriving in Oregon with their booty, Anderson lived among the Métis,[39] retired French Canadian fur trappers who had Native wives and families. The Métis established residences in an area that came to be called French Prairie—in modern-day Marion County. Anderson married a Native woman and spent a year working for

[33] "Peter Ranne of the Jedediah Strong Smith Park," *One Nevada Encyclopedia*, http://www.onv-dev.duffion.com/articles/peter-ranne-jedediah-strong-smith-party, accessed January 30, 2024.

[34] Nathan Douthit, *A Guide to Oregon South Coast History: Traveling the Jedediah Smith Trail* (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1999), 168.

[35] Cathy Galbraith et al., *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History*, Bosco-Milligran Foundation, 1995, 4.

[36] Barton Barbour, "Jedediah Strong Smith (1799-1831)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 25, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/smith_jedediah/. The archaeological site is recorded as the **Jedediah Smith Massacre Site (site 35DO01013)**. See Wayne L. Knauf, "Site form for 35DO1013 (Jedediah Smith Massacre Site)," Lodi, CA: Jedediah Smith Society, 2005, on file at Oregon State Historic Preservation Office.

[37] Also known as George Winslow.

[38] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 66.

[39] Retired French Canadian trappers who married Native women and started families. And chose to live in communities with each other, the first large White community in Oregon. Started in the 1820s and by the end of the 1830s had formed a few major towns in French Prairie. Eventually joined with Americans to form provisional government. French Prairie is named for the French Canadian and Indian families who settled the area in the late 1820s and 1830s. See Melinda Jette, "French Prairie," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/french_prairie/#.ZAIvcrTMIqw, accessed March 28, 2023.

missionaries in The Dalles building a mission there and supervising four Native American workers. He eventually moved to a farm on Clackamas Prairie near modern-day Oregon City and practiced medicine until 1840.[40] Later, he would be involved in the Cockstock Affair, which is described in Era 2.

Sailor Wallace

After the development of French Prairie by the Métis, the next non-native community in Oregon was established by missionaries. Several missions were established in the Oregon Country starting in 1834 with the intention to convert Indigenous people. The one most relevant to this study was the Willamette Mission near French Prairie, north of present-day Salem. Led by Euro-American Jason Lee, the mission, despite its intention and efforts, was not very successful in evangelizing Indians."[41] A Black sailor named Wallace (surname unknown) helped construct a house for one of the Willamette Mission preachers near Astoria in 1840.[42] Wallace assisted in cutting the lumber and shingles and carried messages between the building site and settlements further inland. Wallace had arrived in Oregon the year before aboard the *Maryland*, a trading ship from Boston. While anchored in the Columbia River, Wallace deserted the crew to adventure and live ashore in Oregon.[43] Desertion was not uncommon for seamen at this time. Following these events, there is no historical record of Wallace.

The missionaries at French Prairie would later establish other missions in the Pacific Northwest. The Whitman Mission was established in 1836 in Washington but is relevant to another consequential event to be told later in this era. In 1838, they established Wascopum Station in The Dalles which would be an important transition point for white and Black emigrants near the end of the Oregon Trail.[44]

Second Phase of Oregon Exploration

USS Navy Exploring Expedition

Although maritime exploration waned in the Pacific Northwest in the first decades of the 19th century, the USS Navy Exploring Expedition (typically shortened to US Ex. Ex. Or the Wilkes Expedition) was a notable exception.[45] Led by Charles Wilkes from 1838 until 1842, the US Ex. Ex. was among the largest voyages of discovery in the history of Western maritime exploration, consisting of six vessels and a team of nine scientists and artists. The goal of the expedition was to expand scientific knowledge of the Pacific Ocean.[46] Amongst the crew of 346 were at least four Black men who served as stewards and cooks and are described below.

James D. Saules

Among the four Black men of the US Ex. Ex. whose story is the most pertinent and applicable to the history of Black Oregonians is James D. Saules—a cook aboard one of the ships. He was born in the Upper South in either North Carolina or Virgina.[47] By the 1830s, he was living in New Haven, Connecticut, and working in the maritime industry as a whaler. He was a shipmate on a whaling ship in 1833 that traveled to the Pacific Ocean. By 1839, Saules was living in Peru, which is where he signed on for the United States Exploring Expedition.

---

[40] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 66-67.
[41] Clark Jr., 115-116.
[42] Ibid, 138.
[43] McLagan, 9. Wallace came to Oregon aboard the brig *Maryland* which had been sent from Boston on a trading expedition.
[44] Susan Buce, "The Dalles," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/the_dalles/, accessed December 15, 2023.
[45] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 57.
[46] Nathan Philbrick, "Learn More About the U.S. Exploring Expedition: The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition," Smithsonian Libraries, January 2004, https://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/usexex/learn/philbrick.htm, accessed November 10, 2023.
[47] Saules lived from c 1806 to c.1850. See Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 14.

On July 17 or 18, 1841, the ship carrying Saules—the *Peacock*—ran aground while attempting to cross the bar of the Columbia River. All 133 crew members were saved by a rescue party organized by John Dean, one of the other Black men who had previously landed. After the wreck, most of the crew established a camp at Fort George, named Peacockville.[48] Saules subsequently married a Chinook woman and they resided across the Columbia River in Washington state at Cape Disappointment. He is therefore the first known Black settler around the mouth of the Columbia River.

Saules later moved to the Willamette Valley in 1845 with his wife and family where he would be part of a series of events that would have an effect on wider Black history in Oregon; discussed in the next era of this MPD.

Saules was multi-talented and, in addition to being a cook, he was a fiddler. He likely performed on the US Ex. Ex. Given reports of a fiddler being on his ship and in line with the stereotypical custom of Black sailors playing the fiddle. Later in his life Saules entertained white Oregonians at social events in Clatsop County.[49] His playing was described as vigorous and animated in "true plantation manner," using the bow and his heel for music and his body for additional entertainment.[50] His character was described as fitting the profile "of a worldly, versatile, and independent black sailor."[51]

On the subject of Black fiddlers, they were present in Oregon before statehood and arrived as sailors, mountain men, and miners. Fiddlers were among the earliest Black musicians in what would become Oregon. Fiddling was a Black musical tradition that traces its roots to West African music, where the use of bowed lutes dates to the 11th or 12th century.[52] In America, from the early 1700s to the Civil War, enslaved and free Black fiddlers performed as a part of dances and parties hosted by plantation owners and other elites. While they played European dance music at these events, they created a fusion music for their Black community that combined church hymns, African melodies, and Caribbean variations. According to historian Kenneth Coleman, when Black fiddlers moved out of the southern states to other parts of the country, their music became national, mainstream music that was very popular after the Civil War.[53]

John Dean

John Dean was a steward for the US Ex. Ex. And was the organizer of the rescue party that saved Saules and the other men on the *Peacock*.[54] Dean had been left at Astoria with instructions by the commander to watch for two ships that had fallen behind the others. After seeing the shipwrecking of the *Peacock*, Dean brought together men from the Chinook tribe and a Native river pilot named Old Ramsey who made the rescue.[55]

[48] Ibid, 13, 14, 20, 26, 57-58.
[49] Ibid, 28-29.
[50] Ibid, 122.
[51] Ibid, 30.
[52] Jaqueline Cogdell Djedje, "The (Mis) Representation of African American Music: The Role of the Fiddler," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 10 1 (2016): 1-32.
[53] Eduardo Montes-Bradley, "A Fresh Look into Black Fiddlers," *Heritage Film Project* (blog), June 25, 2021, https://www.heritagefilmproject.com/post/a-fresh-look-into-black-fiddlers, accessed March 28, 2023.
[54] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 51.
[55] Ibid, 57; The shipwreck of USS *Peacock* is likely located on the Washington side of the Columbia Bar at Peacock Spit. See William S. Hanable, "Columbia River, giving her name to Peacock Spit, on July 18, 1841," HistoryLink, December 12, 2003, https://www.historylink.org/File/5624.

Warren Johnson

Warren Johnson was an officers' steward but had left the expedition after reaching Oregon. The next year he was prospering economically, described as being in possession of substantial amount of grain, livestock, and three horses, and having an Indian servant.[56] This is the extent of the information currently known about Johnson.

Henry Evans

Henry Evans was an officers' cook but no other records of him have been located.

Jacob Dodson with explorer John C. Fremont

By the 1840s, hardly any official exploration had taken place away from the valleys of the Columbia, Willamette, and Umpqua Rivers. While fur traders had explored all parts of the state by this time, south-central Oregon remained relatively isolated and unexplored into the 1840s. John C. Fremont was among the earliest explorers in the region. In 1843, he led a U.S.-sponsored expedition from Missouri that explored and mapped the east side of the Cascade Mountains from the Columbia River south to Klamath County and further east into Lake County.[57] There were 39 men part of the 14-month-long voyaging party, including Kit Carson.

Jacob Dodson was a part of the expedition. Born in 1825 in Washington DC, Dodson was an adventurous 18-years old at the time who had worked as a free servant to Fremont's father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton—a U.S. Senator from Missouri. On this voyage to Oregon, he was listed as Fremont's personal servant, but his broader skillset became more useful due to attrition from the group. He quickly earned a reputation as a full-fledged member of the expedition. After a couple of months exploring in Oregon, Dodson was vital in scouting a path for the party through California's Sierra Mountains in the middle of winter.[58] Dodson was party to two other Fremont-led expeditions after this one, neither of which entered Oregon. Afterwards, he worked as a message courier for the United States Congress.[59]

Era 1 Summary and Conclusion

To conclude this first era in the MPD, Black people were involved with the earliest and most significant Euro-American encounters with Oregon. They were rugged individuals aboard ocean-going vessels that bravely explored the coast of Oregon and the epic journey of the Corps of Discovery along the Columbia River. Later, Blacks were associated with the rich history of the fur trade that explored other parts of Oregon and in which some lost their lives. As Euro-American people began to reside in Oregon, Black people were again present, living and supporting French Canadians and American missionaries. Additional Black people were a part of a second phase of exploration in Oregon, helping to map the eastern part of the state. Some of these Black explorers and adventurers chose to reside in Oregon following their exploration work.

Black explorers and expeditioners in the western region of the continent used broad skillsets and displayed heartiness and resiliency in the face of the challenges of this era. They were utilizing the resources available to them to build shelter, procure food, and build and repair rafts, ships, and wagons. The people of this era also interacted with the

[56] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*, 59 and 171. Johnson joined the expedition during a stop in Oahu in 1841. He was recorded living in Oregon by US Indian subagent Elijah White's 1842 census of settlers.

[57] Ibid, 10; "Johnson's Washington and Oregon Map, 1862," https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cb/1862_Johnson_Map_of_Washington_and_Oregon_w-Idaho_-_Geographicus_-_WAOR-johnson-1862.jpg, accessed January 15, 2024. This map shows the route went between Cascades and Deschutes River until crossing to the east of it near LaPine and then into northern Klamath County before heading east to Summer Lake, up Abert Rim, and then south to Nevada.

[58] Shaun Michael Mars, "Jacob Dodson (1825-?)," BlackPast, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/dodson-jacob-1825/, accessed January 5, 2024.

[59] A portrait of Jacob Dodson is available on the Oregon Black Pioneers Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/OregonBlackPioneers/photos/a.631219480317478/4474834519289269/?paipv=0&eav=AfYGe9ZBVN0GT-UsjlaGIBcqTjE3g9NTKHZ77OgBTykqZhLQ3tAYvYb9H_LftOa1_l0&_rdr, accessed January 16, 2024.

Indigenous resulting in trade, cooperation, and conflict. As the next era opens, Africans Americans begin moving to Oregon in greater numbers as both enslaved and free people, working to secure their livelihoods and to build homes in a region that explicitly did not welcome them.

ERA 2: BLACK PIONEERS AND GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO EXCLUDE BLACK PEOPLE (1843-1867)

Overview of Era 2

At the start of this era, the exploration of the area that would become the state of Oregon was nearly over and so were the days of the fur trade. Missionary efforts would continue and, in at least one significant case, would result in an event that had a broad effect on the region's treatment of Black people, as will be described. The pace of change for the region during this era was rapid. In 16 years, Oregon would go from zero government oversight to full statehood.

This era was, by and large, defined by two major occurrences. First was the mass emigration of Americans to Oregon. The Oregon Trail became the main conduit for approximately 80,000 people to move to Oregon and, as a result, towns sprung up, farms proliferated, and commercial trade began to develop. Africans Americans were a tiny fraction of those who emigrated to Oregon, residing in areas of the state wherever white Americans did.[60] The second major event was the adoption of the Oregon Country as a territory into the United States of America—a nation that was soon challenged by the unprecedented secession of the southern states. The people of the Oregon Territory were desirous of entry into the country, which was presently divided by the issue of slavery. As a result, the presence of small numbers of African Americans in the territory became cause for outsized concerns by white Oregonians. They had strong sentiments against the existence of slavery but also the presence of free Black people in the Territory. The freedoms of Black Oregonians were a persistent political topic and the majority of those in power were in favor of an Oregon that was populated exclusively by white people.

Attempts by early Oregonians and their governments to exclude Black people from the territory (and later the state) naturally caused the departure of African Americans for other areas. Many more were profoundly deterred from ever setting foot in Oregon. Nevertheless, Black people who did choose to live in Oregon persevered through the turmoil, exclusion, and discrimination. For Black people who were forced to Oregon by their enslavement, they also persevered until their manumission. Whether enslaved or free, the earliest of Black Oregonians were creating homes and community, while contributing to the development of Oregon as a state.

Emigration En Masse

In the previous era, the region's population consisted primarily of Indigenous people, current and former employees of fur trading companies, explorers, and American missionaries. At the opening of this era, this would start to change dramatically with one of the largest mass migrations in American history. This "settling" of Oregon profoundly altered the region. The Willamette Valley was promptly transformed into an increasingly agrarian area, which dramatically changed the way of life for the Native population. It was the opening of a new course of history for Oregon, one in which Black people participated but was ultimately directed and controlled by Euro-Americans who established government, formed towns, and initiated commercial enterprises.

The era continued to devastate the Native people of Oregon. Already impacted by contact with the explorers, fur traders, and missionaries of the previous era, waves of sickness continued to decimate the Native population. For example, by

[60] Darrell Millner, "Blacks in Oregon," Oregon Encyclopedia, last modified April 7, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/blacks_in_oregon/, accessed January 1, 2024.

1849, the Kalapuyan population had dropped to around 600 and, in 1856, an agreement known as the Willamette Valley Treaty forced many of the remaining Kalapuyan peoples from their ancestral lands to the Grand Ronde Reservation in Polk County.[61] Other tribes in Oregon, including the Rogue River Indians and Wasco Indians, were also severely impacted by disease and treaties that moved them off their native lands.

Towards the end of the previous era, some Americans not affiliated with the fur trade or missionary endeavors started to establish permanent homes in Oregon. A group of emigrants came in 1841, numbering about 125 individuals. It is unknown if any Black people were part of this group. Another small emigrant party, approximately 200, arrived in 1842. While the numbers were small, they presaged the increasingly large groups to come in subsequent years.

In 1843, in the event that marks the change of eras within this study, the large-scale influx of Euro-American settlers to Oregon began in earnest. The first large party of families arrived with a train of wagons hauling their families and possessions. Called the Great Migration, approximately 875 men, women, and children, nearly all white, started the journey from the jumping-off point in Missouri to the Willamette Valley.[62] They had originated from places where slavery was prohibited, such as the Midwest and New England, but also from the former frontiers of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, where the institution of slavery was embedded. Organizers of the 1843 journey—the Oregon Emigration Society—declared before the journey began that: "No negroes or mulattos shall be allowed to accompany the expedition under any pretenses whatsoever."[63] As will be told later in one of the vignettes, at least one Black person did travel with the wagon train.

Next year's annual migration of over two hundred wagons in four major wagon trains brought about double the number of new Oregonians from the year prior—approximately 1,500. The year after that, the number of migrants neared three thousand.[64] Subsequent migrations in the coming years would fluctuate in size due to a number of factors occurring within and outside of Oregon, such as economic cycles and concerns about safety due to ongoing conflicts with Native peoples.

The Panic of 1837 and the Factors That Brought Settlers to the Oregon County

Although small in numbers, Black people were a part of the westward mass migration of Americans to Oregon during this era. Their emigration to Oregon was largely dependent on and tied to the movement of white people. As such, the forces that drove the white emigrants is deserving of some elucidation.

Firstly, the Panic of 1837 was the worst economic depression in the United States in its history thus far and, for those whose savings had not been depleted, journeying west, eventually to the promised land of Oregon, was an attractive option.[65] Emigrants came mostly from the former western border states, largely in pursuit of a better life for themselves and their families. They were often at the brink of economic despair but were driven by a vision of a bountiful Oregon where success was assured. Missionary reports from Oregon had effectively stoked the economic and farming potential of Oregon, as did popular novels such as Washington Irving's *Astoria* and *Rocky Mountains*.[66] They held the belief that the land, even though populated by Indigenous people, was plentiful and available for their habitation. Additionally, they believed that the move west provided an exit from the boom-and-bust cycles of capitalism that led to the Panic of

[61] Fogel, https://fiveoaksmuseum.org/exhibit/this-is-kalapuyan-land/, accessed March 9, 2023.
[62] Richards Jr., 114-152.
[63] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, Perseverance: A History of African Americans in Oregon's Marion and Polk Counties, Salem, Oregon: Meadowlark Publishing Services, 2011, 26.
[64] Paul Rourke and Donald DeBats, *Washington County: Politics and Community in Antebellum America*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995, 63.
[65] Richards Jr. 114-152.
[66] Ibid.

1837.[67] Travelers mostly desired to live as enterprising and industrious farmers within a traditional agrarian economy and they were willing to leave the security of American domain to do so.

At the outset of this era, the Oregon Country was, a jointly claimed area by the US and Great Britain. It was devoid of official governance though dominated by the British fur trading company at Fort Vancouver. For the most part, emigrants did not travel to Oregon to colonize it for America; many knew the land would become part of Great Britain or America in time. Further, the Republic of Texas had existed since 1836 giving credence to something similar developing in Oregon. While they eventually supported becoming a territory and later a state, the initial waves of emigrants were primarily concerned with their own economic success. They were "matter-of-fact expatriates" who deemed the chance to secure their future worth the risk. [68] The political fate of Oregon only became more of a concern to settlers once their well-being was more assured.

The emigrants were not called pioneers in their time but "movers" a term meant to deride their rootlessness and their restlessness.[69] In addition to those who had stumbled upon economic plight, some of the emigrants were people who had moved westward every five to ten years, with Oregon the next step in the adventure.[70] Other emigrants were those whose "characters or frustrations made them a danger to settled society, those whose failures burdened them, those who felt the need to start afresh where they would not rub shoulders with reminders of the past."[71] In other words, many who came to Oregon did not fit well into society.

Although relatively small in number, Black families and individuals came to Oregon for a variety of reasons but, to an extent, mirrored those of white emigrants. That is, they were searching for a place to farm, to start a business, and/or to escape the torments of the place from whence they came. Coming mostly from today's Midwest and Southern states, some Africans Americans that came did so to escape racial tension. For instance, Missouri and Ohio did not permit free Blacks to vote nor to testify in court, while Illinois and Indiana forbid their presence.[72] As for enslaved Black people, there clearly was no push or pull at play other than servitude. The era of slavery in the United States lived large in Oregon before it was ever a state and even an official US Territory. As a national institution, slavery's impact cannot be overstated. For those that came as free persons, they were often formerly enslaved or descendants of one.

The Oregon Trail Experience

Emigrants to Oregon commonly, although not exclusively, followed the Oregon Trail or, as it was called at the time, the Old Emigrant Trail. As many as 400,000 travelers used this 2,000-mile collection of roads and trails between 1840 and 1860. Indigenous peoples had developed these cross-continental trails over thousands of years. The same routes were used and further developed for mule train travel by European and American explorers and trappers. They were then gradually improved to wagon freight roads to accommodate their proliferation and their application by missionaries and emigrants. By the early-1840s, emigrants could purchase trail guides to plan and aid their journey or hire knowledgeable men to lead their wagon parties, which generally took six to eight months. They generally used oxen to haul their wagons, which transported their supplies and possessions, while the people usually walked.

As the Oregon Trail entered Oregon, emigrants traveled a route roughly following Interstate 84 in eastern and northeastern Oregon before cutting through the Blue Mountains towards Walla Walla, Washington, and later on, direct to Pendleton, before roughly paralleling a dozen or so miles south of the Oregon side of the Columbia River. Until 1845, the western terminus of the route was The Dalles. From there, the earliest emigrants rafted down the Columbia River, continuing west towards the junction with the Willamette River. The following year, however, the first of several

[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Clark, Jr., 5.
[70] Richards Jr., 114-152.
[71] Clark, Jr., 6.
[72] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 8.

alternative routes were established, connecting The Dalles with Oregon City by land, through a route known as the Barlow Road. This went around the eastern and southern side of Mount Hood. Oregon City—the first capital of the provisional government of Oregon Country in 1845—became the end of the Oregon Trail where emigrants established their claim to land in the Willamette Valley and acquired supplies.

As more Euro-Americans came into the Willamette Valley, new and existing settlers dispersed, establishing residences and farms in the Umpqua and Rogue River Valleys. Facilitating this further was the establishment of another trunk of the Oregon Trail. Developed in 1846, the Applegate Trail (or as it was known at the time, the Southern Emigrant Road), enabled migration into Oregon from the south. The route diverged from the California Trail along the Humboldt River in Nevada, heading northwest through part of California into the area of Klamath Lake, and eventually following a route roughly similar to today's Interstate 5 into the southern part of the Willamette Valley. This new trunk of the Oregon Trail offered an alternate to the dangers of the main route and would be instrumental in the development of Jackson County which would become the fifth-most-populous county in Oregon in 1860.[73]

Moses Harris will be presented later in this era as an important Black mountain man who led emigrant wagon trains and helped improve the Oregon Trail and its trunks.

Race Relations and Views on Slavery

The history of Black Oregonians during this era, as contrasted with the first era, was not defined by a few adventurous individuals who explored and built the earliest outposts in the Pacific Northwest. While a thirst for adventure and freedom may have motivated some Oregon Trail travelers who were Black, emigration by those who were enslaved (traveling with their enslavers) was a notable occurrence. At least 40 slaves were brought to Oregon during this era.[74] However, given the prevalence of slavery in the country at the time, this was a remarkably low number.

There are several reasons why so few enslaved Black people were brought to Oregon. Enslavers' economic stability and status in the Midwest and South was generally secure and was an economic asset that allowed them to weather financial ups and downs. As such, enslavers, by and large, were not motivated to relocate to Oregon. Next, slavery was economically unsuitable for the region because of the different climate and its distance from the slaveholding South. The potential for escaped slaves to remain uncaptured was also a discouragement given the nature of the Willamette Valley landscape and the relatively high number of Indians who could offer protection and shelter. Additionally, those Indians could also be hired as labor for far less than the cost of keeping an enslaved person.[75] Overall, enslaved persons were an expensive luxury and not a critical component needed for commercial enterprise in Oregon.[76] Further, enslavers in Oregon found the culture very different: slavery was not the "mark of aristocracy" as was the case in the South. For all these reasons, slavery did not play a big role in the settling of Oregon nor in the economic development of the region.[77] However, enslaved Black people did play a big role in individual family situations, helping their enslavers to be successful in Oregon, as will be described in more detail later, including in many of the vignettes for this era.

Early white Oregonians were generally averse to slavery as an institution and enslavers were considered suspect for their role in bringing Black people to Oregon. While a minority were opposed on humanitarian grounds, many simply wanted to make Oregon into a place without Black people. Keeping the practice of slavery out of Oregon was a step

[73] Jeff LaLande, "Applegate Trail," Oregon Encyclopedia, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/applegate_trail/, accessed December 14, 2023; see also Beckham, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form: The Oregon Trail, Oregon, 1840 to 1880."

[74] City of Beaverton, "Our Cities, Our Stories," https://www.beavertonoregon.gov/1114/Our-City-Our-Stories-An-Expanded-History, accessed January 2, 2024.

[75] K. Keith Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1983, Vol. 84, No. 1, 191.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

towards that end.[78] Perhaps most significantly, slaveholding conflicted with the vision of small-scale farms that many settlers held rather than the plantation version of the South. By prohibiting Black people—both free and enslaved—settlers were furthering their ideal agrarian society that was open only to white people.[79] In a more global concern, Oregon's political leadership deemed it more economically and politically advantageous to stay aligned with the industrial and slave-opposing North.[80] Oregon's leadership was content with letting slavery continue to exist elsewhere in the country where it was legal in order to preserve the union, but they did not want to provoke the North by allowing slavery into Oregon.[81] In total, this combination of perspectives meant that Oregon was fiercely opposed to both free *and* enslaved Black people in the territory.[82]

During this era, the status of enslaved Black people was a constant and vexing question for white Oregonians. In contrast to their counterparts in the South who held more inhumane views of people of African descent, white Oregonians saw Black people as humans, albeit inferior ones. While they attempted to create a state free of Black people through laws that will be described shortly, they rarely followed up on the act of expulsion. Most white Oregonians were anti-Black and some were inordinately hostile; however, others, such as K. Keith Richard writes in *Unwelcome Settlers*, came to respect and admire their Black neighbors.[83]

Due to intense political, economic, and sectional interests, the presence of Black people in Oregon was a divisive issue during this era. Not surprisingly, the prevailing views and ideologies of early white Oregonians both in support of and in opposition to slavery were codified in the earliest laws of Oregon, starting in 1843.

Government and Laws

With respect to the governance of Oregon, this era begins with both American and British interest in the control of the Oregon Country. Despite the interest, the area was, and for the beginning part of this era, would remain politically isolated from the United States. As diplomatic tensions grew, the Hudson Bay Company removed its headquarters from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria (present-day Victoria, Canada) in 1845. The next year, British and American joint control that had existed for 28 years over the Oregon Country was transferred solely to the United States under the Oregon Treaty of 1846.[84] [85] But, for the time being, it remained the Oregon Country.

The large numbers of people that had already traveled to Oregon, and those soon to come, necessitated the need for the unified action and laws that government provides.[86] The establishment of the first governmental entity for the region codified the early settlers' vision for a white Oregon that prohibited slavery and residency of free Black people. The opening year of this era, 1843, marked the beginning of the legal exclusion of Black people from Oregon through what became a series of evolving laws. As they were intended, these laws created an unwelcoming place for African Americans to live by restricting their freedoms and diminishing the likelihood of a growing presence of Black people in Oregon.

---

[78] Ibid.

[79] Richards Jr., 114-152.

[80] McLagan, 36. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 created a system of government and specified how territories would become U.S. states. Made slavery illegal in the Midwest territories. It assumed that the United States had the right to take, occupy, give away, and sell land that had long been occupied by Native peoples.

[81] Jim Sheppke, "Obed Dickinson," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/dickinson-obed/, accessed January 16, 2024.

[82] "Controversy on Name," *Oregon Statesmen*, March 28, 1951, 43.

[83] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 191-192; Elliot West, *Continental Reckoning: The American West in the Age of Expansion*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023, 276.

[84] Howard M. Corning, ed., *Dictionary of Oregon History*, 2nd ed., Portland: Binfords & Mort Publishing, 1989, 129.

[85] Gregory P. Shine, "Fort Vancouver," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/fort_vancouver, accessed March 25, 2023.

[86] Richards Jr., 114-152.

The earliest laws were modeled after pre-Civil War laws enacted in the states many settlers had originated from. Beginning with Indiana in 1803, a law was enacted that prohibited Black testimony in trials involving whites. Between 1813 and 1815, Indiana's lower legislative house passed measures three times to exclude all Black people from entering the state. All three measures were rejected in favor of a law compelling Black men to pay a yearly three-dollar poll tax. An Ohio law required Black settlers to post a $500 bond but the state did not enforce it. By 1860, Indiana, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Utah barred their small black populations from voting and serving in the militia.[87]

For African American history in Oregon, the impact of Oregon's earliest government actions and the events and sentiments that precipitated them is critical. When understood together, they significantly shaped the unique experience of being a Black person in Oregon at the present time, as well as into the rest of the era and subsequent eras as more legislation took effect.

Organic Law

Oregon's first laws specifically effecting Black people were part of the code of laws that formed an independent provisional government for the Oregon Country. The draft was approved in June 1843 and became known as the "Organic Law," which was the basis for the formation of the Oregon Provisional Government. Of particular relevance to this MPD, the Organic Law prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude. However, this was largely ignored as enslaved Black people continued to live and work in the state. While the Organic Law made no direct mention of Black people, it did restrict the votes rights of African Americans by only allowing the male descendants of white men to vote.[88] Furthermore, the Organic Law authorized white male pioneers to claim up to 640 acres in the Oregon Country—lands that were home to the Indigenous peoples of Oregon for thousands of years—under the requirement that they improve its productivity within six months. This same offer was not extended to non-whites. Each of these elements of the Organic Law furthered the vision of an agrarian society ideal for, and only open to, white people.[89]

Cockstock Incident and Oregon's First Exclusion Law

After the formation of the earliest system of governance in Oregon, two other events in the 1840s had a direct impact on the continued formation of laws that excluded Black people from Oregon. The first was the 1843 Cockstock Incident involving, among others, two Black men. The second was the Whitman Mission Incident, which will be presented after the first. In response to both events, laws to exclude Black people from Oregon gained potency as white settlers' anxieties about potential Black and Indian hostilities were increasing.

James Saules and Winslow Anderson—Black men presented in Era 1—were figures in the 1843-1844 Cockstock Incident. In 1843, Saules had moved to the Willamette Valley and purchased a farm in Oregon City. That year, Anderson, now a farmer near Oregon City, hired Cockstock—a local Indian man—to labor on his farm in exchange for one of Anderson's horses. Before Cockstock finished his work, Anderson instead sold the horse to Saules. Feeling betrayed, Cockstock seized the horse and harassed Anderson and Saules for several months. When Cockstock and several Molalla Indians came to Oregon City the next year, the harassment turned violent. Ultimately, Cockstock and two white men—George LeBreton (the recorder for the Provisional Government) and Sterling Rogers—were killed. Elijah White, the only federal official in the territory and a US Indian Subagent, quelled further violence by presenting gifts to Cockstock's family. However, the city was shaken and the conflict heightened fears among white people throughout the Willamette Valley around Indian attacks and uprisings. The confrontation resulted in the formation of the Oregon Rangers—the first nonindigenous military organization in the Pacific Northwest—to provide physical protection against Indigenous peoples. The racial biases held by many white Oregonians and their anxieties related to the presence of Black people in Oregon were heightened following the Cockstock Incident. Concern about further social

[87] William Loren Katz, The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States, 3rd ed., Seattle: Open Hand Publishing Inc., 1987, 56-57.

[88] McLagan, 21.

[89] Richards Jr., 114-152.

disruptions caused by the presence of Black people in Oregon increased following another conflict involving Saules when he allegedly threatened to incite Indians to violence against Charles E. Pickett, a white man with whom he had a dispute.[90]

Subsequently, Saules was compelled to move to the Clatsop Plains near Astoria and worked at the Methodist mission there until 1846 when the mission terminated. He was later arrested for causing the death of his Indian wife; however, he was not prosecuted because she was an Indian, and was merely warned to not do it again. He then operated a nondescript watercraft carrying freight and passengers between Astoria and Cathlamet.[91]

A few months following the murders of Cockstock and the other two men, the Oregon Provisional Government, in June 1844, adopted the region's first true Black exclusion law after a vote of six to two in favor.[92,93] It reiterated the illegality of slavery but added provisions to ensure that newly freed and previously free Black Oregonians did not remain. It did so by giving slaveholders a limited amount of time to 'remove' their slaves from the Territory and requiring they provide means of transit out of the Oregon Country. The law also granted power to the government to free any slaves whose owners refused to remove them. Any free Black male had to leave Oregon within two years of their arrival while women were given three years. If a Black person remained in the Oregon Country they would be subject to arrest and a whipping of up to 39 lashes.[94] This provision was called the "lash law" and the lashing could be repeated every six months until the person left the Territory."[95] While white Oregonians, by and large, did not want Black people in the region, this was the first government action taken to enact such a society.

The threat of the new lash law was enough to deter at least one Black person—George Washington Bush. He was traveling to Oregon when the law was enacted and was a free man of some wealth. When his wagon train party reached The Dalles, they heard of the lash law and decided to divert to the less-populated area to the north that is now Washington state. Bush became a successful landowner and farmer near Olympia, though his land ownership was contested in 1853 because of his race. Ultimately, he was able to retain it successfully after his neighbors petitioned Congress on his behalf.[96,97]

Oregon's 1844 lash law was changed a year later due to pushback by some legislators of the provisional government over the harsh nature of the penalty. The punishment for remaining in the territory was instead changed to a term of forced labor, and again modified to arrest and forced labor followed by removal from the Oregon Territory.[98] Ultimately, the entirety of the law was repealed in July 1845 and was never applied to any Black person.[99] However, it would become the basis for another Black exclusion law enacted in 1849 following the Whitman Mission Incident (described next).

---

[90] Melinda Jette, "The Cockstock Incident," *Oregon History Project*, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/the-cockstock-incident/, accessed December 15, 2023.

[91] "Race Feeling Arose Very Early in Oregon," *Oregon Daily Journal*, January 6, 1920, 6.

[92] McLagan, 26. While the 1843 law prohibited slavery, it made no mention of the acceptance or exclusion of Blacks in Oregon; the 1844 law is therefore counted as the first of Oregon's exclusion laws.

[93] McLagan, 22. The law was passed on June 26, 1844.

[94] All information in this paragraph was derived from Kenneth R. Coleman, "Cockstock Incident," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/cockstock-incident/, and Kenneth R. Coleman, "James D. Saules," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/saules-james-d/, accessed March 2023. Saules was eventually exiled from Oregon City and spent the rest of his life in the area near the mouth of the Columbia River, where he died sometime in the 1850s.

[95] Greg Nokes, "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, September 8, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion_laws/, accessed March 2, 2023. It was also called the "Peter Burnett Lash Law" named after its author, the legislator Peter Burnett.

[96] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 6-7; Nokes, "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon."

[97] Bush and his family were confronted with the Oregon law again with the extension of the Oregon Territory boundary to the 49th parallel, but friends and neighbors aided the family, and "...on January 30, 1855, Congress passed a special act that allowed the Bush family to retain their property holdings."

[98] Millner, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/blacks_in_oregon/.

[99] Nokes, "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon,"; McLagan, 26.

Whitman Mission Incident, 1849 Exclusion Law, and Territory Status

Among the missions established in the Oregon Country during the previous era was the Whitman Mission at Waiilatpu near Walla Walla, Washington. The local Indigenous leaders of the Cayuse people were feeling a growing distrust and mounting frustration toward the white missionaries, the increasing numbers of settlers living on Native land, and the deadly impact of disease among the Cayuse. On November 28, 1847, a small group of Cayuse and Umatilla men killed the leaders of the mission and twelve others.[100] News of the killings spread to the Willamette Valley and sparked the Cayuse War between the US and the tribes.[101] The Oregon Country's desire for vengeance served to expedite the establishment of a United States territorial government on August 14, 1848, which allowed for the dispatch of federal troops to join the war.[102] The Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon marked the official joining of Oregon to the government of the United States, creating the first territorial government west of the Rocky Mountains.[103]

There was another effect of the Whitman Incident, in that it would inspire a return of Black exclusion legislation. Along with the Cockstock Incident from four years prior, the Whitman Incident reignited tension and anxiety about the potential for attacks on settlers in the Willamette Valley—the heart of the Oregon Territory. Enacted on September 21, 1849, the introductory statement of the new exclusion law said: "...it would be highly dangerous to allow free negroes and mulattos to reside in the territory or to intermix with the Indians, instilling in their minds feelings of hostility against the white race…" The enactment of this second exclusion law was, in some ways, an intensification of the first. However, it only applied to those people not already in Oregon. Black people already residing in the Territory, and any children they may have, were permitted to remain. The law did make it illegal for "any negro or mulatto to come in or reside within the limits of this Territory."[104] Blacks could visit but had to leave the Territory within 40 days. Black sailors traveling to Oregon had to leave with the ships on which they had arrived. The law took effect immediately. Any Black person found in violation of the law was to be arrested and forced to leave.

The first and only successful attempt to enforce this exclusion law occurred in 1851, two years after its passage. Oregon had only counted 55 Black people in the prior year's census; however, one—Jacob Vanderpool—was forced to leave, as will be told later in the vignettes presented for this era.

While territorial legislators were reviewing and revising the territorial laws in 1854, a general repeal act was passed and an oversight led to the 1849 exclusion law being unintentionally repealed.[105] Starting that year, there were once again no exclusion laws in effect in Oregon. However, as will be told later, in 1857, voters approved the Oregon Constitution with its own exclusion clause, which would go into effect in 1859.

Oregon Donation Land Act

Perhaps the most consequential legislation in the growth and development of Oregon was the passage of the federal Oregon Donation Land Act signed into law on September 27, 1850—seven years after the Organic Law made provisions for settlers to claim land. The Donation Land Act legitimized the 1843 law and added validity to validated existing claims.

The 1850 law provided a one-half to one square mile piece of land at no cost to "...every white settler or occupant of the public lands, American half-breed Indians included, above the age of eighteen years, being a citizen of the United

[100] Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects,* 139. The incident is now known as the Tragedy at Waiilatpu.

[101] Cassandra Tate, *Unsettled Ground: The Whitman Massacre and Its Shifting Legacy in the American West (*Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2020, 183.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid, xii. Oregon Territory formed from parts of present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. The territorial capital was first Oregon City and then Salem, followed briefly by Corvallis, then back to Salem (which became the permanent state capital when Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859).

[104] McLagan, 26; Nokes, "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon."

[105] McLagan, 23-24.

States, or having made a declaration according to law, of his intention to become a citizen...."[106] The Act stipulated that claimants must occupy and improve the land for four consecutive years to officially obtain legal title to the property from the US government. There was no provision that allowed Black people to partake in securing land through this act. Therefore, during this period, for the few rare Black Oregonians who had gained their freedom, they were only able to acquire land through private purchase. Combined with Oregon's exclusion laws, Black people were at a severe disadvantage to make a living and establish a home within the territory.[107]

The lure of "free" land brought about a sharp rise in the white population. During the five years of the Act being in effect, approximately 30,000 Euro-Americans came to the Oregon Territory, more than tripling the population. Approximately 7,000 deeds were issued.[108] While about two-thirds of these claims were initially concentrated the agriculturally-rich Willamette Valley, later on, a rush of settlers went further south into the Umpqua River and Rogue River Valleys.

The Oregon Donation Land Act continued the appropriation of millions of acres of land inhabited by Indigenous peoples, leading to their ultimate displacement. In the Willamette Valley, where disease had greatly reduced the numbers of Indians, there was less resistance to the settlers moving into their native land. However, for the indigenous populations in the Southern Oregon valleys, they were prepared to resist the encroachment into the areas traditionally used for their hunting and gathering. This led to a war in 1852-1853 with white people eventually compelling the relocation of Indians to the Coast Reservation.[109] Later, by 1856, nearly all remaining Indians in the Willamette Valley moved to similar reservations.

The Donation Land Act expired in 1855 and, as will be discussed later, the Homestead Act was enacted in 1862.

First Black Oregonians of the Emigrant Era

Black people emigrated to Oregon during this era in three different ways: Some came independently and free, some were "free" on paper but were servants to white settlers, while others were enslaved and traveled with their white enslavers. Servants in these early years were most likely enslaved persons in actuality but not called that because slavery was prohibited per the 1843 Organic Law. Despite slavery being illegal in the territory, some white settlers who brought slaves to Oregon continued their claim to keep them as property.

At least 14 "servants" in Oregon between 1850 and 1860 were clearly enslaved.[110] It is unknown how long some of these enslaved Black people remained the property of the white settlers who brought them. The vignettes that will be shared shortly provide a variety of historic accounts. For instance, there are cases when the enslaver offered to release

[106] This information was gleaned from "Settlement-era Dwellings, Barns and Farm Groups of the Willamette Valley [Oregon]," Multiple Property Documentation Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2015, E-8. The so-called "free" land was wholly dependent on the native people having relinquished, abandoned, or been driven off of their native homelands, most often forcibly or deceptively by white colonizers. Under the Donation Land Act, unmarried claimants who arrived prior to 1850 were entitled to 320 acres, and married couples could claim 640 acres, with ownership of one half the holding recorded in the woman's name. Those who settled after 1850 were entitled to half that quantity. This was one of the first laws in the United States that permitted married women to hold land in their own name. Donation Land Act of 1850, Section 4. https://uslaw.link/citation/stat/9/496, accessed March 2023.

[107] Kenneth R. Coleman, "White Man's Territory: The exclusionary intent behind the 1850 Donation Land Act," *Oregon Humanities Magazine*, April 27, 2018. https://www.oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/owe-spring-2018/white-mans-territory-kenneth-r-coleman/, accessed March 2023.

[108] Ibid. These numbers are approximate. The statewide estimate of 7,000 is taken from Johansen 1957. The Willamette Valley number is based on an informal hand-count of claims, data derived from the Bureau of Land Management General Land Office records.

[109] William G. Robbins, "Oregon Donation Land Act," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_donation_land_act/, accessed January 2, 2024.

[110] Quintard Taylor, "Slaves and Free Men: Blacks in the Oregon Country, 1840-1860," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Summer 1982, Vol. 83, No. 2, 153-170.

the Black person from servitude after assisting them to set up their homestead. Sometimes that agreement was honored and other times it was not.

The forced labor that enslaved Black people endured resulted in them becoming experts in running the homes of their enslavers. During this era, enslaved Black men were instrumental in accompanying their enslavers on the arduous journey to Oregon, using their skills with oxen, wagons, hunting, and so forth. Black women tended to the children and the sick. Both were usually responsible for establishing the actual home and farm that would provide for the family. In some of the examples that will be shared, the enslaved Black Oregonians had a more familial relationship with their owners when compared to those enslaved in the southern states.

Several free Black pioneers chose to risk the journey for the chance of a better life. They made their way to the Oregon Territory despite the exclusionary laws and sentiments of most white Oregonians. Although Black people were restricted from acquiring land through the Donation Land Act, some African Americans domiciled as part of white households that established land claims. Others were able to gain land ownership through the purchase of real estate from white settlers and established their own properties. In 1860, there were eight Black Oregonians who had done so.[111]

Some free Black people decided to stay in Oregon during this era while others opted to leave; California and Washington being the primary destination. California, while a part of Mexico, was open to Black emigrants and, after gold was discovered in 1848, Oregonians of all races were inclined to travel to California. Relocating north across the Columbia River (into what became the Washington Territory in 1853) was also a draw, for it was more isolated from the nexus of government in the Willamette Valley, and therefore less exclusionary.

Black people who stayed in Oregon typically lived in the homes or on the property of other Oregonians, renting their accommodations. In 1850, 29 of the 55 Black residents in the state were living with whites. It 1860, it was 38 of the 128. Their stated occupations in the US Census were predominantly servants (which could have been as an indentured servant), domestic workers, farm laborers, although there were many other anomalous occupations. For Black men, farm laborer was the most common job at the time. While many eventually sought other pursuits, farm work enabled many of Oregon's earliest Black settlers to establish themselves in Oregon.[112] In 1860, three Black Oregonians were farmers who owned their land and, in 1870, the number was seven.[113] Starting in the early to mid-1860s, a number of Black Oregonians shifted their living situations, moving from the white households in which they had lived since arriving in Oregon to their own homes and farms. Their change in living situation also often meant they began looking for more varied opportunities to make a living. For example, Travis "Old Trav" Johnson, who moved to Oregon in 1849, made his living working with animals. He was an expert ox driver and horseman, and he kept hounds with which he protected settlers and their livestock from wild animals.[114]

The following vignettes present the lives of some early Black settlers who established permanent homes throughout the Oregon Territory from 1843–1860. They help tell the history of this era's events and sentiments, directly showing how the lives of Black Oregonians were shaped by the context of the times. Subjected to economic disadvantage, personal hostility, mistreatment, and threat of expulsion, their stories demonstrate the resiliency of Black individuals and families. When combined, these vignettes offer a perspective that is larger than their individual histories and provide important insights into the early Black experience in Oregon.

[111] This is based on a review of the 1860 census records.
[112] McLagan, 9–10.
[113] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 29–55.
[114] R. Gregory Nokes, *Breaking Chains: Slavery on Trial in the Oregon Territory,* Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2013, 115-116; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 42.

Rachel Belden (Salem)

Included in the first major emigration event that marks the beginning of this era was an enslaved woman named Rachel Belden.[115] She was one of the first Black pioneers to live in Oregon and the first known Black woman to do so. For this era, her experience provides a prime example of the contradictions, injustices, indignities, and possibilities for economic success for Black Oregonians.

Born into slavery in Tennessee in 1829, Rachel Belden became the property of Daniel Delaney, Sr. in 1842.[116] Prior to his migration west, Delaney sold his plantation in Tennessee and his enslaved people there. Specifically, he enslaved Belden to care for his ailing wife, Elizabeth.[117] Belden and the Delaneys moved to Missouri in preparation for the journey along the Oregon Trail.[118] They left in the spring of 1843 and traveled all through the summer, arriving in the autumn of that year.

The Delaneys established a home and farm, as nearly all early pioneers did, on land in the Willamette Valley.[119] They constructed a house in 1845 at **4292 Delaney Road SE**, south of Salem.[120] Known as the **Delaney-Edwards House**, it is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. While living there, Rachel Belden continued to take care of the ailing Mrs. Delaney, while also running the household and tending the garden.

Rachel Belden lived in this arrangement despite the exclusion of Black people enshrined in the laws of the earliest government in Oregon. The 1843 Organic Law had been ratified as the group was traveling on the six-month journey west. However, as mentioned earlier, the law was rarely enforced (with only one Black Oregonian ever being forcibly removed), so there was no effect on the Delaneys or Rachel Belden upon their arrival in the state nor during the 23 years she was enslaved to the Delaneys in Oregon. Belden gave birth to sons, Noah Newman Delaney (1847-1903) and Jackson "Jack" Delaney (1857-1915).[121] Daniel Delaney Sr was likely the boys' father.[122]

In 1863, Rachel Belden married Nathan Brooks—a widower with five children—in Marion County. Following their marriage, the family lived on the farm of a white settler, Daniel Waldo. Waldo traveled on the Oregon Trail with the Delaney family and the families remained friends. The Waldo family had established their home and farm near Macleay—east of Salem on a 640-acre claim in the Waldo Hills.[123] The 1854, two-story **Waldo House** (**3515 Howell Prairie Road SE**) remains standing.[124] The couple would have two children while living there, Samuel Brooks (1865-1923) and Mansfield Brooks (c.1868-1930).

Once Belden had been freed from the Delaney household in 1866, she brought a civil suit in Salem for compensation from deceased Daniel Delaney Sr.'s estate. She sought $10,333.30 for payment for the services she and her son Noah were forced to provide the Delaney family for the 27 years and ten months she was enslaved to the family. She won the

[115] Rachel Belden was born in 1828 or 1829 and died in 1910.
[116] Sometimes spelled "Delany."
[117] McLagan, 71.
[118] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 35-38; Gary Halvorson, "Rachel Belden Brooks," *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870 Online Exhibit*, Oregon Secretary of State, last accessed September 6, 2023, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/brooks.aspx.
[119] Sarah Hunt Steeves, *Book of Remembrances of Marion County, Oregon, Pioneers, 1840-1860*, Portland, Oregon: Berncliff Press, 1927, 29; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 35; Craig Smith and Deanne Yoder Smith, "Rachel Belden Delany Brooks: Black Pioneer of 1843 Part of 3-From Slave to Pioneer," Willamette Valley Genealogical Society, *Beaver Briefs*, Volume 51, Number 2, Spring 2019, 11.
[120] It is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and has been restored as a bed and breakfast. See John and Lorene Dahlberg, "National Register of Historic Places Form: Delaney-Edwards House," Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, NPS, 2004.
[121] Also called Jack De Wolf.
[122] Danielle Strom, "Rachel Belden Brooks and Family," Willamette Heritage Center, April 24, 2016, https://www.willametteheritage.org/rachel-belden-brooks-family/; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 35, 71.
[123] Daniel Waldo was a legislator in the Provisional Government when exclusion laws were enacted. The geographic area—Waldo Hills—was named after him.
[124] Liz Carter, "Intensive Level Survey (ILS) site form: Waldo, Daniel and Melinda, House," (Salem, OR: Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, 2002); See Johnson, personal communication.

suit but was only awarded $1,000. The presiding judge deemed the housing and feeding of Belden and her child as nearly sufficient compensation for their labor.

One other note on the Belden family during this era involves the first murder trial and first instance of capital punishment in Marion County. Eight-year-old Jack Delaney witnessed the murder of Delaney Sr. on January 9, 1865, when two men—George Beale and George Baker—attempted to rob the wealthy Delaney and shot him during a struggle. While the law in Oregon forbade Black people from testifying in court, it was overruled in this case and Jack was allowed to serve as a witness. His testimony was instrumental in the conviction of Beale and Baker who were then publicly hanged.[125]

Rachel Belden remained in the Salem area as a free woman married to Nathan Brooks. In the 1870 Census the family was still living in Marion County (Aumsville) renting a home there: Rachel, Nathan Brooks, children Jack Delaney, Samuel Brooks, and Mansfield Brooks. In 1872, using the money obtained from the court settlement, she purchased land near the Willamette River and in areas around Salem as an investment.[126]

Upon her husband's death in 1874, Rachel left the farm where they were living (Daniel Waldo farm) and moved to the town of Eola to the west of Salem. Almost ten years later in 1883, Rachel took ownership, via the 1862 Homestead Act, of more than one hundred acres on the west side of the Willamette River.[127] Acquired as an investment, she sold portions of it over time.

Her son, Mansfield Brooks (1868-1930), bought a house in Salem in 1908. Belden moved there before her death in 1910. It was her last known place of residence, the **Mansfield and Carrie Brooks House 320 Miller Street SE**).[128] That house remains standing, albeit in altered condition. She is buried at **City View Cemetery** (**390 Hoyt Street S**) in Salem.[129]

Mansfield Brooks would work at a sawmill in Salem in 1891 where he kept working until his death in 1930.[130]

Hannah and Eliza Gorman (Corvallis)

While Rachel Belden might have been one of the only known Black pioneers to journey to Oregon during the 1843 Great Migration, the next year, when approximately 1,500 settlers traveled, many more were known to have arrived. Included among them were Hannah Gorman (c.1811-1888) and her daughter Eliza Gorman (c.1839-1869).

The Gormans arrived in Oregon in 1844 with their enslaver, John Thorp.[131] Thorp may have been Eliza's father as she was recorded as a mulatto in the 1860 census, but her mother was not. The mother and her daughter lived with Thorp until their liberation from slavery sometime in the early to mid-1850s. Following this, Hannah and her daughter moved to Corvallis where they bought three lots on Fourth Street in Corvallis and built a small, one-story house in 1857. (It is

[125] McLagan, 71-72; Strom, "Rachel Belden Brooks and Family"; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 72-73.

[126] Smith, "Rachel Brooks: Black Pioneer of 1843 Part 4: Freedom and Family – The Years 1863."

[127] Legal description for the Delaney property is: Township 7 South, Range 3 West, Section 10, Lots 9-12. This is farmlands and a quarry at present. See U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, "Rachel Ann Brooks," Patent Details, https://glorecords.blm.gov/, accessed March 2023; General Land Office (GLO) Records, "Rachel Ann Brooks, 2/10/1883," DOI, Bureau of Land Management (BLM), last accessed September 6, 2023, https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=OROCAA%20007486&docClass=SER&sid=lzrk2e0q.syi.

[128] Strom, "Rachel Belden Brooks and Family"; Liz Carter, "Intensive Level Survey (ILS) site form: Brooks, Mansfield and Carrie, House," Salem, OR: Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, 2002.

[129] Her death certificate indicates she is buried at City View Cemetery in Salem, Oregon. A scan of the document is available at https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/PublishingImages/families/brooks-death.jpg. Buried next to her is her son Noah.

[130] "Mill Worker Is Taken Yesterday After Sickness," *The Oregon Statesman* (Salem), April 25, 1930, 12, www.universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/79474067/.

[131] John Thorp's last name is sometimes spelled Thorpe.

currently unknown how they acquired the funds to purchase these lots.) There, they successfully engaged in business, with Hannah working as a laundress and Eliza as a seamstress.[132] They presumably operated their businesses from their home as "cottage industries" were commonplace at this time. In 1860, Hannah was noted as owning $1,200 in real estate and $100 in personal belongings. Still standing, the **Hannah and Eliza Gorman House** (**641 NW 4th Street**) is now listed in the National Register of Historic Places.[133] They were very active members of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in Corvallis.[134] This was likely a predominantly white church. Early Black settlers sometimes attended religious services in churches established by white worshippers and missionaries, but, unlike the Gormans, they were not always welcomed. There are a few known cases—this one in Corvallis and another in Salem presented later—where Black parishioners were allowed to attend.

Eliza died in 1869 at the age of 30. Hannah died in 1888. Both women are buried at the **Crystal Lake Cemetery** (**1945 SE Crystal Lake Drive**) in Corvallis.

Hannah had a son, Hiram, who did not initially come west with her and would serve during the Civil War as a teamster on the side of the Union. He will be presented in the next era as a noteworthy Black resident in Salem.

Robin Holmes (Ellendale, Salem)

In addition to the Gormans, six other Black people (also all enslaved) traveled to Oregon in 1844. Five of the six comprised the Holmes family: Robin Holmes, wife Polly, and their three children: Celi Ann, Mary Jane, and Harriet.[135] An unrelated Black man named Scott was the sixth person.[136] All six traveled with their enslaver, Nathaniel Ford, and his wife and children.[137] Their wagon train was guided by Moses Harris.[138] Ford established a homestead in Polk County and the Holmeses helped Ford set up his farm and built three cabins. A two-room cabin was built for the Fords, a smaller cabin for the Holmes family, and a third for Scott.[139] The understanding between the group was that they would be freed after their work establishing the farm; however, this did not occur. Years went by and Ford prospered, becoming one of the most influential and respected men in Oregon. His homestead was a flourishing farm with fenced pastures and orchards.[140] While the Holmeses were reportedly treated with kindness and were allowed to grow their own profitable crops for sale to neighbors, they remained enslaved working on the Ford property.[141]

When gold was discovered in California in 1848, one of Ford's sons, Marcus, went to try his luck with mining, as many Oregonians did. Robin Holmes and Scott accompanied him, again, under the promise that they would finally be freed and that they could keep a share of the gold. Robin made it back to Oregon the next year with $900 in gold dust. However, the ship that the men were on wrecked when entering the mouth of the Columbia Rover, and Marcus Ford and Scott both drowned. Nathaniel Ford did abide by part of his promise this time, only freeing Robin and Polly, retaining claim to their children until they reached adulthood. While daughter Harriet had died previously, Mary Jane and two

[132] Liz Carter and Chris Ruiz, "Hannah and Eliza Gorman House" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2015, 23-26.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 46-47.

[135] Robin Holmes later wanted to be known as Robert. He was born c. 1770 in Virginia and died in 1863. Polly was born c. 1813 in Virginia and died c. 1880.

[136] McLagan, 15; Stephenie Flora, "Emigrants to Oregon in 1844," Oregon Pioneers, http://www.oregonpioneers.com/1844.htm, accessed March 2023.

[137] The Ford sons were Marcus, Scott, and Nathaniel.

[138] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 32.

[139] Nokes, *Breaking* Chains, 22, 27. None of these buildings are known to remain, but images of the Nathaniel Ford house are available through the Salem Public Library, Oregon Historic Photograph Collections, https://www.salemhistory.net.

[140] The homestead was along Rickreall Creek near Rickreall, OR.

[141] "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Oregonian*, March 2, 1952, 98-99.

other children who had been born in Oregon—James R. and Roxanna—remained in his ownership until they were to become adults.[142]

Around 1850, Robin and Polly moved five miles to the west to **Nesmith's Mills** (which is known today as Ellendale, just west of Dallas, Oregon).[143] Their children—ages 9, 6, and 4—had to be left behind. Because of this, Robin Holmes initiated a suit to free his children in 1850—one of the earliest battles for civil rights in Oregon. No judge wanted to take up the case even though there were solid legal claims due to slavery being illegal in Oregon. While the case was pending, Ford threatened to send the children to Missouri to be sold for a profit. Finally, in 1852, Oregon Chief Justice George H. Williams took up the case and *Holmes v. Ford* became Oregon's first high-profile court case involving a Black resident.[144] The long court battle ended in 1853 with Williams ordering Ford to free the three Holmes children.[145] Roxanna and James went to live with their parents while Mary Jane stayed with Ford's daughter as a free member of the household.[146]

That year, the Holmes family moved to Salem where Robin started a nursery. They bought land and built a home. Robin would raise many of the trees that were later planted in Polk and Marion counties in the 1860s. In 1860, he owned $500 in real estate and $300 in personal assets and was working as a day laborer. Robin died in 1863 and is believed to be buried at the **Salem Pioneer Cemetery** (**2100 Commercial Street SE**).[147] Most cemeteries in this pioneer era were segregated; however, this Salem cemetery was unique in that it permitted burials of Black Oregonians.[148]

Polly lived with her son, Lon, after Robin died, but he too would die shortly thereafter.[149] Polly was listed in the 1870 census as a patient of the Oregon Hospital of the Insane in Portland, and she died in c. 1880.[150] As to daughter Mary Jane, she married Reuben Edward Shipley and the couple would live with Ford's daughter on a lot adjoining the Nathaniel Ford property.[151] Her story will be presented in more detail later in this era.

Moses Harris (associated with multiple locations in Oregon)

Moses Harris was a Black man who played a vital role in emigrants coming to Oregon during the middle of the 1840s. Given his accomplishments, he is one of the most significant figures in African American history during this era.

While some historians are uncertain of his racial makeup, he was known as "Black Harris" and "Black Squire," and also referred to himself as a negro.[152] In 1837, artist Alfred Jacob Miller described him as follows: "Black Harris [was] a wiry form, made up of bone and muscle, with a face apparently composed of tan leather and whip cord, finished off

[142] James was born in 1844 and Roxanna in c. 1846.

[143] The Nesmith Mill/Ellendale Townsite/Polly and Robin Holmes Residences are listed in the *Oregon Historic Sites Database* as Resource No. 47408. The legal location is SE1/4, Sec.25, T7S, R6W, at Martin and Robb Mill Rd intersection, in Polk County. There is a potential archaeological site at this location.

[144] Greg Nokes, "Holmes v. Ford," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, October 17, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/holmes_v._ford/#.ZAp4uXbMJhE, accessed March 9, 2023.

[145] Ibid.

[146] "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Oregonian*, March 2, 1952, 98-99; "Controversy on Name," *Oregon Statesmen*, March 28, 1951, 43.

[147] Elizabeth Walton Potter, "Salem Pioneer Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2013.

[148] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 109.

[149] McLagan, 67.

[150] Angela Reiniche, "Robin and Polly Holmes," https://www.nps.gov/people/robin-and-polly-holmes.htm, accessed March 9, 2023.

[151] "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Oregonian*, March 2, 1952, 98-99.

[152] McLagan, 15; Greg Nokes, "Black Harris—Northwest Mountain Main of Mystery," April 3, 2017, https://gregnokes.com/2017/04/03/black-harris-northwest-mountain-man-of-mystery/, accessed December 15, 2023.

with a peculiar blue-black tint, as if gunpowder had been burnt into his face."[153] Harris was born in the South (exact location unknown but possibly South Carolina or Kentucky) and moved west as part of the emerging fur trade, building outposts and fur traps.

As the fur trade declined and its means to support oneself disappeared, Harris made his living as a wagon guide. In 1836, he guided the Whitman and Spaulding families to the Green River in Wyoming, where the missionaries continued without Harris. In 1844, he was the guide for one of the largest emigrant trains to come to Oregon. The following year Harris was instrumental in rescuing emigrants that were stranded without food or water in central Oregon. They had taken the Meek Cutoff, but when they got stuck, Meek sought help in Harris who delivered essential supplies and guided the wagon train so they could finish their journey. [154, 155]

The same year Harris helped establish a new, more direct, and faster route of the Oregon Trail. Established in 1845, the year the number of migrants neared three thousand,[156] this route bypassed the original route to the Whitman Mission and became the new way to reach the Columbia River. Instead of veering north on the west side of the Blue Mountains to the mission, it headed west along the Umatilla River. The new route saved 40 miles and multiple days of travel. Harris would also contribute similar efforts in the routing of the Applegate Trail.[157] Again, Harris was also part of a relief party sent to rescue travelers along this route who were at risk of dying.

In 1849, Harris died of cholera in the town that so many started from on their journeys west: Independence, Missouri.

Letitia Carson (Benton County, Douglas County)

Among the best-studied of early Oregon's Black pioneers and farmers is Letitia Carson.[158] Her life is compellingly multi-faceted and exemplary for understanding the experience of Black people in Oregon during this era. Like Rachel Belden and Hannah Gorman, Letitia was enslaved but part of a common law marriage with her enslaver, David Carson.[159] The Carsons emigrated to Oregon in 1845 and Letitia gave birth to a daughter, Martha, on the journey.[160] In 1846, the Carsons built a cabin and developed a 640-acre farm in Benton County located eight miles north of what is now Corvallis in Soap Creek Valley.[161] Three years later, their son Adam was born who later went by "Jack."

In 1850, the Carsons' original 640-acre claim (the land allotted to married couples under the 1843 Organic Law) was reduced to the 320 acres allotted to single claimants. This was likely due to the fact that David and Letitia were not legally married.[162] Upon David's death in 1852, an executor of the estate was appointed.[163] The executor believed that

[153] "Escape from Blackfeet," The Walters Art Museum. *https://art.thewalters.org/detail/21918/escape-from-blackfeet/, accessed* December 15, 2023.

[154] The Meek Cutoff was a trail blazed by Stephen Meek. It left the main Oregon Strail at Vale, Oregon, and followed the Malheur River into the Harney Basin. It turned west towards Wagontire Mountain, and north to the south fork of the Crooked River. There, it split into two routes; each path led to the Deschutes River. The two routes reunited north of where the Crooked River empties into the Deschutes. It then continued to The Dalles.

[155] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon." For additional context regarding the Oregon Trail see also Stephen Dow Beckham, "The Oregon Trail, Oregon, 1840 to 1880."

[156] Paul Rourke, 63.

[157] McLagan, 16.

[158] Letitia went by "Tisha" or "Aunt Tish." She was born in c. 1815 and died in 1888.

[159] The Letitia Carson homestead in Soap Creek Valley, Benton County, has been the subject of recent archaeological investigations. "Letitia Carson Legacy Project," Oregon State University, https://letitiacarson.oregonstate.edu/, accessed September 6, 2023.

[160] Bob Zybach, "Letitia Carson (ca.1814-1888)," Black Past.org, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/carson-letitia-ca-1814-1888/, accessed January 4, 2023.

[161] The cabin was southwest of Tampico Road, 0.1. mile, bisected by Soap Creek Road on the southeast.

[162] Gary Halvorson, "Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)," Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon: 1840-1870, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/carson-letitia.aspx, accessed March 6, 2023; Bob Zybach, "Letitia Carson (ca.1814-1888)."

[163] The executor of the estate was neighbor Greenberry B. Smith

Letitia and the children remained David's property at the time of his death and would not allow them to inherit the estate..[164] In February 1854 Letitia, as a widow and single mother of two children, filed suit against the estate executor seeking $7,400 for seven years of work and compensation for lost livestock and property. According to her filing, David had promised Letitia that if she continued to live and work for him the remainder of his life, he would make her the sole heir of his estate. Letitia went to court twice and was eventually awarded nearly $2,000 by a judge and jury.[165] [166]

Around 1854, Letitia Carson and Jack left Benton County and moved approximately 160 miles south to the upper Cow Creek Valley.. They moved in with, and worked for, the Hardy Elliff family near Galesville. By the autumn of 1855, the area was embroiled in the Rogue River Wars necessitating a nine-month stay with many members of the community in the town's stockade for safety. [167] Carson also acted as midwife for the community.[168]

On June 17, 1862—less than a month after the federal Homestead Act provided citizens the opportunity to claim up to 160 acres of surveyed government land at the price of $1.25 per acre—Letitia Carson filed a claim for 154 acres on South Myrtle Creek in Douglas County, Oregon, eleven miles east of the town of Myrtle Creek. The Act allowed "freed slaves" to claim land, though Letitia did not identify herself as such.[169] The claim was officially certified on October 1, 1869 and Carson became the first Black person in Oregon to successfully secure a land claim.[170] Her homestead came to consist of a two-story house, barn, smokehouse, cattle, pigs, and an orchard of over 100 fruit trees.[171]

The 1870 census listed the value of her real estate holdings as $1,000 and personal property as $625. She died on February 2, 1888 and is buried at the **Stephens Cemetery** (**South Myrtle Road, County Road 18**) in Myrtle Creek, a few miles from her homestead.[172] Her land is now publicly owned and managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the creek passing through the homestead is named Letitia Creek in her honor.[173]

Rose Allen (Marion County)

Rose Allen is another example of an enslaved Black woman who made the long journey over the Oregon Trail, though less is known about her life and significance. She came west in 1849 with her enslavers—the Dr. William Allen family. Since the Allens knew of the exclusion laws in the Oregon Territory, they did not initially plan to bring her, but she apparently pleaded to accompany the family. With the support of the Allen daughters, Dr. Allen relented. Upon their arrival in Oregon, Rose was freed but continued to live with the Allens. She worked as a laundress and—to aid the group in surviving their first winter—she contributed all of her earnings to that end. Dr. Allen died one year after arriving.[174] Rose later married John Jackson—a groom for stagecoach horses in Oregon City. [175] They moved to the

[164] Halvorson, "Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)."
[165] Ibid.
[166] Zybach, "Letitia Carson (ca.1814-1888)."
[167] Zybach, "The Search for Letitia Carson in Douglas County," *The Umpqua Trapper* 50, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 15, http://www.nwmapsco.com/ZybachB/Articles/Magazines/DCHS_Umpqua_Trapper/20141200_Letitia_Carson/Zybach_20141200.pdf
[168] Ibid, 6-7; *Umpqua Trapper*, Volume 18, No. 3, Year unknown, 67-70; Zybach, "The Search for Letitia Carson in Douglas County," 6-7.
[169] Halvorson, "Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)."
[170] GLO Records, "Letitia Carson, 10/1/1869," DOI, BLM, last accessed September 6, 2023, https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=ORRAA%20%20008939&docClass=SER&sid=miomjxgf.gsj.
[171] Zybach, "Letitia Carson (ca. 1814-1888)"; Halvorson, "Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)."
[172] Ibid.
[173] GLO Records, "Letitia Carson, 10/1/1869."
[174] "Black Pioneers and Settlers," *End of the Oregon Trail*, April 2, 2019, https://historicoregoncity.org/2019/04/02/black-pioneers-and-settlers/, accessed March 2023.
[175] Gary Halvorson, "Rose and John Jackson," *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870 Online Exhibit*, Oregon Secretary of State, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/jackson-rose.aspx, accessed September 7, 2023.

Waldo Hills area and had two children: Rose and Charles.[176] At some point later in her life, she was living at **1463 N. Winter Street** in Salem, where she died.

Jacob Vanderpool (Oregon City)

The growing population in the Willamette Valley provided new opportunities for aspiring business owners including the rare Black person who was free and had enough money to start up a business. Among the earliest Black-owned businesses in the state was the Oregon Saloon and Boarding House at **503 Main Street**, Oregon City, which was owned and operated by Jacob Vanderpool who was born in the West Indies in 1830.[177] He had opened his business in 1850 when there were four Black people living in Oregon City in addition to nine Hawaiian-born Kanakas. The same year, he also attempted to secure a land claim but was denied because of his race.[178] Vanderpool emigrated to Oregon via ship, which was rare for Black Oregon emigrants (but not for white emigrants), having worked as a sailor in the Caribbean.

Vanderpool was the subject of the first and only known successful attempt to enforce the 1849 Black exclusion law.[179] This occurred on August 20, 1851, when another settled named Theophilus Magruder filed a complaint that Vanderpool was a "mulatto" and was in violation of the exclusion act. Recall that the 1849 law had provisions that specifically targeted Black sailors due to fears that they would stay in Oregon and not depart with their ships. U.S. Marshal Joseph Meek arrested Vanderpool and the case went to trial on August 25, 1851. Vanderpool's defense attorney argued that the exclusion law was unconstitutional because it had not been legally approved by the legislature as well as the fact that it had been put in place to prevent Black people from moving to Oregon—not to remove those that were established residents. The prosecution attempted to call into question the date Vanderpool arrived in Oregon. Even though their witness testimony was vague, the judge found Vanderpool guilty and ordered him to relocate outside the territory within thirty days. A total of six days elapsed from the time of the complaint to the order for his expulsion.

Vanderpool lost his business and relocated out-of-state. It is unknown what became of Vanderpool following the expulsion, but the 1870 Census recorded a 54-year-old Black man of the same name residing in San Francisco with wife, Mary Vanderpool.[180]

Richard Arthur Bogle and America Waldo (Douglas County and Salem)

Richard Arthur Bogle (1835–1904) and America Waldo (1844-1903) were two Black pioneers who traveled separately to Oregon via the Oregon Trail in the early 1850s and married in Salem in 1863. While they are primarily significant as being the first Black settlers in Walla Walla, Washington, their early life and marriage in Oregon is an important one.

Bogle was born into slavery in Jamaica but escaped at age 12 by stowing away on a ship bound for New York City, where he stayed a year. He went to Michigan for a brief time before leaving for Oregon in 1851.[181] After three years in Oregon, probably in Lane County, he moved to California where he learned barbering as a nineteen-year-old. From approximately 1854-1857, he owned a restaurant and barber shop while also panning for gold in Deadwood, California. Bogle returned to Oregon in 1860 and lived in Roseburg, operating a successful barber shop there until 1862.[182]

---

[176] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 40.; "Black Pioneers and Settlers," https://historicoregoncity.org/2019/04/02/black-pioneers-and-settlers/.

[177] Coleman identifies the business at 503 Main Street in Oregon City in his book *Dangerous Subjects*. McLagan identifies the business as being in Salem across the street from the offices of the Oregon Stateman newspaper in her book *A Peculiar Paradise.*

[178] Coleman, Dangerous Subjects, 154.

[179] Ibid; McLagan, 23-24.

[180] Nokes, *Breaking Chains*, 57-59; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 10-13; McLagan, 19-20; Coleman, *Dangerous Subject*s, 154-155.

[181] Urban League of Portland, "The State of Black Oregon," 2015, https://ulpdx.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/State-Of-Black-Oregon-2015.pdf, 5-6.

[182] Gary Halvorson, "America Waldo Bogle and Richard Arthur Bogle," Oregon Secretary of State: *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870*: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/bogle.aspx, accessed December 2, 2022.

For context, barbering was a common occupation for African Americans during the 19th century and it was one of the few trade jobs available to both free and enslaved Black men. As was true for their counterparts in maritime work, barbering was a way that Black men could make a stable living, more so than their peers working other jobs open to African Americans.[183].

America Waldo is believed to have been born into slavery in Missouri—her father, John Waldo or his brother Joseph Waldo, also being her enslaver. She traveled to Oregon via wagon train in the early 1850s with John Waldo's widow, Avarilla, and other African Americans—presumably other enslaved people from the Waldo's Missouri plantation. They initially lived with another Waldo brother, Daniel and his family, east of Salem in Macleay, near the Delaney family who were presented earlier. [184,185] In 1855, when America was 11 years old, she and Avarilla moved to Douglas County where Avarilla had secured a plot of land under the 1850 Oregon Donation Land Act near Roseburg. America met Richard Bogle years later when both lived in Douglas County. She moved back to the Waldo farm in Macleay c.1861 until her marriage in 1863.[186] (The 1854, two-story Waldo house remains standing in Salem at **3515 Howell Prairie Road SE**.)

America Waldo's and Richard Bogle's marriage in Salem was controversial at the time because white and Black guests were both in attendance. They were also married by the white abolitionist Reverend Obed Dickinson, mentioned later. Daniel Waldo publicly supported their marriage, giving them gifts of value. Even the *San Francisco Bulletin* featured a write-up of the wedding.[187]

The newlyweds promptly relocated out of Oregon, discouraged by the existing exclusion laws to Walla Walla, where Bogle had already scouted the prior year during a trip to the Idaho gold mines. He became the first Black businessman in Walla Walla and ran a well-known barber shop. He also owned a ranch and became a banker.[188]

The Bogles had multiple children, some of whom would move to Oregon. One son—Richard Waldo Bogle, Sr. operated a prominent Black hotel—**The Golden West**—in Portland. [189] He and his wife, Kathryn Hall, are featured in Era 4.

Reuben Edward Shipley (Benton County)

Reuben Edward Shipley (c. 1800 or c. 1811–1872/3) became a prominent farmer of Benton County, having been freed from slavery after his arrival in Oregon in 1853. [190] Of significance, he would purchase land and farm it profitably. Shockingly, he also had to purchase his wife, Mary Jane Holmes (presented earlier, daughter of Robin and Polly Holmes) after marrying her in order to secure her freedom.

[183] Douglas Walter Bristol Jr., *Knights of the Razor: Black Barbers in Slavery and Freedom*, Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins Press, 2009, 2. See also Ellen Terrell, "Honoring African Americans: Barbering," Library of Congress Blog (2022). https://blogs.loc.gov/inside_adams/2022/02/african-americans-barbering/#:~:text=African%2DAmerican%20men's%20barbering%20has,slaves%20and%20affluent%20white%20men, accessed March 8, 2023.

[184] Daniel and Melinda Waldo had taken up a 640-acre claim in the Waldo Hills near Macleay. The Macleay area eventually was called Waldo Hills. Daniel was also a member of Oregon's first legislature.

[185] Brian W. Johnson, "America Waldo Bogle: Her Early Life and the Question of her Ancestry," February 14, 2022, http://www.oregonpioneers.com/AmericaWaldoBogle.htm, accessed March 2023; Urban League of Portland, 5-6.

[186] Brian W. Johnson, "America Waldo Bogle: Her Early Life and the Question of her Ancestry."

[187] "Obed Dickinson and the Negro Question in Salem," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1991, 4-40.

[188] Urban League of Portland, 5-6,

[189] Richard Bogle became one of the founders of the Walla Walla Savings and Loans Association. See also Halvorson, "America Waldo Bogle and Richard Arthur Bogle."

[190] His headstone at the Mt. Union Cemetery lists him as R.E. Ficklin; "Reuben Shipley (1811–1872)," Find a Grave, March 19, 2008, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/25387752/reuben-shipley.

Reuben Shipley was born into slavery in Kentucky. His true surname is believed to be Ficklin.[191] He was enslaved to plantation owner Robert Shipley. It is said that Reuben and Robert were more like companions, and Reuben was almost treated as a member of the family.[192] At some point, the Shipleys relocated to Missouri and Robert made Reuben the manager of his plantation. Reuben married at some point, but his wife was enslaved at another plantation 30 miles away and Reuben could only visit her one weekend per month. They had two sons.

In 1853, Robert decided to move to the Oregon Territory. He gave Reuben the choice of being sold or, in exchange for his freedom, helping him make the arduous journey and setting up a home in Oregon. Reuben chose the latter, and in doing so, hoped he would eventually be able to secure the freedom of his family that he was leaving behind.[193]

Reuben drove an oxen team from Missouri to Oregon. After helping Robert build his home, Reuben was released from slavery as promised and he began working for neighbor Eldridge Hartless. Reuben began corresponding with his wife's enslaver and learned that his wife had died while Reuben traveled to Oregon. The enslaver refused to release Reuben's sons, and during the Civil War he lost track of them.

From his labor for Hartless, Reuben saved $1,500 and bought 102 acres in 1856 from another family at Neabeck Hill, adjacent to Philomath. There, he built a cabin for himself in 1857. The next year, he married Mary Jane Holmes, who was discussed earlier in this era. Recall that Mary Jane was freed in 1853 by the Oregon Supreme Court. However, with the 1857 Dred Scott decision, the US Supreme Court ruled that living in a free state or territory did not entitle a slave to their freedom because they remained the property of another person. This decision superseded any territorial law or legal judgment, opening all territories to slavery. Mary Jane's former enslaver, Nathaniel Ford, took advantage of the ruling and demanded that Reuben pay him $700.[194] Despite being granted freedom by an Oregon territorial court, Reuben paid the money so he and Mary Jane could be together. This was the second and the last known case in Oregon of a slave being sold as property. The first case had occurred a few years prior when William Coleman and his grandmother were purchased from James Southworth by Joseph Teals. [195,196]

Reuben became a well-known farmer and was the largest Black landowner in the Willamette Valley at the time. The site of his 1857 cabin (**6075 SW Plymouth Drive**) is located on a terrace above the Mary's River near Philomath.[197] The cabin was crushed by snow in 1919. Known through photographs, it reflects the simplicity of the vernacular houses built in Oregon in the early years, and perhaps resembles slave cabins of the eastern states. [198]

In 1860, Reuben Shipley's real estate was worth $1,500 and his personal estate was valued at $1,166. Reuben donated two acres of his land in 1861 to Benton County for the **Mount Union Cemetery** (**2987 Mt. Union Avenue**). His donation included a provision in Benton County permitting Black people to be buried in the cemetery. This provision was significant, as the practice of burying Black and white people in the same cemetery was rare at the time.[199] Shipley bought

[191] Peter Sleeth and R. Gregory Nokes, "New Historic Plaque Honors Legacy of Formerly Enslaves Couple Who Helped Found Benton County, *Oregonian*, April 25, 2022, https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2022/04/new-historic-plaque-honors-legacy-of-former-slaves-who-helped-found-benton-county.html, accessed February 26, 2024.

[192] "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Oregonian*, March 2, 1952, 99. Reuben adopted surname of enslaver, a common practice.

[193] John Horner, "How Negro Won Freedom to Become Landowner is Told by Professor," Oregonian, July 11, 1915, 12, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn83045782/1915-07-11/ed-1/seq-68/#words=Reuben+Shipley, accessed December 31, 2023.

[194] McLagan, 81.

[195] William Coleman's last name also appears as "Cole."

[196] "The Only Slave Ever Sold in Oregon," *The Morning Astorian* 18 Nov 1884, 1. Teals freed the pair and they lived on the Long Tom River near Junction City.

[197] Mary Kathryn Weber, Kathy Schutt, and May Dasch, "Benton County Cultural Resources Survey II 1984-1986: Reuben and Mary Jane Shipley Cabin Site" Salem: SHPO, 1986. Note that the property remains largely undeveloped and there is a high probability of archaeological remains associated with the Shipleys. No formal investigations have been conducted.

[198] Benton County Historical Society, "Reuben and Mary Jane Shipley House," Catalog Number H10140-005, Oregon State University Horner Museum Collection; Hazel Waterman, "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Sunday Oregonian Magazine*, March 2, 1952, 17.

[199] Sleeth, "New Historic Plaque."

more real estate in 1865 and 1866 and, by the 1870 census, was still farming. The Shipleys now owned $2,000 in real estate. He and Mary Jane would raise six children together.[200] It is believed the children went to the Mt. Union School since it was known to have been attended by both white and Black pupils. His family was highly regarded, partook in the community's social life, and was involved in the local Bethel church.[201] He was known in the community as "Uncle Reuben."[202]

Reuben and one of his daughters died of smallpox in 1872/3. He was the first to be buried in his Mount Union Cemetery. His three daughters and Mary Jane are also buried there. [203]

In 1875, the widowed Mary Jane Shipley married Black laborer Alfred Drake, though he died shortly after the marriage.[204,205] At the time of the 1880 census, Mary Jane was living in Salem with her younger children. During a typhoid epidemic, she took care of the ill in their homes. On May 14, 1889, she sold the Neabeck Hill farm for $2,900 and moved to Portland, where her son was employed as a janitor for the Southern Pacific Railroad. She was his housekeeper, remaining there until she died in a Portland nursing home in 1926 following a stroke of paralysis.

The 1850 Census and Population Trends

The laws of Oregon made it clear that Oregon was an unwelcoming place for Black people considering a move west. Most potential Black immigrants who had the means and the motivation to go west simply chose to go elsewhere."[206] Although relatively small in number, Black families and individuals, as demonstrated by the vignettes above, did still choose to come to Oregon during the first part of this era. The 1850 census—the very first for the region—provides a useful lens to view the presence of Black people in Oregon. The telling of this era will start to use U.S. census numbers to be able to convey patterns throughout the rest of this study.

Many Oregonians, Black people included, had left Oregon in the couple of years prior to the 1850 census to go to California following the discovery of gold. The 1850 U.S. Census enumerated 55 Black people in Oregon—0.45% of the total recorded state population of 12,093. About four of the 55 Black people were living in Portland, making 51 the actual count for the geographic area of this MPD study. Comparatively, the two counties in what is now Washington State (part of the Oregon Territory at the time) had 152 Black people among a much smaller total population of 1,201—comprising 12.7% of the total population. While there were multiple reasons, Oregon's exclusion laws were certainly a factor in this population difference between the two areas. As a means of further comparison, the three other U.S. territories in 1850 were Minnesota with 39 Black people in a total population of 6,077 (0.64%), New Mexico—the largest population among the territories—had 22 Black people among a total population of 61,547 (0.04%), and Utah, which had 24 Black people out of a total population of 11,380 (0.44%).

Earliest Black Population Centers

Outside of Portland, most of Oregon's 2,133 households in 1850 lived in the middle to the northern Willamette Valley with smaller numbers in the southern valley and in Clatsop County. Oregon Territory had eight counties in 1850, all centered in the Willamette Valley except for Clatsop County on the far northwestern coast. Oregon's 55 black people were concentrated in Clackamas (23) and Washington (9) Counties, drawn by the higher population around the capital

[200] Sons were Thomas, Wallace, and Edward. Daughters were Martha, Ella, and Nettie.
[201] Waterman, 99.
[202] Sleeth, "New Historic Plaque."
[203] Nokes, *Breaking Chains*, 153-160. Also, see Waterman, "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery."
[204] c. 1822–1875
[205] Waterman, 99. There is a picture of the cabin in this article. Alfred Drake is also buried in the cemetery.
[206] "Blacks in Oregon," https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/blacks_in_oregon/

of Oregon City. Nine Black people also resided in Marion County. Polk County had five. Clatsop and Benton Counties enumerated four each. Yamhill County was home to one Black person.[207] None lived in Linn County.

Throughout the rest of the context statement, U.S. Census numbers will be used to demonstrate the size of these places where Black Oregonians formed (or had the potential to form) elements of a local Black community outside of Portland. While the number of people with shared characteristics was critical in building community, other factors that the censuses showed were also applicable. These included proximity of residences, number of households, age of residents, and particularly the presence of children. This presentation of relatively large Black populations outside of Portland will be repeated in each of the subsequent eras highlighting and elucidating some aspects of the Black community in these locales.

Oregon City and Clackamas County

In 1850, four Black people resided in Oregon City.[208] The rest of Clackamas County had one family, the Church family of eight African Americans, whose head was a farmer from Vermont. Nearby lived another Black resident who worked on a white-owned farm. Elsewhere in the county, an eight-year-old girl lived with a white family headed by a millwright from Ohio. In 1850, the presence of this number of African Americans in one county was, by far, the most significant concentration of Black people in Oregon at the time. Ten years later, however, no Black people would remain in the entire county. The reasons were not readily apparent, so this is an area for further research.

Jacksonville and Jackson County

In addition to being a unique example of a mining town in Oregon, Jacksonville was also unique in that it attracted a relatively large amount of Black people in a short period of time. When Oregon became a state in 1859, Jacksonville had one of the largest populations of Black people. Jackson County (where Jacksonville is located) also had a Black population that was far larger than the rest of Oregon's counties.

Gold discoveries near Jacksonville in 1852 brought the gold rush to southern Oregon and thus a boom in population.[209] By 1860, the majority on Black people in the area would make their living through commercial endeavors that supported miners, such as running barbershops. Some would try their luck at mining for gold near Jacksonville, as demonstrated in a few of the vignettes in this era and the next. Mining provided unique and potentially lucrative employment opportunities for some Black Oregonians in the middle- to late-1800s.

For greater context, the explosion in population in the western United States was, in large part, initiated by the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The ensuing California Gold Rush was a watershed moment in America's economic development. Within a relatively short period, news of the discovery had spread; by 1849, the gold rush was underway, and a large population of aspiring miners surged into California. African Americans that moved to the West had mostly moved to California, which was newly under American possession. In 1860, 80% of Black people in the West were in California.

In Oregon, Jacksonville boomed in less than a year to a permanent population of 150 people that supported a transient mining population of at least 1,500 men.[210] In 1855, Jackson County was the richest and most populous county in

[207] "Yamhill was originally spelled "Yam Hill."

[208] The census for that year enumerated 13 Blacks, although only four were African Americans; the other 9 were Hawaiian-born Kanakas.

[209] Richard H. Engeman, *Jacksonville Story* (2nd Edition), Medford: Oregon, Southern Oregon Historical Society, 1990; Jerilyn S. McIntyre, "The Structure of Communication in an Emerging Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Oregon, 1852-56." Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1973; A. G. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties,* Portland, Oregon: A. G. Walling, 1884.

[210] "Jacksonville," *Oregonian*, July 3, 1852, 3.

Oregon.[211] The burgeoning economy, beyond just mining, provided incentive for lots of people of various trades and of all races to move there, drawing diverse populations of differing nationalities and ethnic groups: European-Americans, Europeans, Chinese, Indigenous people, Portuguese, Hawaiians, and African Americans. Mining camps were the most racially-diverse places in America at the time.[212] Interracial marriage in Jackson County was far more common than the rest of the state due to the frontier mining town culture and the type of people it drew.

Formed on the site of the first mining camp, Jacksonville emerged as the first European-American community in the region, with churches, schools, boarding houses, and saloons. It was the most important community in the southern part of Oregon Territory. Jackson County was predominantly home to Southern sympathizer residents from states such as Kentucky and Missouri. Like most residents of the Oregon Territory, historian Jeffrey LaLande writes, most Jackson County residents were Democrats and partial to "Jacksonian democracy" (views that originated with President Andrew Jackson) and states' rights.[213]

While whites settled in the central part of the rapidly developing town, non-whites built residences closer to the areas being mined. There, a small community southwest of Jacksonville developed, called **Kanaka Flat** (**Kanaka Flats Road**).[214] It was named after the Hawaiians who were involved in mining the area. Home to families and single men, it had a saloon and dance hall which was patronized by those throughout Jackson County. In accounts from the time period, Kanaka Flat was described as a "disgusting den of infamy."[215] However, archaeologist Chelsea Rose's research has shown it was not a place of "lonely men and loose women," but was instead a multiethnic community of people making a living amongst the mines of Jackson County. Black people living in the vicinity of Jacksonville often lived in Kanaka Flats.

Author Elizabeth McLagan writes in her book *Peculiar Paradise* that Black Oregonians and all minorities in Jacksonville were treated in a hostile, outrageous manner.[216] Racial incidents were common, and Blacks were jailed on any excuse.[217] Jacksonville's earliest public school was also not open to Black children, as was the case in most places in Oregon at this time. As Black families moved to Oregon, public education for their children was a priority. However, segregation in education generally occurred at all levels (elementary school through university) through the mid-twentieth century. In Jacksonville in 1854, a Black girl (daughter of John Mathews, described later) tried to attend the public school and, in protest, white parents kept their children home. Due to the tension, she ceased her attempt to attend.[218] Similarly, the local church in Jacksonville was only open to white people, but when they invited an African American preacher, Reverand Isaac Jones, a few local residents reportedly threatened Jones.[219]

By 1860, Jacksonville had grown to about 940 people in the precinct. Nine of them were Black residents (but two having been born in Hawaii were not African). Only one of them was enumerated as a miner (though there were three more Black miners elsewhere in Jackson County and no others in the state) and the rest were primarily farm laborers. While nine Black people perhaps sounds insignificant, this number was only bested by Salem, Portland, and another location in Jackson County described next.

---

[211] Alice Applegate Sargent, "A Sketch of the Rogue River Valley and Southern Oregon History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 1, March 1921, 5.

[212] West, 45.

[213] Kay Atwood and Dennis J. Gray, "As Long as the World Goes On: The Land and People of Southwest Oregon, *Oregon History Project,* 2003, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/as-long-as-the-world-goes-on-the-land-and-people-of-southwest-oregon/new-names-on-the-land/jacksonville-the-first-town/, accessed March 2023.

[214] Chelsea Rose, "Lonely Men, Loose Women: Rethinking the Demographics of a Multiethnic Mining Camp, Kanaka Flat, Oregon," *Historical Archaeology,* Volume 47, No. 3, 2013, 23-35.

[215] Ibid, 28.

[216] McLagan, 66.

[217] Ibid, 72.

[218] Ibid, 86.

[219] Barbara Hegne, *Saga of the Mask Plantation, North Carolina, Slaves Journey to Oregon*, self-published book, 19. Source includes quote from Thomas F. Royal's notebook, on file at Southern Oregon Historical Society, MS16.

Wider Jackson County

Jackson County, with its Bear Creek Valley, formed the same year as Jacksonville. The gold in the town of Jacksonville provided the wealth and the valley offered the space for emigrants to spread out and farm. The people of Jackson County were more itinerant or in flux, especially when compared with the more settled agricultural populations in the Willamette Valley.[220] That, combined with the relatively high number of Black people in the county, led to increasing concerns about interracial marriage. In the West during this era, it was not unusual for men of any race to have Indian wives. However, Oregonians were concerned about the perceived problem of white men openly living with Black women and more so, for Black men to be married to a white woman (which was less common).[221] Interracial marriage became more of a political issue in Oregon in 1860 compared to 1850, particularly in Jackson County. Five of the six interracial marriages in the 1860 census were in Jackson County. Concern grew in the Willamette Valley, which brought about miscegenation laws at the very end of this era.

By 1860, the county had 42 Black people living there—twice as many as any other Oregon county that year, including Multnomah County where Portland is located. The total population of the county was the fifth most populous in Oregon, behind Marion, Linn, Lane, and Multnomah, in that order. In less than ten years, Jackson County was responsible for over half of the entire state's increase in the Black population. Despite the preeminence of Jacksonville, in 1860, the majority of the Black Oregonians in Jackson County were living in Eagle Point and were mostly comprised of members of the John Mathews family.

1853: The Mathews Family (Jackson County)

The Mathews family was probably drawn to Jackson County by the gold discovered there, realizing an opportunity to move to an area with economic potential supporting the miners and a growing population. The Mathews established farms in what became Eagle Point. The multi-generational family would represent a notable presence of Black people in Jackson County, and Oregon, for this era. The Mathews accounted for 23% of all Black people in Oregon in 1860. (There were 112 total Black Oregonians in the state outside of Portland.)

Headed by John Dudley Mathews, they traveled to Oregon in 1851, eventually living in Jackson County by 1853.[222] John would purchase land there, though sometimes some of the family lived in Jacksonville. The large family farmed, worked other jobs, and the children went to school in the county. One of John Mathews' daughters was the girl who attempted to attend the Jacksonville school in 1854.[223]

John's mother Ellender Penelope Mathews (1799–1882) was born enslaved in North Carolina and had about six children, most, including John, fathered by her white enslaver.[224] Ellender and her children were freed around the time of the enslaver's death. Ellender and her son John moved the family to Tennessee and later to Missouri.[225] John married Elizabeth Rachel Wooley (1822-1892) whose father taught John the craft of road building, which John would use in Oregon. Elizabeth and John had approximately six children by the time they emigrated to Oregon.[226] They also brought Ellender and some other relatives. More would follow in time.[227]

---

[220] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 43.

[221] Ibid.

[222] John Mathews's name also appears as Mathis sometimes. He lived from 1816 to 1885.

[223] Hegne, 19.

[224] Ellender went by "Nellie." Full name might have been Ellender Penelope "Nellie" Mask with last name becoming Mathews at some point.

[225] Gary Halvorson, "Ellender Penelope "Nellie" Mathews (1799–1882)," Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon: 1840-1870: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/mathews-ellender.aspx, accessed January 3, 2023.

[226] Their six children were Millie D. Mathews (1843-1909), Dudley K. "Polk" Mathews (1844 Missouri–1906), America H. (unknown), Ruth (1839 Missouri–unknown), Hezekiah male (1841 Missouri–unknown), Julia Rachel Mathews (1852 Missouri-1919).

[227] The relatives who followed were William (1838-date), Drury (1823-?), sister Mary Amanda (1827-?), Susannah (1823-?).

The Mathews family initially lived along Little Butte Creek owned by a white man, Tucker Woodson (1831-1857), who arrived in Jackson County in 1853. When Woodson died during a hunting expedition in 1857 (John accidentally shot him), the land was sold to another white man, James M. Jackson. John would claim $2,000 plus interest against the estate for the labor he provided on the land.

After some time, John acquired the land. The Mathews built a cabin for Ellender and a larger house for John and his family of, at this point, twelve children.[228] In the 1860 census, John was one of three Black farmers who owned their land. In that census, he reported owning $2,000 in real estate and $3,700 in personal estate. His children would also have their own families in time, most remaining as farmers in Eagle Point. The Mathews will be covered further in the next era where they continued to comprise a sizeable number of Black people in Jackson County.

John Mathews was a multi-talented man who made contributions in the arena of early transportation networks in the state. In July 1865, he led the routing and building of a new road between the Rogue River in Jackson County to Fort Klamath. He was hired by the captain of a company of Oregon Volunteer Infantry to connect the fort to the supplies available in Jackson County. John found a suitable route along Union Creek and east across the Cascade Mountains. [229] John has also been credited for naming the town of Eagle Point after the local post office opened in 1872. Additionally, he was known for his flute playing.

Ellender died in 1882 and John died of typhoid fever in 1885.[230] They are both buried in the **John Mathews Pioneer Cemetery** (**935 Crystal Drive)** in Eagle Point.[231]

Salem and Marion County

Salem was founded in 1842 by the earliest Oregon missionaries, eight years after the first mission was established north of today's Salem. Originally named Chemeketa, Salem was designated as the seat of Marion County in 1849 and the capital of the Oregon Territory in 1851. Agriculture and ranching were the city's earliest industries. Salem was incorporated in 1857 and a major sawmill was built in 1866.

In 1850, Marion County had nine Black people living there and, by 1860, the number has risen to 20, with all but three of them living in Salem. This made Marion County the second most populous county for Black people, only bested by Jackson County's 42 Black residents. The next closest was Multnomah County with 17. Five of these 17 Salem residents were part of the Holmes' family who were featured earlier. Six of them were children aged from one to 13 years old, all living with a white farmer. The others included the Black wife of a white farmer and former military captain, N.A. Connoyer, and their four children.

The First Congregational Church, led by pastor Obed Dickinson, attracted some of Salem's Black residents to become parishioners. This was probably the first church in Oregon to do so. After initial resistance and requests by other parishioners to hold separate services for Black attendees, Dickinson persuaded his congregation to accept the new members. His wife, Charlotte, would later use their home to teach Black women to read. Every night four to five women attended. Dickinson spoke openly against slavery as a moral wrong. He also spoke out against denying public education to Black residents even as they were taxed to pay for schools that only white pupils could attend. But with tensions high because of the Civil War, support for him and his church declined.[232] He did not relent in preaching about the moral wrongs against Black people; however, in 1863, the congregation did not renew his appointment after he hosted a wedding party for a Black couple—America Waldo and Richard Bogle (who were featured earlier). He was rehired

[228] Alice Mullaly, "The Man Who Named Eagle Point…," *Southern Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, Winter 2020-2021, 9. There seems to be some debate regarding how he acquired the land.
[229] Ibid.
[230] "Matthews," *Oregonian*, August 24, 1885.
[231] Mullaly, 9.
[232] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 79-83.

months later when they could not find another clergy to take over. Undaunted, he retained his beliefs and outspokenness, but left in 1867 due to ongoing church financial struggles brought on by his positions on slavery and the inclusion of Black people.[233]

1857 Constitution and Subsequent Statehood

After becoming a U.S. territory in 1848 the subsequent years of emigration and increasing development of the Willamette, Umpqua, and Rogue River Valleys put pressure on the territorial legislature who grappled with the pressures of increasing population and the presence of Black people. These challenges and how they were handled were occurring in the midst of the leadup to the Civil War. Like the exclusion and lash laws of Oregon's provisional government presented earlier, the early phase of Oregon governance as a United States territory played a huge role in the Black experience in Oregon, no matter how small the Black population was. It would have a pronounced, profound, and sustained impact beyond this era.

Before the Oregon constitution was passed in 1857 (and before Oregon officially became a state in 1859), Black residents were plagued by uncertainty regarding their status as Oregonians. Three times between 1854 and 1856 voters rebuffed the pursuit of statehood, objecting to the attendant increased taxation.[234] However, violence in Kansas in 1856 over the issue of slavery made many Oregonians reconsider and the question of slavery loomed large in this part of the era leading up to the drafting of the state constitution.

Open political battles and social debating, largely about slavery and Black people, ruled conversations of the period. Most Oregonians seemed to support the banishment of Black residents, though some wanted to allow them to exist in Oregon but only as slaves. These people were supported by The Democratic Party. Organized in Oregon between 1851 and 1852, many of its leaders were pro-slavery. This included Joseph Lane—the appointed Territorial Governor.[235] The vision many Oregonians held of preserving Oregon for the white race, and thus banishing slavery, would come to divide the Democrat party.[236]

Countering the development of the pro-slavery elements in the political sphere was the Free Soil Party, which organized the Oregon Free Soil Convention in 1855—the first political anti-slavery gathering in the Oregon Territory.[237] The convention, held in Albany with over fifty people present, was to determine a course of action for those opposed to the extension of slavery in the territory.[238] The convention struck a moral tone and they promoted a "negro equality" platform.[239] The year 1855 also marked the first statewide Colored Convention, which lobbied against an Oregon law that prevented Black people from testifying in court, as well as the segregation of schools. Incidentally, Black Oregonians had been organizing as early as 1852 to repeal the court testimony law and continued to petition the state until they were successful in 1863.

While the Free-Soil Party was opposed to slavery on the whole, the Republican Party was more indifferent on the matter but opposed it in Oregon.[240] In May 1856, a group in Jackson County, who were opposed to slavery, established

[233] Ibid, 81-84.
[234] McLagan, 42.
[235] Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, Chicago, Illinois: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1922), 520.
[236] Jim M. Labbe, "The Colored Brother's Few Defenders: Oregon Abolitionists and their Followers," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 120, no. 4 (Winter 2019), 440, https://doi.org/10.1353/ohq.2019.0019.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid; "Statehood: Constitutional Exclusions and the Civil War," https://openoregon.pressbooks.pub/oregonhistory/chapter/chapter-5-statehood-constitutional-exclusions-and-the-civil-war/, accessed November 2023.
[240] Labbe, 440.

Oregon's first Republican Party organization. With regards to slavery, their political angle was for the federal government to prohibit slavery in the Oregon Territory.[241]

Another complicating factor for issues of Black residents and slavery was the early 1857 decision by the United States Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*. It declared that owners of slaves had the right to take their slaves anywhere in the country. This effectively negated the pertinent laws in Oregon that prohibited slavery.[242]

In June 1857, Oregon voted in favor of proceeding with a convention to establish a state constitution (7,617 in favor, 1,679 opposed) and, two months later, delegates from the legislature met in Salem. Slightly more than half were farmers and 78% came from states that had active disputes over slavery including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri.[243] The constitution was adopted in September 1857, but the political process was contentious because of the matter of both free and enslaved Blacks; ten delegates voted against adoption and fifteen left the convention in disgust. The proposed constitution required free Black people to leave the territory within two years, mirroring the 1844 provisional government's law but without the whipping provisions. Political groups opposed to slavery subsequently organized in various Oregon counties to oppose the anti-Black components in the drafted constitution. [244, 245]

In November 1857, the Oregon constitution was officially adopted with 69% in favor (7,195 in favor with 3,215 opposed). In addition to the vote on the constitution, two other relevant matters were a part of the vote. Voters were asked to answer "yes" or "no" on whether slavery should be allowed in Oregon, and whether free Black people should be banned from moving to the state. Slavery was rejected with 74% opposed. The exclusion of free Blacks in Oregon was approved with 89% of voters in favor. The matters specifically pertaining to Blacks people were not retroactive so the banishment of slavery and the banishment of African Americans did not apply to those already legally in Oregon.[246] However, it made it clear that Black people were not welcome and they were effectively barred from moving to the state during this time.[247] For Black Oregonians already in the state, the approval of the constitution negated their ability to use the judicial system, their means to make legally binding contracts, their ability to vote, their ability to own property unless already a property owner, and excluded them from certain fields of employment. Some politicians pushed back, particularly on the "barbarous provision" of not allowing charges to be heard in a court of law as there would be no means of legal defense for Black Oregonians.
In many ways, the constitution was typical of those in Northern border states with antislavery elements but was also clearly anti-Black. Kansas experienced similar wrangling during its constitutional convention, as there were vigorous debates and mixed opinions on slavery there. Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska, and Colorado all had their own unique but similar mixed messages regarding Black people.

The way Oregonians voted in November 1857 can seem contradictory and it might be confusing that, despite the inhuman clauses in the constitution against Black people, they also voted to forbid slavery in the state.[248] However, economic motivations were powerful and, more than anything else, the vote proved the dominance of white Oregonians' economic self-interest, rather than party loyalty or conscientious hearts.[249] Aligning with the northern states made

[241] Due to their strong anti-slavery statement, Republicans were often called "Black Republicans" both by themselves as a badge of honor and by others as a pejorative.

[242] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[243] McLagan, 44.

[244] Labbe, 445.

[245] A few white abolitionists, including Dr. John L. and Martha Thorn Hicklin and their eldest son Henry H. Hicklin, organized their family and neighbors in Washington County in opposition to the Oregon State Constitution, slavery, and Black exclusion during the 1857 constitutional referendum. Others in Washington County who opposed slavery included Wilson M. Tigard, namesake of Tigard, and Augustus Fanno. Elsewhere in Oregon, other vocal opponents included Rev. Obed Dickson and Daniel Waldo of Marion County; John Beeson in Jackson County; Jesse Applegate in Douglas County; and numerous others who were perhaps less outspoken.

[246] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[247] Ibid.

[248] McLagan 52.

[249] Ibid, 47.

economic sense, for the North held the power to fund or not fund economic development efforts and military protection in Oregon. Thus, Oregon followed the North by banning slavery, yet was also decidedly anti-Black and voted accordingly. Further, in early 1858, Oregon proposed other bills to protect the rights of enslavers in the state.[250] While Oregon's voters had overwhelmingly voted against slavery in 1857, they would also elect pro-slavery candidates in the election for the territorial legislature, creating a 22-8 majority. Accordingly, the legislature persisted in their attempts to bring slavery to the state, contrary to the vote to abolish it in the state. However, not a lot was accomplished to that end in the next legislative session due to Oregon's anticipated entry into the union.

After more than a year of Oregon's application for statehood waiting in abeyance and both major political parties on the national stage being opposed to it, enough votes were gained (53%) to pass the Oregon Admission Act, which President Buchanan signed February 14, 1859.[251] Oregon ignominiously became the first and only state to be admitted to the United States with an exclusion clause—the prohibition on Black people taking up residence in the state—already in its constitution.

1860 Census and Population Trends

The number of Black people in Oregon grew substantially (132%) between 1850 and 1860. That said, the 1860 Black population was still tiny—124 people. About 112 of these were living outside of Portland, which was a 119% increase from the decade prior. In 1860, these 112 Black people were located within 14 of Oregon's 19 counties. Most noteworthy was the total departure of African Americans from the center of the Black populace ten years prior; Oregon City had no Black people and Clackamas County enumerated just one. Washington County also had no Black people. The other four counties with no African Americans were all sparsely populated coastal counties along the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean. Aside from significant numbers of Black people in Jackson County and Salem, nine African Americans lived in Wasco County, anchored by The Dalles, where all but one of the nine resided. Their occupations were two cooks, two domestic servants, two barbers, and one shoemaker.

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1850 to 1870									
Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1850s	51	112	119.6%	55	128	132.7%	4	16	300.0%
1860s	112	185	65.2%	128	346	170.3%	16	161	906.3%

Figure 2 - Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1850 to 1870.

Legislation During the Civil War

In 1861—just two years after the establishment of Oregon as a part of the United States—the conflict between the North and South threatened the status of the union it had just joined. That year, approximately 2,500 proponents of slavery in Oregon continued to pursue its legality. They also intended to create a separate territory from Oregon called the Pacific Coast Republic. The effort had ten or more local groups, including in Portland, Salem, Scio, Albany, Jacksonville, and Yamhill County.[252] However, the onset of the Civil War shifted the balance of national political power away from the pro-slavery Democrats. The newly-formed Union Party was comprised of anti-slavery elements from the other parties and, in 1862, the Oregon state legislature now had a majority of politicians opposed to slavery.[253] That said, pro- and

[250] Ibid, 49-50.
[251] Ibid, 48-49.
[252] Ibid, 58.
[253] Ibid, 55-56.

anti-slavery tensions remained high in the state and, before the Civil War ended, Oregon became home to an increasing number of pro-South people, including many who had deserted the Confederate army.[254]

In 1862, the Oregon legislature enacted four pieces of legislation that affected Black Oregonians with two of them being harmful to the rights of Blacks and the other two affirming some of their rights as citizens. The first was intended as another attempt at effectual expulsion of non-white people from Oregon.[255] An annual "poll tax" of five dollars was to be paid by every Black person (as well as those who were Chinese and Hawaiian) living in the state. For Black males between the ages of 21 and 50 years old, this was in addition to the $1 poll tax paid by male Oregonians of all races between the ages of 21 and 50 years old.[256] County sheriffs were responsible for collecting the tax and, if unpaid, the offenders were to be arrested and provide forced labor on public roads to pay off the amount due. (Ten days of such labor met the poll tax obligation.[257]) The poll tax had a short life as it was unintentionally repealed two years later, never to return.[258]

The second law was prompted by settler concerns about interracial marriages, even if these were very rare. It led to the first "miscegenation law" in Oregon, which prohibited marriages between white and Black persons. Other states in the South and West already commonly had their own versions. Oregon's law did not apply to individuals with less than one-fourth African heritage and did not restrict Black people from marrying those of other races. Additionally, Black Oregonians were still allowed to cohabite with white people and existing Black-white marriages could not be dissolved; rather, they were not legally recognized. New marriages were prevented by threat of punishment to the clerk issuing the license and the performer of the ceremony.[259] The law persisted and remained in practice until the state legislature repealed it in 1951.[260]

The two acts of the legislature that were favorable to the rights of Black people included allowing Black people to testify in court (though they still could not serve as jurors) and affirming the right of Black children to attend public school. Oregon schools were required to be free to attend for all persons between the age of four and 20 years. However, property taxes funding public education were allocated based on the number of white children only, so some municipalities used this as a justification to reject Black children from their public schools.[261]

Other measures were attempted by the Oregon legislature that would have further diminished the rights of Black people in Oregon, but they did not garner enough support. By a close vote of 16-14, the legislature failed to pass a bill that would have further prevented the emigration of Black people to Oregon.[262] The legislature then considered similar anti-emigration bills between 1864 and 1866 but each proposal was rebuffed.[263]

In 1862, another legislative development that impacted African Americans was the federal passage of the Homestead Act. The Homestead Act of 1862 was a continuation of the spirit of the 1850 Donation Land Act, which had expired in 1855; however, the new version made no mention of race. It was now legally possible, for a minimal fee, for Black adults to acquire up to 160 acres of land from the government. In Oregon, since the state constitution forbade Blacks from moving to the state, the number of African Americans benefitting from the legislation early in its existence was

[254] Ibid, 57.
[255] D. G. Hill, "The Negro as a Political and Social Issue in the Oregon Country," The Journal of Negro History, April 1948, Vol. 33, No. 2, 142.
[256] "An Act to Increase the Revenue of the State," *Oregon Argus*, November 1, 1862, 2.
[257] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 48.
[258] McLagan, 64.
[259] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 44.
[260] McLagan, 171.
[261] Ibid, 64. See also Susan Bell, "Salem's Colored School and Little Central," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, September 8, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/salem_s_colored_school_and_little_central/, accessed March 3, 2023.
[262] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 45-46.
[263] Ibid, 46-47.

extremely small.[264] However, those already residing in the state, such as Rachel Belden (discussed earlier), were able to partake in the opportunities afforded by the Homestead Act. In some cases, such as Letitia Carson (also featured earlier), they were able to move out of white households to their own homes and farms.

During the middle of the Civil War, in 1863, President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation changed the legal status of slaves in the Confederate states. While the proclamation had no direct legal impact on Oregon at the time, it was a major catalyst towards the end of slavery in the United States and, over time, the status of all African Americans. Along with the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Martin Luther King later described the Emancipation Proclamation as having made an "imperishable" contribution to civilization.[265]

Cora Ann Cox

This vignette of Cora Ann Cox (c. 1827-1891) is provided here because she was enslaved in Oregon and freed by her owners following the Emancipation Proclamation. Thereafter she became a landowner. Originally from Virginia, she was purchased as a ten-year-old in New Orleans. Her owner, Emeline Carey, married Samuel Johnson in 1850 and the newlyweds emigrated to Oregon, perhaps encouraged by the Oregon Donation Land Act, taking Cox with them. The Johnsons claimed 640 acres near Brownsville where Cox continued to live with them. Samuel died in 1858 and Emeline married Jefferson Huff—a slave-owning rancher.[266] One of Huff's slaves named John wed Cox after the Johnson and Huff households joined.[267] The 1860 census enumerated Cox as enslaved even though Oregon's admission as a state in 1859 forbid slavery. Cox was one of two Black people counted as enslaved in Linn County.

Following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, the Huffs freed Cora and John. The next year, Cora purchased 36 acres of the Johnson property from Emeline for $10 for "the consideration of faithful services rendered."[268] Cora and John built a house there and farmed the land. The **Cora Cox House** (**34840 Lake Creek Drive** in Brownsville), constructed c. 1870, still stands and displays character features typical of a rural Classical Revival home, along with some Gothic Revival details. In the census that year, the real estate value of the Coxes was $300.

Cora and John were active in Brownsville's Methodist Episcopal church, but the couple sat in the back of the white church.[269] Black Oregonians usually had to do so if they were allowed to attend at all.[270] She and John attended an Emancipation Proclamation celebration on New Year's Day in Salem in 1868 (see Salem section in the next era).

Cora and John had two children, Adaline in 1860 and Angeline in 1864; both died before the age of seven. John died c. 1875 and Cora continued to own and live on the Brownsville farm. In 1883, she purchased one acre of land on S. Washburn Street in Brownsville.[271] In 1886, Cora sold the land she had purchased from Emeline in 1864. When Cora died in 1891, her will included a significant donation to Willamette University Women's College.[272] Cora, John and their two children are buried at the **Brownsville Pioneer Cemetery** (**35707 Kirk Avenue**).[273]

---

[264] Galbraith et al., "African American Resources in Portland from 1851-1973 MPD," sec. E, 12.

[265] Martin Luther King, Jr, "Dr. Martin Luther King on the Emancipation Proclamation," National Park Service, https://home.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/mlk-ep.htm, accessed December 15, 2023.

[266] Jefferson Huff was born c. 1803 in Tennessee.

[267] Jobie Hill, "Cora Cox House," draft National Register Nomination Form, 2012, 9. Prepared in partial completion of University of Oregon Historic Preservation class AAAP 531, 2012. John was born c. 1823 in Tennessee and died in 1875.

[268] Holly Borth, "Cora Cox House," September 21, 2012, https://historicholly.wordpress.com/2012/09/21/cora-ann-cox-house/, accessed on March 10, 2023.

[269] Jobie Hill, "Cora Cox House," Society of Architectural Historians Archipedia, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/OR-01-043-0001, accessed March 9, 2023.

[270] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 79-83.

[271] Hill, "Cora Cox House," 11.

[272] Holly Borth, *Cora Ann Cox House,* Historic Holly, 2012, https://historicholly.wordpress.com/2012/09/21/cora-ann-cox-house/, accessed March 6, 2023.

[273] Hill, "Cora Cox House," draft nomination, 9.

Post-Civil War Legislation

Following the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution was passed by Congress in 1865, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. Oregon's legislature ratified it later that year—two days after enough other states had already done so to complete its adoption.

After the war ended, changes in political winds led the state legislature to pass more race-based legislation.[274] This legislation both curtailed and pursued rights for Black Oregonians. Following the 1862 miscegenation law, Black-white marriages continued, mostly in Jackson County where nine existed in 1863-4. To further discourage interracial unions, Oregonians passed another miscegenation law in 1866. Garnering 81% of the vote, the punishment was increased to include jail sentences of three to twelve months for the two parties, in addition to the county clerk. It also added Chinese, Hawaiian, and Indian people as restricted from marrying white people.[275] While there were nine mixed marriages in Oregon in 1860, only one Black-white union was enumerated in the 1870 U.S. Census records.[276] The miscegenation laws of 1862 and 1866 persisted in Oregon for generations to come.

In 1866, the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was passed by the U.S. Congress, which would guarantee civil rights to all citizens, including Black people. It would allow African Americans to move within the United States wherever they chose, including into Oregon regardless of whatever restrictions the state might continue to enact. Oregon ratified the amendment in a close vote that year. Its final adoption in 1868 permitted Black people to enter Oregon and ended official attempts to restrict the movement of Black people into the state.

After the 1866 miscegenation law, no laws were passed in Oregon that discriminated based on race. But for the next five years, resistance to legislation that promoted the civil rights of Black people was strong—both nationally and in Oregon.

Populations Trends at the End of the Era

Approaching the end of this era, African Americans continued to come to Oregon but mostly to Portland, as will be told more fully in the next era. But due to the events of the 1860s, the population in the study area was already up before the coming census. In 1870, there were approximately 185 Black people in the study area—an increase of 65% from ten years prior.[277] While that was a substantial increase, the number of Black people in Portland rose from 16 to 161—a much greater increase of 906%. As such, the beginnings of Oregon's African American history had already started its transition toward being predominately a history of Black Portlanders. In the two censuses of this era, the percentage of Black Oregonians who lived in Portland was 7.3% and 12.5%; but in 1870, that number catapulted to 46.5%.

To conclude this 24-year era, for nearly half of it Blacks could not legally take up residence in Oregon, with the exceptions being when laws were repealed. However, with the aftermath of the Civil War legally ensuring African Americans their full citizenship and freedom from slavery, efforts to banish Black people via legislation were nearly over. Even as some of Oregon's Black exclusion laws remained on the books, they were legally powerless. Still, the legacy of this era would live on. With only white people having easy access to profits, power, and political influence in Oregon, a stratified society based on skin color resulted, which would negatively impact the future of the state, particularly its Black populace.[278]

[274] McLagan, 58.
[275] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 44-45.
[276] K. Keith Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Summer, 1983, Vol. 84, No. 2, 185.
[277] This was arrived at by taking the 346 total in the state minus 161 combined in Portland and East Portland.
[278] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

ERA 3: ANTI-BLACK STATE AMIDST A POST-EMANCIPATION NATION (1868-1919)

Overview of Era 3

Era 3 comprises roughly 50 years of Oregon history where, broadly speaking, many changes took place throughout the state. However, for Oregon's Black population, much also remained the same. The main exception—a major one—was the trend of Black Oregonians moving to Portland and new arrivals doing the same, now making the Black Oregon experience an urban one whereas it had been decidedly rural in Era 2.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, slavery was abolished, and America entered the phase of Reconstruction—the period in history following the war that was marked by the multitudinous challenges that came with the end of slavery. Despite the racial tension which pervaded the Reconstruction era, the 12 or so years after the Civil War were a time of great promise and significant change for Black people in America, including with the election of many Black congressmen.[279]. In total, over 1,500 African Americans held elected office in the United States during Reconstruction.[280] Rights were being affirmed with the passage of the 14th amendment in 1868 and voting for males in 1870 by the 15th Amendment. New jobs were opened to Black people. However, the attitudes of white Americans did not change significantly. The majority population might have accepted the new reality, but did so grudgingly and, in some cases, resentfully and vengefully. As such, this era is also defined by the era of Jim Crow in America. In Oregon, outbreaks of violence were rare compared to other parts of the country, but they did happen. Nevertheless, there was always tension, discrimination, segregation, and these were, in many ways, becoming more pronounced.

This era begins in 1868, and not immediately after the end of the Civil War or the national ratification of the 13th Amendment, for three reasons: First, while both of those events were incomparably significant for the nation, its impact on Black Oregonians was less impactful than other events a couple of years later. Second, the 14th Amendment, approved by Oregon in 1866, was ratified nationally in 1868. Only then did it enshrine into law the critical right of Black people to move to and reside in the state. Third, 1868 also marked the return of anti-Black sentiment dominating Oregon's state government. The lasting shift in power validated the sentiment felt throughout this era that Oregon would remain an inhospitable place for Black people. The change in the state legislature also promptly led to the rejection of two U.S. constitutional amendments that sought to, and would, affirm the rights of Black Americans. While there were only relatively few other legislative actions or votes of consequence with respect to the rights of Black Oregonians during this lengthy era nearly all maintained the unfavorable status quo.

Reconstruction

Compared with other parts of the nation that were in a postwar upheaval, life during Era 3 of this MPD would mostly continue as usual in Oregon. Many reversions would take place, with factions of Oregonians resenting the gains afforded to African Americans as a result of the Civil War. The 14th amendment—ratified in Oregon at the end of the previous era—was unpopular with most Oregonians.[281] Once Oregon's Democrats were back in power in 1868, Oregon's 1866 ratification was rescinded six weeks after becoming federal law. This was a symbolic gesture, even if powerful, since the voiding of the prior approval could have no legal effect. (In another symbolic gesture over one hundred years later, it would be re-approved.)

In 1869, the 15th amendment was passed by the U.S. Congress. Once adopted into the Constitution in 1870, it granted the right to vote to all American citizens, regardless of race. Of note, it was proposed and ratified by the required three-fourths

[279] Delia Hagen, *Black Montana's Heritage Places MPD*, October 17, 2022, 63.

[280] "African American Office Holders During and Following the Reconstruction Era," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_officeholders_during_and_following_the_Reconstruction_era#cite_note-1, accessed January 16, 2024.

[281] McLagan, 59.

of states between Oregon's legislative sessions of 1868 and 1870. Notably, no special session was convened by the Oregon legislature as they could have done if there was motivation. In the 1870 session, the state legislature also never initiated a vote on ratifying it after the adoption, as they believed the federal government did not have the right to deny regulation of suffrage by the states.[282] Shortly thereafter, an Oregon Supreme Court case affirmed the right of two Black men—C.H. Yates and W.S Ford—in Wasco County in a vote for county commissioner there.

When Reconstruction ended in 1877, 90% of the nation's 6.5 million African Americans remained in the South. The vast majority of these (80%) lived in rural areas and worked in agriculture. Black people began emigrating in large numbers as federal troops withdrew. They were spurred by activists who advocated for a mass Black exodus from the South. Thusly, thousands of Southern Black people embarked on the difficult journey westward, seeking a refuge from oppression. According to Black historian Rayford Logan, the ensuing period brought "'the nadir' . . . of African American history." [283]

While actions brought about by the Civil War marked a key point in African American history, Reconstruction did not change much for equality of Blacks in Oregon and the rest of the nation. Oregon's long-standing exclusion laws persisted throughout this era, though partially cut back by the updates to the U.S. Constitution. In contrast, California and Washington repealed many of their exclusionary clauses during Reconstruction. With limited economic opportunities, restricted housing and property ownership, a legacy of being unwelcoming, and other racial disparities, African Americans had little incentive to move to Oregon.

Civil Rights

By 1870, changes to civil rights in Oregon were accepted, perhaps grudgingly, because resistance was futile given passage of the amendments to the U.S. Constitution.[284] The introduction of new racist legislation in Oregon would not be seen again, but the consequences of the previous legislation lived on for decades. Black Oregonians increasingly put forth efforts to ensure their civil rights and their political representation, going to the state legislature to lobby for repeal of the exclusion clause, the voting ban, and the prohibitions against interracial marriage.[285]

As Black advocacy increased, many political clubs were formed. While they were typically established in Portland, they would serve the interest of all Black Oregonians. In 1870, the Sumner Union Club—named after U.S. Senator and anti-slavery advocate Charles Sumner—was founded in Portland, endorsing the Union Republican party's pro-equality platform.[286, 287] One of the Club's co-founders was George P. Riley, who was active in organizing various early civil and labor rights organizations throughout the Pacific Northwest in the late 1800s.[288] The Sumner Union Club dissolved in the late 1870s after a dispute about a Portland school board's decision to prohibit Black children from attending public schools. The Bed Rock Political Club was subsequently formed and was active until the New Port Republican Club was organized by waiters at the Portland Hotel.[289] The Afro-American League was another Portland-based club founded in 1900, which, in 1919, sponsored a civil rights bill that sought to secure equal accommodations by public

[282] Ibid.
[283] Robin D. G. Kelley and Earl Lewis, *A History of African Americans from 1880*, Oxford University Press, 2005.
[284] McLagan, 64.
[285] Ibid, 79.
[286] Ibid, 121.
[287] In 1856, Charles Sumner was nearly caned to death by pro-slavery democrat representative from South Carolina, Preston Brooks. The attack came after a speech given by Sumner in which he fiercely criticized slaveholders. The attack contributed significantly to the country's polarization over slavery.
[288] K. Keith Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 182.
[289] McLagan, 121-122.

institutions.[290] The bill did not pass and it was not until 1953 that these rights would be protected by Oregon's Civil Rights Bill.[291]

Black advocacy during this era was also energized by national figures like Booker T. Washington. In 1913, Washington—popular lecturer and author of *Up From Slavery* and founder of the Tuskegee Institute—spoke in several cities, including Corvallis, Albany, Portland, and Ashland. While in Portland, he was introduced by Colonel E. Hofer of Salem, a well-known booster for Oregon and publisher of *Industrial News Review*. In Portland, five thousand people were in attendance, and he encouraged Blacks "to buy and invest in farmland in the northwest to sell to Europeans who he said would come, willing to buy, after the Panama Canal is opened."[292]

Jim Crow Era

The end of Reconstruction meant the beginning of America's epoch of Jim Crow and "the emergence of a robust new nationalism based on Anglo-Saxon solidarity."[293] In most parts of America, African Americans were segregated and discriminated against by white society. Across the South, attacks on Black people became frequent. More than 3,000 African Americans had been lynched by 1900.[294] One confirmed lynching took place in Oregon during this era and will be discussed later. Other attempted lynchings also occurred in this era, such as when a mob organized in Baker City to lynch two Black men being held in jail who had killed a white man in a gambling dispute. However, the sheriff was able to relocate them to a jail in La Grande, likely saving their lives.[295]

In Oregon, nonviolent discrimination and segregation of Black people was also common. In Oregon's rural areas, enmity towards Black residents tended to be more pronounced.[296] But the lower population of Blacks in isolated rural areas usually meant the threat of one or two families was perceived to be very low. Further, the opportunities and incentive to practice discrimination and segregation were also, in most locales, minimal due to the low population numbers. More perceptible, however, were the sentiments of white Oregonians against their Black neighbors. One reflection of these were statewide votes and court cases that denied progress for the rights and respect of Black people. Voters rejected amendments to the state constitution to remove its ban on Black suffrage three times—in 1883, 1895, and 1916. In 1900, voters narrowly defeated a state measure that would have repealed the exclusion clauses. These two laws were already illegal, so the vote was symbolic, but nonetheless reflected discriminatory views in a large percentage of the population. More impactful was the fact that the 1900 vote also rejected a repeal of the state's anti-miscegenation law, something that would have directly benefitted the freedom of all Oregonians.[297] Legislators considered the matter further in 1918 but it never made it to a vote.[298]

In a 1906 ruling by the Oregon Supreme Court, Oregon affirmed the legality of its citizens to practice racial discrimination and segregation in public places and services—a ruling that would persist until 1953.[299] [300] In 1919, legislation was introduced to affirm the rights of African Americans in public spaces, but it never made it to a vote. One legislator chided others for wasting time on what he deemed inconsequential legislation because, in his district with

[290] Ibid, 122.

[291] Galbraith et al, "African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1865 to 1973" and Joshua Binus, "Oregon's Civil Rights Bill, 1953," Oregon History Project, www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/signing-oregon39s-civil-rights-bill-1953, accessed March 2023.

[292] "Booker T. Washington," *The Oregon Daily Journal*, March 16, 1913.

[293] Hagen, 40.

[294] Ibid.

[295] "Race Prejudice in Oregon," *The New Age*, December 2, 1899, 4.

[296] Thomas C. Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," *Phylon*, 3rd Qtr., 1969, Vol. 30, No. 3, 277.

[297] Quintard Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in The Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Autumn, 1979), 342-354.

[298] "Bill Giving Negroes Equal Rights Loses," *Morning Oregonian*, February 21, 1919, 7.

[299] Millner, National Register nomination for Maxville, 2015, 22.

[300] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

extremely few Black people, there was no segregation.[301] Public schools were legally obligated to permit Black students to attend, yet school segregation was still occasionally practiced in such places as Salem, Pendleton, and Coos Bay.[302] While these are just a few examples, Oregonians were clearly not yet ready to abandon their beliefs around race and their lack of concern about Black people during this era.

Black Oregonians lived in full awareness of the private opinions of people, including the state's leaders, that were wary of and hostile to their race. They were cognizant of the previous decades of legislation, even if now invalidated.[303] It was a time of relative quiet, when a largely unspoken and unsteady accommodation existed. Part of the reason for the lack of racial strife was that the Black population remained low. It did ultimately keep growing during this era, but fitfully, and it did not keep pace with the growth of whites. The era did bring a slight increase in integration for Black Oregonians. Some of them had been in Oregon since the pioneer era and were used to the way things were. For the next generation and newcomers from out of state, they desired more opportunities and, to an extent, enjoyed more occupations and a slight increase in stature in Oregon, although this was more the case in Portland. Some continued to purchase land, moved within the state, many to Portland.[304] These subtle changes did mean more interactions with white people. With everyone vying for employment and housing, Black people were easy targets. Occasionally this led to violent outbreaks such as in La Grande when laborers hired for a job refused to work with one of them because he was Black. He was ousted from the gig, losing out on the money. In anger, he assaulted another with a razor. [305] These types of incidents were increasing although still relatively uncommon in a state with so few Black people.

In an era of increasing hostility towards Black people, newspapers often only reported on, in one-sided ways, when Black residents negatively impacted white Oregonians. But there are examples where Black people were lauded for their accomplishments and/or their rights were advocated for. As an example, Daisy Moody, born in Tennessee, was a young domestic worker for a white family in Hood River at the end of this era and became the first Black person to vote in Hood River County in 1916.[306] The next year, with the United States joining World War I, she participated in the city's patriotic activities and subscribed for a Liberty bond and became a paying member of the local chapter of the Red Cross.[307] Both the local and Portland newspapers featured her story. In another example in Wallowa County, voters there voted nearly two-to-one in favor of the Black suffrage amendment that did not pass in the rest of the state. (It is not clear why this was the case; however, elections and voters were often unpredictable during this period.) The local newspaper reporting on this lauded the voters for supporting the rights of Black people.[308] In 1919, a Portland newspaper reporting on state legislative actions that would have been beneficial to the rights of Black people, pointed out how some legislators extolled the contributions of Oregon's Black citizens and soldiers alike during the war.[309]

Growing Importance of Black Churches

As will be discussed soon with regard to individual population centers, Black residents began to form their own congregations during this era, which was an important shift towards creating more supportive and autonomous communities.

Places of worship have been integral to Black communities in America for centuries. Since their founding, Black churches have played a fundamental role in social engagement, education, economic development, as well as political

[301] "Bill Giving Negroes Equal Rights Loses," *Morning Oregonian*, February 21, 1919, 7.
[302] McLagan, 63.
[303] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," 55.
[304] Ibid.
[305] "Oregon News," *Heppner Weekly Gazette*, July 31, 1890, 4.
[306] "Colored Girl Will Vote," *The Hood River Glacier*, February 10, 1916, 9.
[307] "Only Negro Buys Bond," *Sunday Oregonian*, October 28, 1917, 4; "Negroes Aids Red Cross," *Sunday Oregonian*, June 24, 1917, 19.
[308] "Hooray for Principle," *Tillamook Headlight*, November 30, 1916, 2.
[309] "Bill giving Negroes Equal Rights Loses," *Morning Oregonian*, February 21, 1919, 7.

activism and advocacy. The origins of African American religious practices date back to the 18th century and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. African slaves were brought to the North American colonies and Christian missionaries actively pursued their involvement in their religions. Christianity was usually taught in a method that reinforced and justified the act of slavery. Enslaved Africans gradually adopted Christianity while maintaining and incorporating varied religious traditions and beliefs from their African homelands. Black slaves usually had to worship in secrecy or under the strict surveillance of their enslavers, who largely opposed their conversion to Christianity out of fear it would result in manumission or rebellion. Regardless, religious worship eventually became a form of resistance for enslaved people, while providing a sanctuary of hope and catharsis.[310]

As evangelical Christianity gained popularity during the First and Second Great Awakenings during the mid-18th and early 19th centuries, African Americans, both enslaved and free, participated in massive revival camp meetings under segregated conditions. Black worshippers influenced by the revival camp meetings formed their own interpretations of scriptures and communal worship.[311] Baptism and Methodism spread throughout African American communities the latter half of the 18th century. Soon after, independent, Black-led congregations and, later, denominations emerged as a response to the racism Black Christians faced while practicing their faith in predominantly white congregations. The first separate denomination formed by Black Christians in America was the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816 in Philadelphia (which grew out of the Free African Society that was established in 1787).

The Church's arduous beginning was initiated when Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and other Black worshippers were physically expelled during worship in the gallery of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Thus, the Black Church was formed in defiance.[312]

Following the abolishment of slavery in the nation, Black religious institutions expanded across the country. Membership significantly rose as churches supported Black people in ways that went beyond spiritual practice. Black churches provided opportunities and social services to which African Americans did not have equal access, including education, health care, housing, and employment. Black churches also supported the social, educational, political, and economical needs of Black communities. Religious leaders were also pillars in the Black community, serving as early civil rights advocates who confronted racial injustice and oppression, despite risking violence and white supremacy threats.

In Oregon, one of the first Black churches established was in Portland in 1862, originally known as the People's Church and later incorporated as the First African Methodist Episcopal Church. Outside of Portland, Black churches were established in some Oregon cities starting as early as 1872. They formed in towns and occasionally in rural communities. Congregations ranged from large to small, with some churches beginning with only a few members. Even if there was no minister available, literate members served as lay ministers by reading the Bible, preaching, and leading hymn singing.[313] These churches were connected to one another and to Portland's large congregations through Black circuit preachers who regularly traveled to lead worship services at satellite congregations. [314] These Black preachers also provided ties to a national network of churches and organizations. Additionally, in 1900, there were statewide conventions or conferences of the two major Black denominations—African Methodist Episcopalian and Baptist Churches, which served to strengthen Black congregations.[315]

[310] Christopher Bryson, Shayla Harris, and Stacey Holman, *The Black Church: This Is Our Story, This Is Our Song. Episode 1*, Washington, DC: McGee Media, Inkwell Films and WETA, 2021, https://www.pbs.org/video/the-black-church-episode1/, accessed September 12, 2023.

[311] Ibid.

[312] Kimberly S. Moreland, "The Christian Church in Black Community," *Oregon Humanities*, Summer 1994, 36.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Stops included Pocatello, Idaho, and Walla Walla Washington.

[315] Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in The Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," 342-354.

In many towns across Oregon where African Americans lived, churches served as the hub for Black communities. They were primary and central institutions among communities of Black Oregonians and would remain so beyond this era. As written in *Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon*, "The church is a social center, a club, a place of self-expression and realization for the Negroes, and they support it because it remains the one resort in the community where they may develop their latent powers without embarrassment or restraint."[316]

The Effects of the Expanding Railroad System

In this era, Black Oregonians living outside of Portland were generally dispersed across the state, with most counties enumerating fewer than a dozen individuals in their census records. Higher population numbers were usually concentrated where the greatest numbers of white people lived, usually in Western Oregon. However, rail lines to southern and eastern Oregon also meant the total population was higher in cities there. Concentrations of Black Oregonians, albeit small, developed there as well. The railroads also suddenly made it possible for Black people to more easily get from one locale to another throughout Oregon, increasing the portability of lives. The railroads also opened up many new jobs.

Some African Americans Who Escape the South End Up in Oregon

The railroads also meant Black people could more easily get to Oregon (although many still had to make the long journey by horse-drawn transportation). Following emancipation of the nation's slaves at the end of the previous era and the end of Reconstruction partway into this one, significant numbers of African Americans were migrating from the south. Starting in the early 1900s and extending through the rest of this era, approximately six million Black individuals and families left the south during the period known as the first Great Migration.[317] Historian James W. Loewen characterized the leaving racial violence and Jim Crow laws in the south as more of a "retreating from" than a "migrating to."[318]

Most Blacks from the South went to the urban North and Southern cities, seeking better education and employment prospects.[319] They did not migrate to western states in large numbers.[320] The ones that did come west mostly chose states other than Oregon and usually opting for large cities. While some Blacks did come to Oregon during this era, others left Oregon completely, choosing instead newly developing enclaves and Black communities elsewhere. As such, Oregon's Black population remained small in both relative and absolute terms. Oregon's legacy of laws, the ongoing sentiments and actions of its majority population, and the relative lack of job opportunities outside of Portland mostly kept Black people away.

New Opportunities Created by Railroads

By the middle of the 1880s, Oregon was connected to the rest of the country like never before through the railroad. Aside from ending the state's relative isolation from the east, it created new opportunities for African Americans. With lines extending south through the Willamette Valley and eventually to California and connections with lines north and east in Washington, a revolution in Oregon transportation was the result.[321] [322] [323] The railroads also opened new and

[316] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 283.

[317] "The Great Migration (1910-1970)," African American Heritage, National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration, accessed September 10, 2023.

[318] James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*, New York: The New Press, 2018, 74-76.

[319] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 277-278.

[320] Loewen, 74-76.

[321] Edward Kamholz, "Oregon Railway & Navigation Company," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_railroad_and_navigation_company, accessed March 8, 2023.

[322] Edwin D. Culp, Stations West: The Story of the Oregon Railways, Random House, 1978, 43-44.

[323] Cain Allen, "Oregon and California Railroad," *Oregon History Project*, 2003. www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/oregon-and-california-railroad, accessed March 8, 2023.

distant markets for Oregon's forest products, which would increase the number of timber-related jobs, some of which Black people would fill.

As a result of the increased rail connectivity, Portland became the main transportation and commercial hub of the state. With increasing economic advantages, Portland flourished in the 1880s. The largest and most prestigious hotel opened in 1890 and hired a significant portion of their employees from the Black population.[324] Black men were often brought from southern states to work in these jobs. The railroad industry also employed African Americans in increasing numbers, especially in Portland, but also in other parts of the state.

Train stations and depots located along the tracks in the cities of the time caused expansions of populations and concomitant real estate development. Job opportunities for Blacks expanded, mostly in the railroad industry as porters, waiters in dining cars, and as laborers maintaining the tracks. Black Oregonians sought and tended towards this burgeoning class of jobs now open to them.[325] Some of the railroad towns, while much smaller in total population than Portland, attracted African Americans in sufficient numbers and in sufficient proximity to allow the building of a community. These locales will be featured later in this era as Oregon's secondary population centers of Black people.

For many African Americans, working as a railroad porter eventually proved to be a social and economic steppingstone. The Pullman Company—the largest sleeping car operator—first started hiring Black porters in 1868. They developed a policy shortly after the Civil War to exclusively hire Black men as porters, based on the flawed reasoning that formerly enslaved people would make for "the perfect servants," would agree to work long hours for low wages, and would be less visible to white upper- and middle-class passengers. While both racist and exploitative, the jobs this policy created prompted thousands of Black people to migrate West. Black men were hired from midwestern and southern states via Pullman recruiters and by word of mouth. While it is difficult to get an accurate historic estimate of early Black railroad workers in Oregon, census records indicate that among the resident Black male population, employment in transportation gradually increased throughout the early 20th century, peaking at about 35% in 1940—by far the single largest employment sector.[326]

Working as a Pullman porter was attractive to many Black men in the early 20th century, because compared to farm labor, the wages were better, and the work was not as physically exerting. Furthermore, the job enabled them to travel the country, a rare opportunity for many African Americans in those days. Black Oregonians gravitated to the railroad industry in part because racially exclusive laws and practices created considerable obstacles to other professions. Labor inequality was still certainly present in the railroad industry and Black railroad workers had to put up with extremely long hours, low wages, verbal abuse from white passengers, and discrimination by white supervisors.[327] There was also a very strict hierarchy within the Black workforce, with waiters on top, sleeping car porters (also known as Red Caps) next, then the chair car porters, and finally the labor crews. One former Red Cap compared this hierarchy to pre-Emancipation Proclamation slavery dynamics, in which 'house slaves' were treated better than 'field slaves,' and were better positioned to begin their life as free people afterward. This dynamic among train crews was perpetuated largely by the exploitative working conditions, the employment insecurity experienced by Black railroad employees, and the attitudes of white passengers, all of which combined to create an unhealthy competitive environment. Additionally, African Americans were often barred from more attractive positions on the railroad, regardless of their skill and experience.[328]

---

[324] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 276-277.

[325] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[326] USDC, BC. Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 – Population, Volume III, the Labor Force, 986, www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1940/population-volume-3/33973538v3p4ch06.pdf, accessed March 8, 2023.

[327] "Pullman Porters.," https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/pullman-porters, accessed January 20, 2024.

[328] James Brooks, "James Brooks Oral History Interview," interview by Michael Grice, May 8, 1983, audio recording and transcript, Oregon State University, Oregon African American Railroad Porters Oral History Preservation Project, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/oh29/brooks/audio-brooks.html, accessed March 9, 2023.

At the same time, a network of mutual support existed within the Black railroad workforce, wherein more experienced workers shared tips and advice as to how to make the best of this exploitative system. Black men who arrived in the Northwest early in the railway days were able to subsequently establish themselves in other professions and also provided assistance to new arrivals.[329] These foundations of solidarity and mutual support manifested into unionization efforts beginning in the early 20th century.

Population Trends

Moving to Portland and More Urban Areas

Within Oregon, African Americans moved from the various parts of the state to Portland—a shift that is one of the defining traits of this era. Effectively discouraged from opportunities to acquire land, establish homesteads, and engage in agricultural production, there was no reason for most Black Oregonians to stay in the many rural hamlets across the state. Those in less rural areas (on the periphery of or within cities) were also dissuaded, and sometimes excluded from their chosen place of residence by laws and habits of racial hostility. Often lacking job opportunities that provided a better life, Black Oregonians were instinctively looking for more. Thus, the types of opportunities and community support that Portland was offering was a powerful draw.

Beginning in this era, and continuing beyond, the history of African Americans in Oregon was predominantly the story of Black people in Portland. Oregon's largest city had begun its legacy as the hub of Black life in Oregon and continued that status in the early decades of this era.[330] Prior to this, its population of Black people was sizeable but relatively stable. Starting in the 1880s, Black people from all over the state and those moving from other parts of the country started moving in large numbers to Portland. For Oregon's African American history, this marked a dramatic shift from a more rural population to an urban one. This transformation is perhaps best evidenced by the number of those living in Portland during this era compared to those living elsewhere, as shown in the table below. From the beginning of this era, up until the 1890 Census, about 40% of Oregon's Black residents were living in Portland. After that, the number suddenly jumped to 70% in 1900. While many of the changes in population during this era were gradual, this metric was not; it was sudden and dramatic. The 70-30 split would persist up until World War II when the difference would become even more extreme.

[329] Ibid.
[330] McLagan, 185.

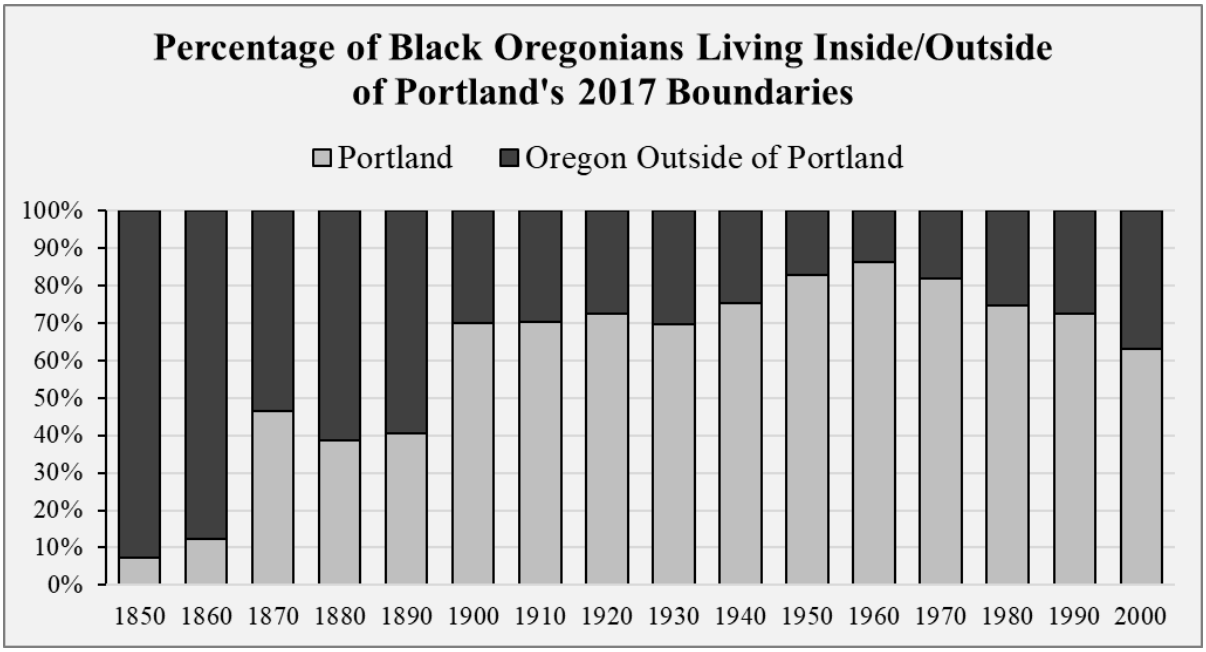

Figure 3 – Percentage *of Black Oregonians living inside and outside of Portland's 2019 boundaries during the study period for this MPD.*

Portland's population of African Americans had developed a functional community that supported itself. Starting towards the end of the previous era, Black artisans and unskilled laborers settled in Portland. In time, they encouraged more Black people to move to Oregon, such as the formation in 1879 of the Portland Colored Immigration Society. Their very mission was to draw more people to Oregon, believing that, at least in Portland, they could live better lives than was possible in the South.[331] To those states they sent pamphlets noting the benefits of Oregon. The group raised funds for train tickets and arranged temporary housing for those choosing to relocate.[332] African American churches and newspapers eventually developed. Additionally, there was a security in numbers that helped shield them against the enmity of the era.[333]

The shift to Portland and other urban areas for Black Oregonians was most drastic in the 1890s when an economic recession—the Panic of 1893—magnified the forces presented above. It caused an upheaval in Oregon's Black population, as so many were compelled to uproot in search of employment that could sustain themselves and their families. Blacks outside of Portland were moving to Portland or leaving the state. Black Portlanders were, to a much lesser extent, also moving out of state. And critically, few Blacks were moving into Oregon to take up residency.

Statewide Pattern

During this fifty-plus year era, the total population of Black Oregonians went from 346 in 1870 to 2,144 in 1920—an increase of 520%. The growth was most pronounced at the beginning of the era as the railroads developed—a staggering 138% during the 1880s alone. But the 1890s had reversed some of the gains as the Black population of the state decreased 7% (the only time it did not increase within a decade in this entire study.) But even as the state's Black population decreased, Portland continued to add to its Black community. The last two decades of this era saw consistent and steady net growth of Black Oregonians, returning to what it had roughly been (40%) during the 1870s.

[331] Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in The Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," 342-354; "Immigration Society," *Oregonian*, July 23, 1879, 3.

[332] McLagan, 78.

[333] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 277.

Outside of Portland, the population of Black Oregonians grew substantially in the 1870s, roughly paralleling the growth of the statewide Black population but growing more substantially than Portland. The second decade (the 1880s) experienced a monumental increase of 135% and the 1890 Census enumerated 706 Black people in the state outside of Portland. This number would not be eclipsed until after 1950, a single defining metric for Era 3 (and Era 4). From 1870 until World War II, the number of Black people in the study area, in absolute numbers, remained remarkably level. After the boom of the 1880s came the crash of the 1890s. By 1900, the 706 Black people outside of Portland had plummeted to 330, roughly the same as it was 20 years prior. The first two decades of the 1900s would see a return to increases in the Black population outside of Portland. The percentages were more gradual than in Era 2 and during the first decade of this era. While growth was slower after the new century, it was a sudden return to the trajectory of growth following the loss of population during the 1890s. In summary, while the Black population outside of Portland increased (214%) from the era's beginning to its end, excepting the 1880s boom and 1890s crash, it did so merely gradually, especially when compared to the increase (866%) in Black population of Portland.

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1870 to 1920									
Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1870s	185	300	62.0%	346	497	43.0%	161	192	29.0%
1880s	300	706	135.0%	497	1,186	138.0%	192	480	150.0%
1890s	706	330	-139.0%	1,186	1,105	-7.0%	480	775	61.0%
1900s	330	447	35.0%	1,105	1,492	35.0%	775	1,048	35.0%
1910s	447	580	29.0%	1,492	2,144	43.0%	1,048	1,556	49.0%

Figure 4 - Growth of Oregon's Black population from 1870 to 1920.

Locations of High Black Populations Outside of Portland

Black people were living in most Oregon counties throughout this era. However, outside of the areas profiled below, their numbers were few—usually no more than a dozen and sometimes just a single person in a county. Numbers generally declined in these locales as the era progressed. This was due to industrialization, the decline in mining, growing opportunities for Blacks in Portland, and the lack of community support in the areas outside of Portland. Railroad travel also made it easier to relocate when times were rough, often putting transplants in a railroad town that had enough existing economy and population base to result in employment opportunities for Black people. When not destined for Portland, those African Americans that chose to move within Oregon did so from rural areas to Oregon's other cities in increasing numbers.

The following seven areas in Oregon are profiled to give greater context to the locales outside of Portland that had the largest Black populations.

Jackson County, including Jacksonville, Eagle Point, and Medford

Recall that in 1860 Jackson County had 42 Black people—the most populous in the state by more than double. In 1870, the count declined to 28 Black residents as the profitability of gold mining in the Jacksonville area declined by the late 1860s. That said, some continued to farm and work as blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, washerwomen, shingle makers, and so forth.[334] But as Jacksonville declined, the Mathews family of farmers in Eagle Point grew.

[334] McLagan, 73.

Another big factor in the story of Black people in Jackson County was the railroad. The Oregon & California Railroad connected to the Bear Creek Valley in 1884 bringing more people and opportunities for economic expansion. The economic energy shifted east within the county, towards the routing of the railroad at the center of the Bear Creek valley and away from Jacksonville.

With respect to Jacksonville itself, there were fourteen Black residents living in the precinct in 1870. Most of them were laborers (or dependents of laborers). As noted in Era 2, there was much turnover of the Jacksonville population in its early history and this trend continued through the beginning of Era 3.[335] There were, however, three Black men who were distinctive because of their relative lengthy residencies and for their ownership of land. They lived in the Jacksonville area during the beginning of this era, when Jacksonville was still a prosperous place, even as mining started to decline. They would remain there until their respective deaths. All three men are buried in **Jacksonville Cemetery (west end of Cemetery Road)** in a separate section for Blacks. [336]

The first profile is of Jackson Berry (1818 Tennessee-1892). Berry came to Oregon in 1852, during this study's previous era, with his enslaver, H.A. Overbeck, who promised Berry his freedom after ten years of service in Oregon. In 1866, Berry, as a free man, filed two land claims—one for 112 acres and the other for 160 acres, both outside of Jacksonville. He received title to the land in 1872 and remained in Jacksonville working as a farmer until his death in 1892.[337]

Next was Samuel Vose (1812 Massachusettes-1882), who came to Jackson County in 1853 with four other enslaved persons and their enslaver. Vose was freed after one year of service. Vose is said to have worked for many years as a bootblack and barber. In the 1870 census, he was listed as a bootblack and living on his own. In 1872, he purchased a lot in Jacksonville. Around 1879, he retired and traded his property to a woman who built a hotel on it. In exchange for the land, he lived in her hotel rent-free until his death. He was well-known in town because of his his ebullient personality.[338]

Last of the three men Black men buried together in the Jacksonville Cemetery is Samuel Cozzens (1822 Virginia-1882 or 1891 per Find a Grave.) Cozzens came to Jackson County in the 1870s. He was employed as a woodcutter and was wealthy enough to have bought and sold land.

By the 1880 Census, some of the same individuals and families remained but few new Black people were moving to Jacksonville. In that census, the number dropped to 11 Black people. While the 1870 census had five children of school age among the Black population, in 1880 there were no Black families with children. Instead, the town's Black population consisted mostly of older men, some still working as woodchoppers, laborers, and as one of the town's blacksmiths (named Charles E. Carter).

Medford soon became the center of economic activity in the county, after the railroad bypassed Jacksonville. By 1887, the Bear Creek Valley had the railroad traversing its entire length connecting California with the Willamette Valley. Following the economic turmoil of the 1890s, Medford's total population grew by almost 500% between 1900 and 1910 making it the fifth largest city in Oregon. The county population was up 88.03% during that time.[339] Some of the growth

[335] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 185.

[336] McLagan, 73; The cemetery (1859) is part of the Jacksonville National Historic Landmark District (NHL).

[337] McLagan, 73 and 87; see also U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, "Jackson Berry." https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=ORRAA%20%20005904&docClass=SER&sid=jh5mg5h3.svj, accessed March 2023.

[338] James Sloan, "The Untold History of Black Pioneers in 19th Century Jacksonville," *Rogue Valley Times,* https://www.rv-times.com/localstate/the-untold-history-of-black-pioneers-in-19th-century-jacksonville/article_bdac48e0-7057-11ee-bce6-cb96e41b436f.html, accessed January 20, 2024.

[339] William G. Robbins, "Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon," *The Oregon History Project,* 2002, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/political-and-economic-culture-1870-1920/railroads-race-and-the-transformation-of-oregon/, accessed January 25, 2024.

in the county was due to agriculture that flourished after the development of refrigerated railcars and their widespread implementation in the 1890s. In particular, it led to a fruit-growing boom affecting Jackson County (as well as Hood River County).[340]

Towards the beginning of this lengthy era, the main population of Black people in Jackson County had transitioned from Jacksonville to Eagle Point.[341] Eagle Point would serve as a farming community for the growing Medford in the decades to come. In 1870, Eagle Point's Black population was ten, which grew to 45 in 1880. There were only 16 other Black people living in Jackson County in 1880 showing just how sizeable the small farming community was in regard to the Black population of Jackson County.

John Mathews, who was featured in the previous era, was working as a farmer in Eagle Point in 1870, living with his wife, five of his children, his mother, his brother, and a younger Mathews relative. These ten people comprised the entire Black population in Eagle Point in 1870. As John Mathews' siblings and his children had families of their own, they remained in Eagle Point, coming to comprise 15% of all Black Oregonians living outside Portland in the state in 1880. The 1880 census shows that John still had his own farm and was living with his wife, his youngest children, a granddaughter, his mother, and two white farm servants. There were nine other Black households in Eagle Point that census. Six of these were headed by farmers. The ones that were not farmers were headed by white men who had married women from the Mathews family.

While John had died in 1885, his siblings and offspring would continue to farm in Eagle Point through the end of the era. In 1890, the census number enumerated an additional 33 Black people in Jackson County. In 1900's census, only nine Black people in the entire county were enumerated but this was because all of the Black people in Eagle Point were enumerated as whites even though most of them were classified as Blacks in previous censuses. This was because the Mathews family were half-white and half-Black; John Mathews being the son of a Black woman and her white enslaver.

The 1910 census enumerated about 40 Black people in Jackson County, though within a few years, as will be told in the next era, most of the Black residents within Jackson County relocated elsewhere. The 1910 count appears to be an overstatement, as it classified 17 men born in India who were working as road builders in Eagle Point as Black. However, a review of the census sheets shows there were 27 African Americans in Eagle Point, some clearly still tied to the Mathews family.

The town of Medford in 1910 had nine Black people, all young adult males and four of whom were laborers at a brick plant. Medford's growth and the consequent rise in Black people led to the development of an African Methodist Episcopal congregation by 1919 when a pastor was set to be assigned.[342] In terms of business development, Black resident Lee P. Wyatt also owned and operated a lodging house in Medford that catered to other Black Oregonians. Residing there in 1910 were two Black men—a teamster for street work and a bootblack. Lodging houses were important businesses to the Black community for several reasons, including the fact that white-owned lodging options did not typically welcome Black patrons. Additionally, the often-transient nature of their employment typically meant that Black workers needed more flexible housing accommodations, as well as the fact that most Blacks at this time could not afford to own their own homes or faced other barriers to buying real estate. During the research for this study, other Black-owned and Black-operated lodging houses were identified in Pendleton, The Dalles, and Eugene, although more are certain to have existed.

[340] Ibid.
[341] It was called Little Butte and Butte Creek precincts before Eagle Creek.
[342] "A. M. E. Church Meets," *Oregonian*, October 16, 1919, 6.

Salem and Marion County

Salem's total population grew by 137% during the 1860s. Recall that Salem had 17 Black people in 1860. At the end of the 1860s, there were 50 Black people enumerated in Salem's three precincts.[343] Combined, they comprised 2.34% of Salem's population. That total number made both Salem and Marion County the most populous for Black people in the state outside of Multnomah County. Marion County's 62 Black people more than doubled the next closest populous county for Black people—Jackson County. These people in Salem worked as barbers, laborers, painters, a domestic servant, a gardener, a gas line fitter, and blacksmiths. By 1880, the number in the county more than halved to 27, possibly due to the transition to more urban areas like Portland. However, in 1890, the county number was way up, to 139, likely because of the opening of the state hospital and other state-run institutions within the city. In 1900, the county number was way down again although this was likely due to that year's census counting mulattoes as white. In 1910, the county number stabilized some at 58. One Black Salem resident operated her own laundry business. There were also a few street paving laborers for the city of Salem. While there were 47 Black people enumerated in Salem that year, at least 15 of them were considered inmates.

Early Salem Schools

State legislation in the previous era had guaranteed access to public schools for children of all races but Black children were still sometimes denied the right to attend. Some Black families in the state organized private schools for Black children instead.[344] Eventually, several public school districts accepted the responsibility for educating them but did so in segregated facilities. Segregated schools were established in Oregon as early as 1853 (Jacksonville) with more formed in this era and the next.

Salem serves as a great example of the struggle for Black families to educate their children. In early 1867, three Black men in Salem raised funds to operate a private school for Black children. William P. Johnson was one of the three. In 1861, he was working as an artist in Salem. He presented a $500[345] scholarship fund ($16,720 in 2022)[346] to one of the city's public schools to allow his daughter-in-law to attend. His offer was rejected despite all Salem residents being taxed to pay for children's education in the city.[347] The second man was Alfred Bayless, a blacksmith (and his son was also a blacksmith). The third man was Daniel Jones, a barber in Salem who had also been a barber and teacher in Jacksonville. [348]

The private school for Black children operated for a term of six months starting in March 1867. The schoolroom may have been located at the Congregational Church that was ministered by Obed Dickinson and the teacher may have been Dickinson's wife Charlotte.[349] Another source says the teacher was Rufus Mallory and that the location is not known.[350]

Later that year, Salem built a school building to accommodate the overflow from the main public school nearby at High and Marion Streets. Known as Little Central, it later became the city's "colored school" when the private school for Black children had finished its six-month term in September. The first recorded teachers at Salem's public colored school were Lucy Mallory—a newspaper publisher, feminist, political activist, and spiritualist—and Marie E. Smith, who also taught at the larger Central School.[351]

---

[343] There were 32 Black people in East Salem, 13 in Salem precinct, and 5 in North Salem.

[344] McLagan, 171.

[345] This amount would be $16,720 in 2022 per the Inflation Calculator website, www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi?money=500&first=1861&final=2022, accessed September 7, 2023.

[346] Ibid.

[347] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 20.

[348] Ibid, 18-19.

[349] Susan Bell, "*Salem's Colored School and Little Central,"* Oregon Encyclopedia, www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/salem_s_colored_school_and_little_central, accessed March 9, 2023.

[350] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 20 and 22.

[351] "Lucy Rose Mallory: Publisher, Feminist, and Spiritualist," Salem Breakfast on Bikes, June 18, 2020, www.breakfastonbikes.blogspot.com/2020/06/lucy-rose-mallory-publisher-feminist-spiritualist.html, accessed March 10, 2023; "School in Log

In January 1868, Black residents organized and independently funded adult evening classes at Little Central. The colored school remained at this location until the end of the 1871 school year when it was discontinued. Both school buildings were used until 1905 when the city's first high school was built replacing the original two schools.[352] These early iterations that served the educational needs of children and adults in the Black community were particularly significant.

Empancipation Proclamation Celebrations in Salem

In 1868, a celebration of the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was held in Salem. Blacks and whites from Salem and surrounding towns attended the jubilee to hear remarks, a reading of the proclamation, followed by a dinner and dance. There were at least six freed enslaved persons in attendance and the three funders of Salem's first private Black school gave speeches. [353] The Coxes, featured in the previous era, traveled from Brownsville to attend. Two years later, another jubilee on the anniversary of the Proclamation was reported although there were likely more events in other years organized by Black citizens. In a time when the Oregon legislature was trying to curtail the freedoms of Black people in response to the national efforts toward improving civil rights, these events were some of the earliest occurrences of a group of Black Oregonians outside of Portland publicly demonstrating for equal rights.

Churches in Salem

For the most part, Black people in Salem were only welcome in a couple of the city's earliest white churches. One of those was Obed Dickinson's First Congregational Church as presented in the previous era, though he had departed that church at the very end of the previous era. Salem's First Methodist Church also allowed Black parishioners. In a unique case, the **Salem Chapter of the Salvation Army** (**1887 Front Street NE**) allowed a Black woman, Anna "Annie" E. Smith (c.1853-1937), to worship starting in 1895 but she was an exception.[354] She attained the rank of Ward Sergeant in 1911 and served as a leader, assisting in pastoral duties, visiting the sick, and looked after the needs of women congregants.[355]

By 1872, Daniel Jones—one of the founders of the first Black private school—started the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem. Services might have been held in the Little Central school building. It is unknown how long that arrangement lasted but it is possible it was the first predominantly Black congregation in Oregon.

In 1891, G.W. White—a Black pastor—organized congregants for an African Methodist Church in Salem. The church had eight charter members, including William Gorman—Hannah Gorman's (presented earlier) grandson. Initially, they worshipped at a German Methodist Episcopal Church at Union Street NE and Church Street NE, but that arrangement quickly ended. The name changed later that year to St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal when they purchased a lot in North Salem. Many Salem residents donated funds for the erection of the church, including many prominent whites. A church was quickly built there, at the site of today's 1880 Liberty Street NE (no longer standing). Construction was completed in May 1892 with a new pastor, J. P. Simmons. It is unknown how long this congregation stayed together. [356]

In 1911, another effort was led to form a Black congregation in Salem, this time by pastor George Raymond. This African Methodist Episcopal Church tried to build a place of worship at the corner of Miller Street S and Saginaw Street

House in '50", *The Oregon Statesman*, March 28, 1931, www.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1931-03-28/ed-1/seq-20, accessed March 10, 2023; Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 179.

[352] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 22.

[353] McLagan, 77; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 18-19.

[354] Ibid, 177. She was the daughter of a slave, Amanda Titus, who worked as a laundress and nurse in Salem.

[355] Ibid, 99-101.

[356] Kylie Pine, "St. Paul's A.M.E. Church, Salem, Oregon," Willamette Heritage Center, https://www.willametteheritage.org/st-pauls-a-m-e-church-salem-oregon/, accessed March 10, 2023.

S, but property owners objected and Raymond relented.[357] It is unknown what happened after that, but, in 1919 a new pastor, Dr. W. W. Howard, was assigned to the city's African Methodist Episcopal Church.[358]

Other Notable Black People in Salem

As mentioned in the previous era, Hannah Gorman's son Hiram remained in Missouri after his mother and sister left for Oregon with their enslaver John Thorp.[359] Hiram served with the Union army as a teamster during the Civil War. Afterwards, he resided in Montana for a short time and arrived in Oregon in 1871. Hiram lived in Salem at the corner of Liberty Street NE and Chemeketa Street NE and he worked as the *Statesman Journal* pressman (turning the wheel of the power-press) until his job was automated by a steam-powered motor in 1883.[360] Hiram passed away on July 23, 1888, two weeks after his mother. He is buried at the **Salem Pioneer Cemetery** (**Commercial Street SE & Hoyt Street SE**). His son, Frank Gorman, was a volunteer firefighter with Salem-based Tiger Fire Company No. 2 in 1884-1889.[361]

Tiger Fire Company No. 2 included one other Black person that is known—George A. Bonter.[362] He was born in Salem in 1868 to Jackson Bonter of Salem, a painter. George worked as a porter while living with his father at Summer Street NE, at the southeast corner of Shipping Street NE. He later worked as a janitor in Salem.

John W. Jackson[363] was a successful farmer in the Salem area (Hayesville) during this era. He was a member of the Hayesville Farmers Club, in which Jackson, and his wife, played an active role with him serving as secretary. He was also a road supervisor for several teams of laborers. They had one son George C. Jackson who resided in Salem.[364] Before coming to Oregon, Jackson had served as a Sgt. Major in the 5th US Colored Troops regiment in the Civil War from 1863-1865. Jackson is buried at **Hayesville Cemetery** (**4255 Hawthorne Avenue NE** in Salem.) He was one of several known retired Black Civil War veterans that migrated to Oregon and are buried in historic cemeteries throughout the state.[365, 366] The others will be presented later.

Pendleton and Umatilla County

After years of a small number of Oregon Trail travelers and emigrants establishing residences and farms in the area, Pendleton was platted in Umatilla County in 1868. It had about 250 residents at the time. The census two years later enumerated only two Black people, both south of Pendleton, in Pilot Rock.[367] In the next census of 1880, the number of Black people in the county rose to 24 while the total population count for the county was 13,381. Pendelton was incorporated in 1880 with a population of approximately 730. At least ten of those residents were Black, living in four different households.

Pendleton grew in population after 1883, following the development of the Oregon Railway & Navigation railroad. In 1890, six years after the railroad connected through the city, the total population was 2,506, yet only six Black people

[357] "Notes on Black Churches in the 19th and early 20th Century, September 3, 2022, https://breakfastonbikes.blogspot.com/2022/09/notes-on-black-churches-in-19th-and-early-20th-century.html, accessed March 20, 2023.
[358] "A. M. E. Church Meets," *Oregonian*, October 16, 1919, 6.
[359] Hiram (1835 Missouri-1888) went by "Hi" and his surname is spelled Gorham in some historical documents.
[360] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 92.
[361] "Frank Gorman and Salem's Tiger Fire Engine Company" Willamette Heritage Center, January 27, 2021, https://www.willametteheritage.org/frank-gorman-and-salems-tiger-fire-engine-company/, accessed March 9, 2023.
[362] Ibid. Bonter died 1931 in California.
[363] Born 1839 in Maryland and died in 1892.
[364] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 94-98.
[365] 180,000 African American soldiers fought for the Union.
[366] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 35.
[367] At the time, this was called the Alta precinct.

were counted. By contrast, there were 127 people of Chinese descent. In greater Umatilla County, the number of Black people rose by 9 to 33 (out of 13,381).

In 1900, Pendleton was the fourth-largest city in the state with a total population of 4,406. Population in the county was more than four times that. There were 30 Black people living in Umatilla County with half of them living in Pendleton. There, they comprised four different households. Examples include a lodging house on SW 1st Street where five younger day laborers were living. On SE 1st Street, a couple ran a brothel with four Black prostitutes. Another household was northeast of downtown where a widowed nurse owned her home and her adult daughter worked as a laundress.

By the 1910 census, the population of Pendleton only rose slightly, causing it to fall ten positions for most populous Oregon cities. The number of Black people enumerated, however, rose from 15 to 40. This growth throughout the first decade of the century might have prompted church leaders to take notice. The population of black people continued to rise in Pendleton during the 1910s, almost doubling by 1920.

J. B. Mitchell Family and Pendelton School Segregation

In 1873, two Black girls wanted to attend the public school that had opened in Pendleton, but they were denied by the teacher and the school board. The father of the girls—J. B. Mitchell—a Black barber in Pendleton, resisted the exclusion, but the girls were still not allowed to attend. The city closed the school to avoid the problem entirely and, subsequently, white families paid for a private schoolroom where only white children could attend.[368] Further, citizens of the town supported the opening of a barbershop to outcompete Mitchell. The family moved away a few years later and the original public school was reopened.[369]

Lane Brothers

In 1880, Joseph Lane was a painter in Pendleton. An ad for his paint shop read: "Joseph Lane. Sign, and Ornamental Painter."[370] He lived with his wife, Maggie, and their two young daughters. The 1884 Sanborn map shows what is believed to be his shop at **218 SE Court Avenue** (demolished). His brother, Robert—two years older—also lived in town and worked as a painter. He was more of a "practical painter" according to one 1881 ad. He was a widower living with two daughters, including a seven-year-old attending school (notable given the above story). Robert might have moved his painting business to Dallas, OR by 1900.

Charles Payne

One other Black family in Pendleton was headed by Charles Payne, a 33-year-old handler of horses or a stableman. In the 1880 census, he lived with his Oregon-born Indian wife, Esther and their infant son, Charles.

Edward LeRoy

In 1900, Edward LeRoy was a well-known proprietor of a hot tamale stand in downtown Pendleton. It was located in front of a saloon at **343 S. Main Street**. Details about LeRoy's life were discovered during the writing of this MPD because two tragic events happened concurrently in 1904. His 18-month-old son died of an accidental poisoning while the family was on a trip to Portland. Unrelatedly, LeRoy was put in the hospital, but survived, following an assault at his home by one of his employees.[371] [372]

[368] It was located in a room above the county jail.
[369] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 181.
[370] "Joesph Lane Advertisement," *East Oregonian*, July 12,1879, 3. Joseph was born in c. 1840 in Georgia.
[371] "A Child Poisoned," *East Oregonian*, November 28, 1904, 8.
[372] "Cut Four Times with a Razor," *East Oregonian*, November 18, 1904.

Churches in Umatilla County

In 1908, John C. Coleman—a leader in the African Methodist Church in the Pacific Northwest—desired to bring a large group of Black families from the South to the area to utilize land made more arable by government-funded irrigation projects. He sought donations to build a Black church and school before bringing the families who were prepared to work in agriculture and become citizens of Umatilla County.[373] Research did not reveal the outcome of his efforts, including whether the Black families from the South ever relocated.

In 1912, the second annual conference of the Oregon-Washington chapter of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church (the oldest Black church organization in the world) was held in Pendleton at the South Methodist Church. White people were encouraged to attend as their participation was thought to give encouragement to the Black attendees to further their evangelical outreach.[374]

In 1918, Black people of Pendleton established their own Black denomination—the Pendleton African Methodist Episcopalian ("AME") Church.[375] The next year, the Black population in Pendleton was significant enough that a pastor was assigned for the church—A. C. Yearwood.[376] The local Black minister, Reverand L.L. Anderson, raised the necessary funds to purchase a lot for a church to be constructed.[377]

Baker City and Baker County

Baker City was located along the Oregon Trail but had no real habitation until gold was discovered in the area in 1861, leading to the creation of Baker County the next year. Gold mining diminished by 1865, which was also the year that Baker City was platted. It was incorporated in 1874. In 1884 the town was linked to the national rail network. A lumber mill was built in Baker City in 1889 along with the Sumpter Valley Railway to the forests southwest of Baker City. The rail line reached Sumpter in 1896 leading to a gold and silver mining boom in the "gold belt" of Baker County (and adjacent Grant County). In Baker City, the wealth led to the transformation of the city from wood-frame buildings to brick and stone. In 1900 the county population had grown by 130% from 6,764 to 15,597. Baker City had almost 7,000 residents making it the third largest city in Oregon. In 1910, the county continued to grow but more slowly and it fell to the 6th largest city in Oregon.

During the 1870 census there was only one Black person living in Baker County—a barber, owning his own home; however, there were likely more in the county before the gold ran out. In 1880, the number of Black residents in the county rose to eight. One worked as a servant/restaurant cook, another a stable laborer in Baker City, and four were cattle drivers/laborers in the precinct of Stone. In 1890, there were eleven Black residents in a rapidly-expanding Baker City. The rest of the county had 12 Black residents.

The 1900 census enumerated 62 Black people in Baker City, a major increase in the Black population.[378] Throughout the county, they worked professions typical for Black Oregonians at the time, but there were also two prostitutes in the mining town of Sumpter along with three male cooks. (Cooks were a less common profession during this era but would become more common in the subsequent ones and more likely to be found in the cities, especially Portland.) In Baker City, three Black households were located adjacent to each other a block from the train station: a family of six and a family of three both headed by barbers, and a white-headed household with five Black lodgers including a barber and four musicians/singers. By 1910, the number of Black residents dropped to 27 and all but four were in Baker City. By the end of the era, the numbers continued to trend down, although still higher than many other counties in Oregon at the

[373] "Bring Negroes to Oregon," *Oregonian*, March 21, 1908, 4.
[374] "African Church in Conference Here," *East Oregonian*, October 30, 1912, 8.
[375] "Barbeque Brings Nearly $500," *East Oregonian*, June 3, 1918, 2.
[376] "A. M. E. Church Meets," 6.
[377] "Church for Colored Residents is Urged," *East Oregonian*, October 29, 1919, 1.
[378] A direct count on the census sheets only tallied 30 Black people.

time. But these numbers were still sufficient enough for a Black church to form by 1919. That year, pastor A. C. Yearwood was assigned to the AME church in Baker City. [379]

Baker City's Black population declined in subsequent years and was never again a noteworthy population center.

John & Melinda Tebeau

Black couple John and Melinda Tebeau moved to Huntington (a smaller town in Baker County) in 1885 after residents in Mountain Home, Idaho—their intended destination—would not allow them off the train. After living in Huntington for some years, where they sold food to travelers coming through town, they moved to Baker City where they had seven children. After John died (sometime before 1910), Melinda operated her own laundry business. One of Melinda's daughters married into a family of Black cowboys and rodeo performers in Baker City. One of their children was William Tebeau, who will be featured in Era 5.[380]

The Dalles and Wasco County

Fort Dalles was established in 1850 by the U.S. government to offer protection to Oregon Trail emigrants following the Cayuse War of 1847-8. It served as a link for steamboats carrying miners, supplies, passengers, and goods on the Columbia River between Portland and the mining regions to the east. Following the treaty with the Yakama Indians that removed them to reservations, the Yakama War began and Fort Dalles was key in dispatching troops. Wasco County was created in 1854 and The Dalles incorporated in 1857.

In the 1860 census, there were eight Black people in The Dalles. Only Salem, Portland, and two precincts in Jackson County had a larger population of Black residents at the time. In 1870, the number was ten. They worked jobs that were typical for Blacks in Oregon at this time: waiter, laborer, farm laborer, stock herder, etc. One of these men was James Fountain, whom the local paper described as a "most attentive and polite colored man and a thorough good cook."[381]

By 1890, the number of Blacks in The Dalles jumped to 28. While the Wasco County population of Blacks was only listed as being 10 in 1900, this was likely due to the change in categorization of mulattos. In 1910, the number of Black residents in The Dalles was 27, indicating a significant and stable population. In this census, there were a few business owners including a barber with his own shop, a bootblack with his own operation, and a woman with her own laundry business. Additionally, there was a candymaker (to be presented later), a street paver, a house painter, and a bricklayer. Geographically speaking, almost all these people were living in the commercial core within a couple blocks of the train tracks serving the train station and railyards. The Black population had also grown large enough to support the development of a church. In 1919, Dr. W.W. Howard was assigned as pastor to the African Methodist Episcopal Church., which was part of a circuit that included other churches in the region.[382] In the 1920 census, only eight Black people were counted in The Dalles with nearly all living in the Glenwood Hotel and working the same types of jobs. The one exception was the Black proprietor of an auto repair shop. After 1920, The Dalles was no longer notable as a Black population center in Oregon.

Coos Bay and Coos County

In addition to gold and silver, early Oregonians mined for coal as well. Coos County became an important mining area for coal after deposits were discovered in 1853. Four decades later, the Beaver Hill Mine was opened using a spur line of the Coos Bay, Roseburg, and Eastern Railroad, near an upper tributary of Beaver Slough.[383]

[379] "A. M. E. Church Meets," 6.
[380] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 161.
[381] "Up the Columbia," *The Weekly Enterprise*," September 11, 1869, 1.
[382] "A. M. E. Church Meets," 6.
[383] Pamela A. Filbert, "Beaver Hill Mine",," *Deep Roots* 11 (April 2021).2022): 1-2, https://oregontic.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/42063-Deep-Roots-2022-r4-220406-ONLINE.pdf.

Coos County had two Black residents during the 1890 census, but things changed drastically thereafter when over 100 Black people lived for a few years in a mining community south of Coos Bay. After the mine closed, the lynching of a Black man and the segregation of public school in Coos Bay—both described below—contributed to a decline in the number of Black residents in Coos Bay and throughout Coos County during this era.

Beaver Hill Miners

An important Black history event for Coos County (and for the state as a whole) occurred in December 1894 when the Coos Bay, Roseburg & Oregon Navigation & Coal Company initially hired over one hundred Black miners to work in its Beaver Hill mine. The superintendent of the company recruited these men in Southern states such as Georgia, Virginia, and West Virginia to replace Oregon's white miners who refused to work for reduced wages.[384] Some of the first to work at Beaver Hill traveled from mining jobs in Keystone, West Virginia while others followed from Pocahontas, Virginia.[385] One account in a newspaper said the miners were promised $5-7 a day in wages plus comfortable housing and good treatment. The Black miners rode the railroads, some with their families, across the country to Roseburg during December 1894. They then walked 60 miles west to Beaver Hill. Upon their arrival at the end of the month, there were no houses for them to live in, so they instead slept in box cars.

The miners reportedly only ended up making about $1.00 a day, despite doing long hours of hard labor. Additionally, they had to pay the company for their board and lodging. The Black miners then discovered that non-Black miners were being paid about 75% more. When they complained to their foreman and asked for a raise, he accused them of trying to start a strike.[386] Having only been in Oregon for a week or two, many were out of money and stranded far from home. White miners throughout Coos County were sympathetic to their problems with the coal company and provided the desperate Black miners a variety of resources until arrangements could be made to return to their home states.[387] In January 1895, about nineteen of the Black miners boarded a boat in Coos Bay to start their journey back to West Virginia, but their funds only got them to San Francisco.[388] Others remained at Beaver Hill and a successful strike later in the year resulted in increased wages for Black miners.[389] Shortly thereafter, 60 additional African Americans relocated to Beaver Hill on a steamer from San Francisco.[390] Additional Black miners were recruited from other states, notably from Washington.

Beaver Hill developed into a community of about 600 people, with over 200 of those employed at the mine, and incorporated in 1896.[391] The community had over one hundred Black residents and held social events regularly and organized a baseball team, as well as a fraternal society with intentions to build a lodge.[392] One newspaper reported in 1897 that the mines were the largest in the county and were operated mostly by Black employees.[393] The Beaver Hill mine ceased operations in February 1898 due to executive mismanagement. Beaver Hill's Black residents relocated, with some going to other nearby mines in Coos County or finding employment with the local railroad.[394] By the 1900 census, only 36 Black people were enumerated in Coos County, which was still the fourth highest in the state following

[384] "News Items," *Hood River Glacier*, January 5, 1895, 2.
[385] "Back to 'Ole Virginny,'" *Morning Astorian*, January 9, 1895, 1.
[386] "Homeless and Helpless," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1895, 7.
[387] "Negro Coal Miners Stop Work," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 8, 1895, 2.
[388] Julie J. Wilts and Bill Roulette, *Results of an Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Roseburg Resource Company's Beaver Hill Project Area, Coos County, Oregon* (Portland: Applied Archaeological Research, Inc., 2007), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 21283; "Homeless and Helpless," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1895, 7; "Told by the Negro," *Oregonian*, January 27, 1895, 3.
[389] "Pacific Northwest," *St. Helens Mist*, November 1, 1895, 1.
[390] "Marshfield," *Capital Journal*, December 3, 1895, 2.
[391] "Local Lore," *Weekly Gazette-Times*, December 11, 1895, 3.
[392] Filbert, 2; "Northwest Brevities," *St. Helens Mist*, January 1, 1897, 1.
[393] "Local Lore," *Weekly Gazette-Times*, April 7, 1897, 3.
[394] Filbert, 2; "Northwest Brevities."

Multnomah, Baker, and Marion Counties, in that order. In 1904, the Beaver Hill mine resumed operations. Today, the **Beaver Hill Townsite** (**site 35CS228**) is a recorded archaeological site.[395]

Alonzo Tucker Lynching

In September 1902, perhaps the worst event of racial violence occurred in Oregon history up until that point. Alonzo Tucker, a bootblack and boxer who also ran a small gymnasium in Coos Bay, was accused of assaulting a white woman who was the wife of a local miner. Tucker was taken into police custody and brought to the city jail at City Hall, located at 390 North Front Street. An angry mob of white miners from the nearby Libby area, intent on lynching Tucker, headed to the jail to abduct him. Tucker managed to escape and hid under the dock overnight in fear of his life. The next morning, he was shot several times after being discovered. The mob took his lifeless body to the alleged crime scene where his body was hung for several hours from a light pole on the Seventh Street bridge before 300 spectators. (The bridge has been demolished and is now a soccer field for Marshfield High School near the intersection of S 7th Street and Golden Avenue in Coos Bay.) Even though the hanging occurred in broad daylight, no one was held accountable for Tucker's lynching.[396] The dramatic and traumatizing event prompted many Black families to flee Marshfield. While other instances of race-based murder occurred before and after this one, Tucker was the only documented and confirmed Black lynching victim in Oregon history. Nationwide, there were approximately 6,500 race-motivated lynchings between 1865 and 1950. In 1924, at the height of racial tension in the state, another Black resident of Coos Bay, Timothy Pettis, was murdered. The case went unsolved despite the Portland NAACP agitating for a state investigation.[397]

Coos Bay School Segregation

In 1903, three Black children tried to attend public school in Coos Bay but were refused admission by the principal. The school board then rented a room offsite and hired a separate teacher for the three plus one Chinese child, purportedly providing them with equivalent facilities and learning opportunities to those provided to white students.[398] [399] This colored school continued with, at least for some time, only the one Chinese student attending. Black parents decided not to send their children to the school in protest over them being segregated. Alice Trollinger, 44-year-old mother of eight children, was one of those who chose not to send her children to either of the schools in protest. She was a "coal screener" in 1900 living near the Libby mine south of Coos Bay. In 1909, the school board decided to compel the other Chinese and Black children, most of whom were not attending either school, to attend the colored school. [400] Truancy law would, at the threat of criminal prosecution, end up compelling her to have them attend.[401] It is unknown how long the colored school remained in operation but it is known that children attended there until at least 1910. Given the segregation and instance of lynching, the number of Black people in Coos County dropped to only 17 in 1910. Eight of these were living in Coos Bay. Through the end of this era, Black people continued to live in and move to Coos Bay, where 23 were living in 1920.

[395] Wilts and Roulette, *Results of an Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Roseburg Resource Company's Beaver Hill Project Area,* recorded the Beaver Hill Townsite as an archaeological site which is designated site 35CS228.

[396] In 2021, the Oregon Remembrance Project and Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) and the Coos Bay Museum held a memorial gathering. A historical marker will be installed on the site of the Coos Bay Museum to memorialize Alonzo Tucker. Taylor Stewart, "*Repair. How do we reconcile lynching?"* Oregon Remembrance Project website, 2019, https://www.oregonremembrance.org/the-story, accessed March 2023.

[397] McLagan, 120

[398] Ibid, 140.

[399] "To Provide Equal Privileges," *Weekly Coast Mail*, October 3, 1903, 4.

[400] "Marshfield in Cartoon," *Coos Bay Times*, September 29, 1909, 3.

[401] "Only One at Colored School," *The Coos Bay Times*, September 21, 1909. Electronic resource: www.oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85033159/1909-09-21/ed-1/seq-1, accessed March 10, 2023; "Start Colored School," *The Coos Bay Times*, October 5, 1909, www.oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85033159/1909-10-05/ed-1/seq-3, accessed March 10, 2023.

Astoria and Clatsop County

Astoria is Oregon's oldest town. As described in Era 1, Black people were a part of the 1805 Corps of Discovery that built Fort Clatsop nearby. In 1811, Astor's Pacific Fur Company established the city and Fort Astoria. The area would come under British control in 1813 but was returned to American possession following the Treaty of 1818. The British, however, continued to dominate the fur trade. Astoria was only minimally populated in the 1820s and 1830s. With American pioneers of the 1840s migrating to Oregon, the 1846 Oregon Treaty finally ended the dispute on boundary and American-British joint occupation.

The first census in 1850 enumerated four Black males in Clatsop County including a ten-year-old boy employed as a steward in the home of a white farmer family. In 1870, the county had eight Black residents including a barber and his family, a fisherman born in Africa, and a cook from the Caribbean Islands. In 1880, the city of Astoria had almost double the number of residents born out of state as born within when no other Oregon counties had anything like that. Astoria was unique for an Oregon city due to its port location, attracting many immigrants from China, Scandinavian countries, and the eastern part of the United States. The1880 census also enumerated an increase in the number of Black people living in the county (27) but relatively few in Astoria (only four). An extended family of African immigrants, headed by farmers and woodsmen, lived in three adjacent houses in the Lewis and Clark precinct.

By 1890 Astoria's port city status made it a fishery and shipping hub with timber and canned fish being key commodities. The large transient population with its attendant saloons and brothels reflected a town driven by big rewards and big risk. The city had a reputation for shanghaiing—forcing unwilling men to work on ships at sea. Possibly as a result, the number of Black residents in Astoria had risen to 19 while Clatsop County had 48. A railroad connection to Portland was made in 1898, adding to the economic energy.

The 1900 census obfuscated the number of Black people by many Black people being categorized as white. As a result, only seven Black people were identified in Astoria. The rest of the county only counted six. East of Astoria was a boat puller who lived on his boat. In 1902, a boat towing, shipping, and excursion company moved to Astoria, augmenting the city's economy.

By 1910 Astoria was the third largest Oregon city. Black people were clearly moving out of the rural areas of Clatsop County in favor of living in the city. All but three of the 25 Blacks enumerated in the 1910 census lived in Astoria. Two Astoria residents were a pair of Black women living together and working as owners of their own dress making enterprise. George Rencher, a military veteran, had a bootblack stand at 493 Commercial Street (possibly the SW corner of today's 11th and Commercial). The local newspaper considered him an "expert in the shining art" and publicized the stand's "most modern accommodations," including free telephone service.[402]

By the end of this era, when Astoria reached its highest population ever of over 14,000 residents, the number of Blacks dropped to eight. Numbers of Black people in Astoria would remain low until World War II.

Minstrel Shows and Other Entertainment

In the 1910 Census, there were also four actors/actresses (living together) and a theater man all residing in Astoria who might have been performers as part of a minstrel troupe. Multiple newspaper articles reported about minstrel performers in Astoria at the Moore Hotel and on an excursion steamship.[403] [404] Minstrel performers were possibly one of the earliest forms of Black entertainment in Oregon and may have been in demand in the entertainment-hungry port town of Astoria. While minstrel shows across the country were typically performed by white actors in blackface portraying cruel stereotypes of African Americans for the purposes of comedy, some Black-only minstrel groups did also tour. These

[402] "Shines Go Up Too," *Toveri*, October 19, 1917, 3.
[403] "Seaside Notes," *Oregon Daily Journal*, August 3, 1907, 14.
[404] "Sparrow Flew to Sea," *Daily Morning Astorian*, February 25, 1890, 3.

shows typically included African-American derived music (mentioned in the first era), which became widely popular across the country.[405] Traveling minstrel shows appeared in other cities in Oregon during this era. In general, the performing arts were a more lucrative way for African Americans to make a living. While these minstrel shows and musical performances were the beginning, other African Americans would find opportunities to perform at cowboy competitions and other venues in Oregon to showcase their unique talents. Although some of the earliest Black people in Oregon were noted musicians, there is very little information about musicians in subsequent decades until the World War II era.[406]

Roscoe Lee Dixon

Roscoe Lee Dixon was a Black man who owned a popular restaurant in Astoria. [407] He married Theresa Frances in 1880 and began running advertisements in the *Daily Astorian* for Roscoe's First Class Oyster Saloon. The business, believed to be the first Black-owned business in Astoria, operated in at least three locations in the city, the first at 9th Street and Astor Street, most likely on the southeast corner of the intersection. The business then relocated to the Occident Hotel Block in the 1000 block of Marine Drive. Two years later, in July of 1883, a fire destroyed the entirety of the city center. As a result, Dixon moved again, this time just around the corner & within the same block. Roscoe Dixon's Eating House remained at the southwest corner of 11th & Commercial until at least July of 1884.[408] Early the next year, Dixon sold the restaurant to pay off debts.[409] He moved to Seattle by 1890 during a period when Astoria languished due to Portland's rising status as a hub of rail-based commerce and travel.

Louis Napoleon

Louis Napoleon lived in the town of Westport, upriver from Astoria. He moved to Oregon in 1868 following his services in the Civil War as part of the U.S. Colored Infantry. [410] He lived for a time at Fort Stevens west of Astoria and then moved to Westport in 1870. There he worked in the logging camps while building a farm on McFarland Road. That year, the founder of the town, David West, built him a small cabin there. Louis lived here for the rest of his life.[411] West eventually hired him to work in the Westport Mill and then he became a mail carrier when West became the US Postmaster. He would also make his living working as a cook and doing other odd jobs in the community, including road construction. Napoleon was one of the founders of the historic, one-acre **Westport Cemetery** (directly northwest of the intersection of McLean Hill Road and Hungry Hollow Loop) that was incorporated on June 16, 1909, where he was buried upon his death on May 15, 1914.[412]

The military continued to draw some Black people to Oregon, not merely as veterans, but as active servicemen. One example was Moses Williams who had a 32-year career as a cavalryman in the United States Army. Towards the end of his career, in 1895, he was assigned to **Fort Stevens** as ordnance sergeant, outside of Astoria. He was the only Black soldier there but was in charge of the canons and coastal defense guns.[413] He received the Medal of Honor the next year

[405] Coleman, Dangerous Subjects, 29.

[406] Some small anecdotes about musicians are known. For instance, Albert D. Robertson of Fairview (a suburban town of Portland) worked as a musician in a popular chicken dinner roadhouse and restaurant owned by Barney B. Barr (white). It was on Halsey Street (intersection/address unknown).

[407] He was born in 1843 in Virginia; date of death unknown. He reportedly was born enslaved but escaped through the Underground Railroad. His restaurant was located on the corner of 10th and Bond Streets, Astoria, Clatsop County.

[408] Chelsea Vaughn and Leah Chen, "Roscoe Lee Dixon," other source details unknown.

[409] "Notice," *The Morning Astorian*, February 10, 1885, 3.

[410] He went by "Louie" or "Lou." He lived from 1845-1914.

[411] Stella B. Satern, *Nehalem River Valley: Settling the Big Timberland*, Portland: Binford & Mort, 2005.

[412] Jim Aalberg research notes received from Jim Aalberg in 2016. Note that the cemetery does not have its own street address, but the address for the associated, nearby church is 49246 Hwy 30, Westport, Clatsop County, Oregon 97016.

[413] Gregory P. Shine, "Moses Williams (1845-1899)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/williams_moses/#.Y7Sf3XbMJhE, accessed March 2023. The West Battery is located at 1675 Peter Iregale Rd., Hammond, OR.

for extraordinary service in 1881. He retired in 1898/9 and died in 1899 at Vancouver Barracks. He is buried at the Vancouver Barracks National Cemetery.

The Shoreys

In 1918, Victoria Grace Shorey transferred to Fort Stevens from her previous job in Oakland, California. In Clatsop County, she worked as a clerk in the Quartermaster's office (**315 Russell Drive** in Warrenton, extant). Victoria was one of five children born to a famous and wealthy whaleship captain named William Thomas Shorey. For a time, he was the only African American ship captain on the west coast. When William died in 1919, his widow (daughter of one of the leading Black families in San Francisco and president of the Oakland Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People), Julia Ann Shorey, moved with her two children to live with Victoria on the base.[414] It appears the family did not remain in Oregon long as Victoria was a stenographer in Oakland in 1921. The Shoreys made Oakland their home for the rest of their lives.

Black SettlersVignettes

During the beginning of this era, in many parts of the state, Black people still often lived with white people of means as was seen in the descriptions of the Gormans and the Shipleys earlier. However, as will be told in the stories below, there were also living situations that were more diverse.

An additional point of context to note: As the fur trade in the 1830s waned and mining and farming grew in economic importance, the number and size of Oregon cities expanded rapidly throughout western Oregon. The growing population, increasing industry, and growing number of urban areas provided new employment opportunities for Black Oregonians as barbers, blacksmiths, bootblacks, butchers, freighters, ferry operators, midwives, and house painters, to name a few. It was common for Black residents, such as will be seen with Louis Southworth's story, to have complex employment histories and to practice different jobs throughout their working lives.

Peter Waldo (Roseburg)

Peter Waldo was an orphan and ward of Oregon's first territorial governor, Joseph Lane. Peter was a child when Lane became his caretaker. Lane and Peter Waldo lived in the Roseburg vicinity.[415] Lane was eventually rebuffed by his family and friends because of his outspoken advocacy for slavery and the Confederacy during the Civil War. The 1870 census enumerates Peter as being nine years old and white, while Joseph is listed as being 69 years old, a farmer, and living with his wife Mary. Around 1878 Lane left his farm and moved to Roseburg. Peter left Oregon in the 1880s to seek his sister in Idaho, but eventually returned to Oregon. He died in Salem in 1902.[416]

George Fletcher and Jesse Stahl (Pendleton)

Two Black rodeo performers and entertainers rose to prominence in Oregon during the latter part of this era.[417] George Fletcher (1890-1973) was noted for wearing bright orange chaps during his performances. He had moved to Pendleton around 1900 and learned horsemanship from riders on the nearby Umatilla Indian Reservation. He competed in the Pendleton Round-Up from its inception in 1910. Jesse Stahl was known for his daredevil stunts.[418] He competed in

[414] "William T. Shorey, Veteran Mariner, Dies," *Oakland Tribune*, April 15, 1919, 3; "William Thomas Shorey," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5980/william_thomas_shorey; "Oakland Modified Its Ban on 'Tag Days,'" *San Francisco Examiner*, June 29, 1916, 1.

[415] McLagan, 59.

[416] Southern Oregon Historical Society, "Southern Oregon History, Revised," https://truwe.sohs.org/files/waldo.html, accessed July 19, 2024.

[417] Stan Fonseca, "Black Cowboys in Oregon," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* *https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/black_cowboys_in_oregon/*, accessed November 18, 2021; Oregon Black Pioneers, *George Fletcher: 1890-1973*, https://oregonblackpioneers.org/george-fletcher-pendleton-oregon/, accessed March 2023.

[418] Jesse Stahl was corn c. 1879 and died in 1935.

rodeos in California and other states, almost always placing no higher than third. This relatively low ranking is understood to be because of his race.

While Stahl lived in California, both men competed at the **Pendleton Round-Up** (**1205 SW Court Avenue**) from 1912 to 1916. A famous incident involving Fletcher occurred during the 1911 Pendleton Round-Up. During a competition against a white and a Nez Pearce competitor, the crowd cheered loudest for Fletcher and became angry when the judges awarded first place to the white cowboy. In response, the sheriff took up a collection for Fletcher and deemed him "The People's Champion." He later won the Albany Round-Up's bucking horse championship in 1917.[419]

Performances was not Fletcher's only source of income as he worked on ranches putting his skills to practical use. Like farming, working as ranch laborers and animal herders was also an inviting means for early Black settlers in Oregon to make a living. However, Black residents did not have a large role in cowboy culture during the 19th century.

During World War I, George Fletcher was drafted into the United States military, receiving injuries in France that ended his rodeo career. He worked as a ranch hand in Pendleton until his death.[420]

Minor Jackson (Linn County)

Minor Jackson was another early Black Oregonian barber. Born enslaved in Missouri and a veteran of the Civil War, he arrived in Brownsville (Linn County) in 1877.[421] Jackson became the town's first Black barber and one of the first Black businessmen of Linn County. He had a stand on Mill Street starting c.1879 and then was in Albany for a short time before going back to Brownsville in 1884.[422] Jackson owned his shop at 146 Spaulding Avenue, to which his home was attached.[423] He was also a member of the Brownsville business association. Married in 1887 to wife Lillie Burton, they had five children. His barbershop was destroyed in a fire that destroyed much of downtown Brownsville in 1919. After the fire, he barbered in the Hotel Brownsville briefly before heading back to Albany.[424] He relocated to Los Angeles, California with his son, Harry, in 1920 and died there in 1925.[425]

Columbus Sewell (Grant County)

Although early settlers largely bypassed the semi-arid areas of the state east of the Cascades, by the 1860s, parts of Central Oregon began to draw miners, farmers, and ranchers. Gold was discovered in what is now Grant County in 1862. The first major gold deposits were found in Canyon Creek, a tributary of the John Day River. These deposits drew the first miners to the John Day Basin. Canyon City was subsequently founded, and the town grew rapidly to 10,000 population in the 1870s, supplying miners with gear, groceries, whisky, and tobacco.[426]

Born in Virginia in 1823, Columbus Sewell went to California during the gold rush and moved to Canyon City in 1862 working a mining claim. He and his wife Louisa (1842 Virginia-1893) were part of the initial gold rush influx of miners and residents.[427] Having worked in the California gold mines, Columbus established himself as a successful gold miner in Canyon City. As the viability of gold mining declined in the 1880s, the Sewells remained as one of Grant County's

[419] "Round Up" Albany Daily Democrat, July 5, 1917, 1.
[420] Stan Fonseca, "Black Cowboys in Oregon"; Oregon Black Pioneers, *George Fletcher: 1890-1973*.
[421] 1890 Census indicates he served 6 months in the military in 1864.
[422] "Brownsville Items," *Albany State Rights Democrat*, February 1, 1884, 2.
[423] "Brownsville Hit Hard Saturday by Fire Which Takes 3 Entire Blocks," *Albany Daily Democrat*, July 14, 1919, 1.
[424] "Minor Jackson," *Albany Daily Democrat*, August 15, 1919, 2.
[425] "Pioneer Brownsville Barber Is Called by Death in Los Angeles," *Albany Democrat-Herald*, October 24, 1925, 1.
[426] J. L. Mosgrove, "The Malheur National Forest, An Ethnographic History," USDA Forest Service, 1980.
[427] In 1870, the Sewells were not the only Black people in Grant County. The others included Jane Jackson—a 43-year-old saloon cook from Virginia living with the saloon's proprietor (a white female from New York) and John T. Jackson—a 22-year-old cook at Camp Harney, a US Army post south of Canyon City.

only Black residents for many years. Columbus eventually continued working as a teamster, hauling freight by a 12-horse-drawn wagon between Canyon City and The Dalles, keeping Canyon City merchants supplied.

Columbus Sewell and his wife were prominent, well-liked residents. Louisa entertained neighbors and was known for making ice cream and cake for the Fourth of July and other occasions. She built a park and croquet court opposite their home. Columbus was honored in 2022 with the renaming of a geological feature in Grant County as the "Columbus Sewell Knob."[428]

The Sewells had two children (a third died in infancy) in Canyon City. The oldest, Thomas Sewell (c.1869-1943), worked for some years as a farmer before following in his father's footsteps, hauling freight.[429] He lived in Canyon City his whole life.[430] [431] The younger son, Joseph Sewell, was an excellent horseman and athlete. He worked as a cowboy in Umatilla County for a time. Joseph died in 1890 in a brawl in Baker City or Pendleton.[432] Louisa died in 1893 and many of the town's women paid their respects.[433] Columbus died in 1899. Thomas died in 1943. Columbus, Louisa, and Thomas are all buried at the **Canyon City Cemetery**. [434]

John Brown (Jefferson County)

John Brown was a Black farmer who established a prosperous homestead near Madras in the 1880s.[435] He was the first Black homesteader in Central Oregon. In 1881, he filed a land claim for 160 acres near present-day Madras in a canyon that now bears his name and received the legal title to the land in 1891. On this land, he grew fruits and vegetables in an irrigated garden—one of the first in the area. He sold his produce in Prineville, 30 miles away, where he also voted regularly. Brown relocated to near present-day Sunriver in the 1890s, where he made his living as a gold prospector. He died in Prineville in 1903.[436]

Louis Southworth (Lincoln County)

Louis Southworth was a Black man who came to Oregon from Missouri, having been born enslaved in Tennessee.[437] He initially made a living as a farmer but, was remembered particularly for being a ferry operator and fiddler.

Louis and his mother, Pauline, arrived in Oregon in 1851 or 1853 (sources differ). He came with his enslaver, James Southworth, and his family living together on an abandoned claim. Louis later moved to a farm near Monroe, Benton

[428] Zachary Stocks and Gwen Carr, "Domestic Geographic Name Report," Oregon Black Pioneers, 2021, http://www.ohs.org/about-us/affiliates-and-partners/oregon-geographic-names-board/upload/Columbus_Sewell_Knob_rename-17Jul2022.pdf, accessed February 13, 2023.

[429] McLagan, 87

[430] Stocks, "Domestic Geographic Name Report."

[431] Thomas's first marriage was to Cora Mistette in 1899; no children. She died 1919. Then he married a Portland woman and stayed in Canyon City. In 1930, he was a farm laborer living with a black housekeeper: Julia Jackson 51, widowed, from Texas. He went to prison in 1930s for selling whiskey. Thomas was known to be well-liked and respected. He aided neighbors in illness, acting as nurse. Died in Portland, buried in the Canyon City cemetery.

[432] McLagan, 74.

[433] Ibid, 73-74

[434] Ibid, 74.

[435] John Brown lived ca. 1830-1903. Records disagree about his date and place of birth, which is variously given as Canada, Georgia, or Polk County, Oregon.

[436] Jarold Ramsey, "John A. Brown (1830?-1903)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and the Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/brown_john_a/#.Y7NkKHbMJhE. Also see Alexander Donnel and Sika Stanton, "An Oregon Canyon," Oregon Humanities, 2017, http://oregonhumanities.org/this-land/stories/an-oregon-canyon-feature/, accessed January 4, 2023. In November 2013, the canyon where his homestead once stood was officially named John Brown Canyon by the Oregon Geographic Names Board.

[437] Also spelled Lewis and sometimes went by Lou. Middle name Alexander. He lived c. 1830 Tennessee-1917 Corvallis. Born with surname of Hunter but it was changed to that of his enslaver.

County (about 20 miles south of Corvallis), on a land claim belonging to a white man, Benjamin Richardson, who might have been an acquaintance of the Southworth family in Missouri and a fellow emigrant in the same wagon train.

In 1856, Louis and James tried mining gold in Jacksonville. In addition, Louis was a skilled violinist and earned money playing fiddle for gold miners. In 1858, Louis had earned enough to make payments toward buying his freedom. After leaving Jacksonville, he encountered volunteer soldiers in the Rogue River Indian Wars (1855-1856) who demanded his rifle. Instead of forfeiting it, he joined as a volunteer soldier and was later wounded. (Of note, Southworth was not the only Black volunteer soldier in Oregon. By the time the Indian Wars ended in Oregon in 1858, a few Black settlers had participated in USA military operations to take control of land that led to the displacement of America's indigenous communities.)

When his mother died in 1858, Southworth moved to Yreka, California, working as a musician playing violin for dancing schools.[438] In 1859, he had saved enough to make his last payment for buying his freedom.[439] He then moved to Buena Vista (about halfway between Corvallis and Salem in Polk County) in 1868 where he began working as a blacksmith and operated a livery stable. In 1874, he married Mary (Maria) Cooper. She had an adopted son, Alvin McCleary, who will be featured after Southworth.

After living in Buena Vista for a few more years, in 1879, they moved to near Waldport in Lincoln County. He established a homestead east of the city a few miles. The **Louis "Lewis" Southworth Homestead** occupies 160 acres of land along the Alsea River. Louis cleared his land, built a sawmill, operated a ferry for passengers and cargo up and down and over the Alsea River, and donated land for Waldport's first school.

Southworth was a member of the school board and politically and civically active in the community. It is unknown if he was elected to the local school board or was just an appointee. During harvest season, he returned to the Willamette Valley to work in Philomath and Corvallis to earn money for winter supplies on his homestead.[440] Later, in Waldport, the local Baptist Church discouraged him from playing his fiddle.[441] Southworth remarked on the situation telling the *Daily Gazette-Times:* "But the brethren would not stand for my fiddle, which was about all the company I had much of the time. So, I told them to keep me in the church with my fiddle, if they could, but to turn me out if they must, for I could not think of parting with the fiddle."[442]

In 1910, Lincoln County had just two Black residents—Southworth and his stepson. Louis moved to Corvallis that year, where he bought a house at the corner of Fourth and Adams (no longer extant), where he spent the last seven years of his life.[443] He is buried at the **Crystal Lake Cemetery** in Corvallis along with his first wife, Mary Cooper.

---

[438] McLagan, 70.

[439] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 102-103.

[440] His homestead was 4.7 miles down Alsea Hwy (OR-34) from Waldport. A creek and a road running through the former homestead site were, until fairly recently, known as "Darkey" Creek and "Darkey" Road, but they have been renamed **Southworth Creek**, and Southworth Road. The Geographic Names Board honored Southworth by changing the name of the creek to Southworth Creek in 1999. The City of Waldport built **Louis Southworth Park,** in 1921, including a bronze statue of Louis at its entrance. Peggy Baldwin "A Legacy Beyond Generations," Oregon Secretary of State: *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870*: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/southworth.aspx, accessed September 1, 2023. Also see Cheri Brubaker, "Louis Southworth, slave who bought his freedom and homesteaded near Oregon coast, chosen as namesake of new park," *Oregonian*, August 29, 2021,: https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2021/08/louis-southworth-slave-who-bought-his-freedom-and-homesteaded-near-oregon-coast-chosen-as-namesake-of-new-park.htm, accessed September 1, 2023.

[441] McLagan, 83-84.

[442] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 102-104.

[443] Crystal Lake Cemetery National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, certified June 16, 2004; Baldwin, "Louis Southworth (1829-1917)," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/southworth_louis_1829_1917_/; Brubaker 2021; "Louis Southworth, slave who bought his freedom and homesteaded near Oregon coast, chosen as namesake of new park." All of the residential buildings at this intersection have been replaced by commercial buildings.

Louis Southworth Park in Waldport is a twelve-acre park established in 2023. There is a bronze statue of him, which was dedicated at Alsea Bay Bridge Visitor Center and Museum in Waldport in 2022, with plans for it to be placed in the park in 2024.[444]

Alvin McCleary (Lincoln County)

One of the first Black politicians elected in Oregon was Alvin Alexander McCleary.[445] The son of Jamaican immigrants, McCleary was the stepson of Southworth. McCleary had been adopted by Southworth's future wife after McCleary's mother died when he was a baby. McCleary attended the Buena Vista Academy in Buena Vista as a child.

At the turn of the century, he was living with his adoptive parents near Waldport and working as a fisherman, often selling the season's catch in Corvallis.[446] He started owning property by 1904 and continued to transact real estate in the decades to come.[447] In 1908, he was living in Newport and bought a butcher shop from the Waldport Lumber Company.[448] This was significant, given that he was one of very few Black people in the county for decades and was a property-owning businessman.

By 1909, McCleary lived with and worked for one of the most well-known citizens in Lincoln County—William R. Wakefield. Wakefield was a former city and county commissioner and owned and operated a hotel with his wife, Anna, called the Alsea House. In 1910, McCleary relocated to The Dalles with the Wakefields as William served as a federal postmaster. There, Anna operated a candy store with McCleary the candymaker. Upon returning to Lincoln County a few years later, McCleary would continue to be an entrepreneur, buying a meat market in 1914, and remained connected with the Wakefields who opened the Wakefield Hotel in Waldport the same year in addition to another one in Newport.[449] When William died in 1916, McCleary seemingly took on a larger responsibility for the hotels, operating them in conjunction with Anna for decades. In 1940, he is enumerated as co-owner of the hotel with Anna.

McCleary was voted onto the Waldport City Council in 1918 and was a councilman in 1939 although it is uncertain if his service in this capacity was continuous.[450] He remained Anna's business partner at the Wakefield Hotel until she died in 1942. McCleary retired by 1950 and remained in Waldport until his death in Corvallis in 1951. He is buried in **Alder Grove Cemetery** (**542 E Alder Grove Cemetery Road**) in Waldport.[451]

Benjamin and Amanda Johnson (Jackson County, Linn County)

Benjamin "Ben" Johnson was born enslaved and came to Oregon in 1853.[452] He lived in Uniontown in Jackson County and served as the Uniontown blacksmith from 1868 to 1869.[453] In 1870, he had relocated to Albany where he married Amanda Gardner.[454] Amanda was also born enslaved and after being gifted to newlyweds in Missouri, she chose to

[444] Brubaker, "Louis Southworth, slave who bought his freedom and homesteaded near Oregon coast, chosen as namesake of new park."

[445] He also is referred to as Albert and Alfred. He was born in 1866 in San Francisco and died in 1951 in Corvallis but was still a resident of Waldport.

[446] "A. A. McCleary," *Corvallis Gazette*, November 11, 1902, 3.

[447] "Sheriff's Sale," *Lincoln County Leader*, January 29, 1904, 6.

[448] "Waldport Items," *Lincoln County Leader*, May 1, 1908, 1; Richard Engeman, "Springtime in Waldport, Redux," September 19, 2014, https://oregonrediviva.com/2014/09/19/springtime-in-waldport-redux/. This blog has exterior photo of hotel

[449] "Waldport Gets New Hotel," *Sunday Oregonian*, March 15, 1914, 58.

[450] "Council Sworn In," *Eugene Register-Guard*, January 15, 1939, 9.

[451] "Long-Term Waldport Resident Dies Here," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, December 3, 1951, 8.

[452] Ben Johnson was born c.1835 in Alabama and died in 1901 in Albany, OR.

[453] He lived on a 4500' mountain near the town, In the past, the mountain was referred to as N----r Ben, and the name stood as the official name until 1964 when the US Geological Survey's Board on Geographical Names changed the mountain's name to Negro Ben Mountain. In 2021 the mountain was officially renamed **Ben Johnson Mountain**.

[454] Amanda lived 1833 Missouri-1927 Albany. Her last name is sometimes spelled Gardiner.

relocate to Oregon with them in 1853.[455] The family settled in Albany where she was eventually freed and remained friends of the family until her death.

As a married couple, the Johnsons remained in Albany for the rest of their lives. Albany's Linn County had few Black residents at the time. The number of Black people would rise in the county to 20 in 1890, though were generally in the single digits.

The Johnson's house was located at the southeast corner of SW Elm Street and SW 7th Avenue in Albany (demolished).[456] They later purchased a home on SW Vine Street, living there at least for the 1880 census with an 11-year-old white girl boarder who was attending school.[457] When Benjamin died in 1901, Amanda stayed in the home for a time before moving in with friends. Both were members of the Congregation Church of Albany and Amanda was also a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.[458] Both Benjamin and Amanda are buried in Albany at the **Masonic Cemetery**, section 3. 3-H (1940 Haskin survey) or MCA M4-8.5-1E.

William Rumley (Curry County)

William A. Rumley was born into slavery, having a Black mother and a white father.[459] He had multiple enslavers in his early life before finally escaping when he was 21. He went with his last enslaver to California around 1850 as part of the California gold rush. Shortly after his cunning escape, he continued mining for gold but in the Klamath River area of far northern California.

In 1864, William met and eventually married Lucy, a Karok Indian.[460] Shortly after marrying, the Rumleys moved to Oregon and farmed outside of Gold Beach on the hill that would eventually bear his name.[461] They are enumerated in the 1870 census for Curry County along with 11-year-old Ely McMann, half-Indian, who, given her last name, might have been adopted by the couple in California. Lucy died c.1880.

For more than fifty years Rumley made his living as a miner, farmer, stock raiser, and hunting party guide in the vicinity of the Rogue River. He was also known for being exceptionally kind, generous, dignified, humble, and for caring for the sick. In 1912, the *Oregonian* wrote: "No man in the state has a better reputation for integrity, sobriety and kindly, gentlemanly conduct than Uncle Billy."[462] Before his death in the early 1920s, Rumley was generally considered to be the oldest living pioneer in Curry County.

Philip DaMotta (Roseburg)

Philip A. Da Motta was a successful barber who owned his own barber shop in Roseburg.[463] He had moved to Roseburg by 1880 where he was living in a part of town that where his neighbors included lawyers and a physician. In addition to DaMotta and his son, Elmer, (born c. 1875), there were four other Black people in Roseburg at the time, including his divorced wife and her mother. Douglas County had 27 other Black residents in 1880 which was third-most in the state behind Multnomah and Jackson Counties. Some were working as hunters or farmers, but most were employed in the

[455] Amanda's enslavers were Anderson Deckard and his wife Lydia Corum.

[456] Zachery Stocks, "Ben Johnson (1834-1901)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/johnson-ben/, accessed February 16, 2024.

[457] Hasso Hering, "An Oregon Story: A Man and His Mountain," https://hh-today.com/an-oregon-story-a-man-and-his-mountain/, accessed January 16, 2024.

[458] "Amanda Johnson, 94, Famed Pioneer, Dies," *Albany Democrat-Herald*, March 28, 1927, 1.

[459] William was born a slave c. 1830 in Missouri. He was later called "Uncle Bill" or "Uncle Billy."

[460] She was born c. 1838.

[461] The farm was located on Squaw Creek near Agness.

[462] "Resources Abound in Rogue Country, Subheading of Negro Character Esteemed." *Morning Oregonian*, December 13, 1912, 18. There is a photo of him here.

[463] DaMotta lived c.1860 Cape Verde Islands-before 1934. His original last name was either DeSouzer or DeSonger but was legally changed in 1882 to DaMotta.

timber industry in Reedsport. The 1890 census enumerated 88 Black Douglas County residents although their composition (i.e. names, ages, family makeup, occupations, etc.) is undetermined due to the loss of the census records in a 1921 Washington, D.C. fire.

Da Motta purchased 1,660 acres of farmland near Roseburg in 1882.[464] He opened his own barber shop the following year after returning from a trip to California. He was billed as "Roseburg's favorite barber."[465] His shop was at 517 SE Jackson Street. In 1884, a fire started in the hotel across the street and several buildings were destroyed, including the De Motta Barbershop.[466] By the next year, however, he was back barbering in the same location, now with multiple employees, but in a much larger shop than the tiny one before.[467] Called "our enterprising barber," the local newspaper wrote that it was "a palatial tonsorial establishment," and the finest shop in the United States. [468] By 1890, Da Motta might have moved his shop to 644 SE Jackson Street. His success allowed him to also own a ranch and he kept a stable of racehorses in town.

By 1900, Da Motta had moved to California. Elmer took over the barber shop although it might have moved to 548 SE Jackson Street later on.[469] Elmer married a white school teacher from Roseburg in 1904 in Portland.[470] Despite having prior support of the Roseburg community, this led locals to boycott his shop but Elmer persevered for years, operating the shop before selling it in 1910.[471] Elmer and his wife would rent a house at 515 SE Spruce Street in a house that faced the train tracks before moving to Oregon City c. 1913.[472]

A branch of Deer Creek, DaMotta Branch, two miles east of Roseburg, is named after Philip. [473]

Reuben R. Crawford (Hood River)

Reuben Crawford lived in Hood River in 1870 having moved from Missouri following the end of the Civil War.[474] Born into slavery, he worked on the USS Merrimack—a Confederate ship that "revolutionized naval warfare"—during the war.[475] It had been previously scuttled by the Union in Norfolk at the beginning of the war and the Confederates rebuilt it as an ironclad warship in 1861.[476] Crawford and his wife, Vina, and their four children emigrated here with a fifth child born in Oregon. The family lived in Hood River, a town of only 85 people, with a white farmer family. They were the only Black people enumerated there in 1870. They stayed in Hood River for a few years and moved to Portland by 1872. Crawford worked a variety of jobs, including as a ship caulker in Portland, sealing and repairing hulls to be leak-free just as he did on the Merrimack.[477]

[464] "Local Brevities," *Roseburg Review*, August 12, 1882, 3.
[465] "Roseberg's Favorite Barber," *Roseburg Review*, March 17, 1883.
[466] "Roseburg's Fire," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, August 22, 1884, 3.
[467] Philip Da Motta Barbershop, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:US_Signal_Service_Office_over_Philip_Da_Motta%27s_Barber_Shop_-_Roseburg,_Oregon.jpg
[468] "Local Items," *Roseburg Review*, March 27, 1885, 3; "Da Motta's Tonsorial Establishment," *Roseburg Review*, February 27, 1885, 3; "Here and There," *Roseburg Review*, March 13, 1885, 3.
[469] *Polk's Douglas County (Oregon) Directory, 1910*, Portland, R.L. Polk & Co., 1910.
[470] "Surprised His Friends," *The Plaindealer*, December 15, 1904, 3.
[471] Lenwood G. Davis, "Sources for History of Blacks in Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol.73. Number 3, September 1972, 206.
[472] *Polk's Douglas, Jackson, and Josephine County (Oregon) Directory, 1910*, Portland, R.L. Polk & Co., 1910.
[473] Davis, 206.
[474] Crawford lived 1827 (born in Virginia or Missouri) to 1918.
[475] "R. Crawford, Veteran Shipbuilder, Helped Build the Monitor," *Oregon Daily Journal*, April 10, 1918, 7.
[476] "Slavery Days Recalled," *Morning Oregonian*, January 2, 1911, 11.
[477] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 176.

Sybil Haber (Lakeview)

Sybil Haber was a well-respected nurse and midwife in Lakeview.[478, 479] She moved to Lakeview in 1888, following her 14-year-old son, Bert, who moved there first to work at a sawmill.[480] As context, in 1890, Lake County had nine Black people out of a small population of 2,604. Sybil did housework for local families and cooked on nearby ranches during her first years there. Later she operated a restaurant and boarding house. After closing the boarding house, Sybil opened a baby nursery in the house that she had purchased. With no hospital in Lakeview in the early 1900s, Sybil's nursery provided maternity care and care for the sick and injured. The **Sybil Harber House/Haber-Flynn** (**21 N H Street**), where her practice was located, still stands today.[481] She died c. 1917 and is buried at the **Salem Pioneer Cemetery**.

John Downer (Lane County)

John W. Downer was one of the first Black residents of Lane County.[482] Born in the West Indies, Downer arrived in the United States in 1854. It's unknown how and when he arrived in Oregon, but he had become a resident by the late 1880s, if not by the late 1870s. According to the 1900 census, he was both literate and a landowner with a mining claim at the Treasure Mine in the Blue River mining district, 45 miles east of Eugene. At this time, there were 17 Black residents living in the entire county.

Downer was known to have been on good terms with other prominent miners and landowners in the county, including the then-owners of The First National Bank in Eugene. People who knew him described him as honest, honorable, and hardworking.

For the last twenty to thirty years of his life, he lived in a cabin on his ranch, apparently on his own. Sometime in 1909, he became ill and was cared for by neighbors. After suffering injuries from a fire that burned down his cabin, he was transported to a hospital in Eugene, where he passed away on June 2, 1909. His obituary in the *Morning Register* said Downer "was a man of unquestioned honor and integrity, and those who had dealing with him regarded him as the soul of honor."[483] Downer is buried in Eugene's **I.O.O.F. Pioneer Cemetery** (**1001 E 18th Avenue**) on a plot purchased by his banker friends.

Wiley Griffon (Lane County)

In Eugene, Wiley G. Griffon operated the **Eugene & College Hill Street Railway** (1891-c. 1902) and became a well-liked and respected figure in the community.[484] Griffon was born in Illinois and moved to Texas in his early twenties with his employer, W. H. Holden. Holden and Griffon then relocated to Eugene c. 1891 to start a mule-drawn streetcar line—the first streetcar in the city. In 1900, Eugene had three Black residents out of 3,236 total. Griffon operated all aspects of the business for a few years and remained a part of its operations until the end of the line's service. He was well-known for his timely and courteous service.

He then became a janitor at the University of Oregon in Friendly Hall (extant), making him the first African American employee at The University of Oregon. He subsequently worked a wide variety of jobs (hotel porter, house cleaner, logger, dining car worker, salesman, etc.) in Eugene, the surrounding areas, and as far away as Pendleton, Oregon. In 1908, Griffon purchased a home on E. 4th Avenue and Mill Street, making him the first Black homeowner in Eugene.

[478] Her last name is sometime noted as "Harber." Sources vary regarding her specific birth date, but she was born in Missouri in December, sometime between 1853 and 1856. Died 1918. Her maiden name is not known. She was known locally as "Aunt Sib."

[479] Marie Lee, "Celebrating Black History Month: Remembering Sybil and Bert Harber," *Lake County Examiner*, February 7, 2022. See also United States Census Records, 1880-1950. Accessed via http://www.ancestry.com, May 2022.

[480] No information could be found about the father of her son Bert, but she was widowed, according to census records.

[481] Listed in the OHSD as the Harber-Flynn House/Sybil Harber House (Res. Id. No. 43141) – 21 N. H Street, Lakeview.

[482] Downer was born c. 1840 and died in 1909.

[483] Heather Kliever, "Museum Rediscovers a Black Pioneer of Lane County," Eugene Weekly, February 16, 2017, https://eugeneweekly.com/2017/02/16/museum-rediscovers-a-black-pioneer-of-lane-county/, accessed March 2023.

[484] Wiley Griffon was born c. 1867. His date of death is unknown.

In 1910, he was one of six Black residents in Eugene, which was the fourth largest city in Oregon behind Portland, Salem, and Astoria. He was employed there as a janitor at The Elks Club at the time of his death in 1913, when his obituary called him Eugene's "best known colored citizen."[485] He is buried at the **Eugene Masonic Cemetery (University Street and E 25th Avenue**).[486]

William "John" Livingstone (Clackamas County)

William "John" Livingstone came to Oregon in 1864 as a free man, traveling with his employer and former enslaver, Joseph Ringo.[487] To get to Oregon, Livingstone rode in a wooden box through Nebraska to avoid being seen by Union troops who were rumored to be forcing Black people to separate from their current, or in this case former, enslavers. They remained in Nebraska a few months then departed again for Oregon, ending in Oregon City—the county seat of Clackamas County. Ringo established a farm in Clarkes (between Oregon City and Molalla) and Livingstone became a well-known farmer in his own right.

For context, relatively high numbers of Black people resided in Clackamas County throughout this era compared to other counties, but they never consistently lived in the early center of population—Oregon City. Despite their relatively high numbers in the county, Black residents represented a very low percentage of the relatively large total county population.[488] Additionally, they were spread out in the many rural communities, predominantly working jobs commonly held by Black Oregonians in this era with an especially high number of farm laborers. A few, like Livingstone, owned their own farms.

Livingstone either acquired the property by being gifted it by the Ringos or by purchasing it himself. He initially farmed 40 acres of land near the Ringos. As a farmer, he was a prominent member of the State Grange—a sort of farmer advocacy group at the time.[489]

In 1876, he married Alice Cooper and, together, had one child together, Charles.[490]

Livingstone's industrious efforts and frugal ways allowed him to save enough money to start purchasing land, which he would occasionally sell to other emigrants. He even sold land to his former owner in 1872.[491] Livingstone would eventually purchase 40 acres in Marion County and 160 acres in Lake County and was part owner of a mining company. He became wealthy as a result of his various investments.[492]

In addition to being a farmer, Livingstone worked as a teamster, driving a team of horses hauling lumber in Oregon City. It was not uncommon for Black men in the 19th and 20th centuries to have employment transporting people and goods from place to place.

---

[485] "Negro Who Once Ran Streetcar System of Eugene, OR., Expires," *Oregon Daily Journal*, June 29, 1913, 9.

[486] Douglas P. Card, "Little House on the Millrace, Eugene's Pioneer Black Homeowner" *Lane County Historian*, Eugene Oregon: Lane County Historical Society, 3-7. The building is no longer standing, and the site is now occupied by the Eugene Water and Electric Board Credit Union employee parking lot.

[487] Livingstone was born into slavery in Missouri in c. 1838. He was a childhood friend of Mark Twain. His original last name was Ringo after his enslaver Joseph Ringo. He adopted the surname of Livingstone after the African explorer around 1870. He died in 1912. See McLagan, 68-69.

[488] Black residents totaled 0.1% in beginning of era and increased to 0.03% of total population at the end.

[489] "John Livingstone to Be Buried Today," *Morning Enterprise*, August 11, 1912, 1.

[490] Alice Cooper was born in Missouri or Kentucky and had come to Oregon in 1861, living near Albany. Charles Irvin Livingstone lived 1876-1958.

[491] Clackamas County Historical Society, "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841-1864," June 19, 2021, http://clackamashistory.org/from-the-pages-of-history-cchs-blog/2021/3/27/black-americans-in-early-oregon-city-1840-1900, accessed January 16, 2024.

[492] Ibid.

In the few years before his death, he was a farm laborer and, when he died in 1912, was employed in a sawmill in Oregon City.[493] He had a large estate when he died totaling $1,500.[494] Hundreds attended his funeral. As "one of the best-known men in Clackamas County," he was memorialized as a man of unparalleled honesty and honor.[495]

William and Alice are buried in the **Clarkes Pioneer Cemetery** (**S Beavercreek Road** near Colton).[496]

Titus Clark (Oregon City)

Titus Clark was a cook with his own restaurant on Main Street in Oregon City sometime around 1870.[497] His reputation as a chef garnered him business in Portland for parties and banquets. Clark came to Oregon from New York around the horn by steamship. He married a Wasco tribe woman and had five children together.[498]

ERA 4: INTERWAR YEARS, THE GREAT DEPRESSION, AND THE KKK (1920-1941)

Overview of Era 4

This era of Oregon's African American history is roughly bookended by the years following World War I and the beginning of World War II. It begins in 1920, coinciding with the year of the U.S. Census. Following the fast pace of change during World War I, the nation was catapulted into the "Roaring Twenties"—a decade of swiftly changing economic and social change. Then, with the start of the Great Depression and its ensuing decimation of the American economy, Oregon suffered like the rest of the nation. Era 4 ends a couple of years beyond the conclusion of the Great Depression when the start of World War II—covered in Era 5—brought perhaps the most significant change for Black Oregonians in this study.

Two decades long, each decade of this era presented its own unique challenges for Black Oregonians. The interwar period also marked a low point in race relations in America and this was possibly the most dangerous and hostile time to be Black in Oregon.[499] The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in the beginning of the 1920s created a short but terrifying period in Oregon's history. Later, the extreme unemployment brought about by the Great Depression compounded the struggles of being Black in Oregon.

Population-wise, by the end of the era, the numbers of Black Oregonians outside of Portland was lower than it had been at the beginning of the era. Additionally, the population count of all Black Oregonians, including those in Portland, during the two decades was at a near standstill, especially when compared to the other eras within this MPD. However, even with the decrease in the Black population outside of Portland, a few of Oregon's secondary Black population centers expanded and provided an increased degree of community. Some new and fascinating elements will also be presented in this era: the development of two unique populations of African Americans in Maxville and Vernonia, the creation of multitudinous federal programs that brought new Black residents to rural regions of the state, and an increase in the number of Black students at Oregon's colleges and universities.

[493] "Local Briefs," *Morning Enterprise*, July 16, 1912, 3.
[494] Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers, Part II," 176.
[495] Ibid.
[496] McLagan, 68–69. The Livingston farm is relatively undeveloped and may hold archaeological material associated with the Livingston household.
[497] Titus Clark was born c.1815 in New York and died c. 1876.
[498] "Local News Items," *Oregon City Courier-Herald*, September 13, 1901, 5.
[499] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

The Roaring Twenties

With the conclusion of World War I at the end of the previous era, the United States faced a recession, labor conflicts, and some of the worst race riots in history. African Americans developed a "growing unwillingness to slip quietly back in the second-class position" they had assumed before all the changes brought about by the war.[500] Combined with increased immigration, the attendant fears of foreign political influence, and the continued migration of African Americans out of the South, the "Roaring Twenties" began trying to confront the fast pace of change. This resistance was intended as a bulwark against the new influences and threats, as well as to protect and promote Americanism.[501] It led to things like a restricting of immigration, the suppression of perceived threats, a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, and the Prohibition movement to restrict alcohol.[502] Prohibition created a demand for underground economies, which, for Black people experiencing high unemployment, created more opportunities for Blacks to be harassed by police and prosecuted. The decade also led to a booming national economy.

Within Oregon, however, the tensions were not as pronounced as in some other parts of the country. Additionally, the roar of the economy also never really recovered what the state lost when the war's stimulus ceased. After the war, over 50,000 people left Oregon in search of other opportunities.[503] Black Oregonians were affected by increased unemployment as jobs, in declining number, were being preferentially given to veterans. [504] The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon also had a profound effect.

The Ku Klux Klan

In Oregon, the Ku Klux Klan had a powerful but short-lived presence starting in 1921. The organization originated in the 1860s in the South and, in 1915, a second iteration started in Georgia. It reached a peak membership in the early 1920s with at least a few million members. The Klan's guiding principles were hatred of and superiority over non-white, non-Protestant people and recent immigrants.

Oregon membership reached its peak in 1923—growing quickly from zero to approximately 35,000 registered members in two years. Members comprised 18 chapters in 17 different Oregon cities. Oregon had the highest Klan membership per capita of any state in the country—one out of every 20 Oregonians was a member. In Tillamook, for example, approximately 10% of the population was a member of the local chapter. The reasons white Oregonians joined varied, although it seems fair to assume that nearly all were bigoted in their outlooks. Reportedly, many members originally joined for the camaraderie and furthering of political influence. Others had joined as a panacea for boredom and a lack of purpose.[505]

In Oregon, the Ku Klux Klan primarily targeted other white people, as the primary goal was to promote nationalist and Protestant fervor in order to stoke fear of illegal immigrants, Catholics, and Jews.[506] Oregon's chapters did not focus on Black people because the small population was not seen as a significant threat, according to Black Studies Professor Darrell Millner.[507] They did, however, target Black-owned businesses, especially in small towns, where Blacks were more isolated and defenseless, forcing them to abandon their livelihoods and move elsewhere.[508] For instance, business

[500] Galbraith et al., "African American Resources in Portland from 1851-1973 MPD," E-123.
[501] McLagan, 120.
[502] Oregon Secretary of State, "Oregon and the Roaring Twenties," https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww1/Pages/oregon-roaring-twenties.aspx, accessed February 16, 2024.
[503] Ibid.
[504] "Colored Who Are Idle in Oregon 3500," *Oregon Statesman*, April 16, 1921, 1.
[505] Ben Bruce, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon During the 1920s," Voces Novae: Vol. 11, Article 2, 2019.
[506] Kami Horton, "A century ago, the Ku Klux Klan terrorized Southern Oregon," February 21, 2022, "A https://www.opb.org/article/2022/02/21/a-century-ago-the-ku-klux-klan-terrorized-southern-oregon/, accessed February 16, 2024.
[507] Horton, "A century ago, the Ku Klux Klan terrorized Southern Oregon."
[508] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 134.

owners in Oregon City and Salem received threatening letters, demanding that they leave town.[509] Additionally, crosses were burned on public landmarks in La Grande, Eugene, and Bend. The La Grande, Astoria, and Salem chapters also held military-style parades through the city's commercial core.[510]

There were also a handful of incidents against Black Oregonians that were more brutal and terrifying. In 1922, there was a series of "night riding" attacks in Southern Oregon's Jackson County. Of the three men targeted, only one was a Black man. George Arthur Burr had been arrested on charges related to Prohibition violations. He had moved to Medford from the South a couple of years prior and worked as a bootblack and a hotel porter. When he was released from jail, hooded men abducted him, put a rope around his neck, and hoisted him into the air three times. When they let him go, they threatened to kill him if he did not leave town, firing their guns towards him as he fled for his life.[511]

Of note, before the Ku Klux Klan started in Medford, there were 65 Black people living in Jackson County. Thirty-eight of them—many a part of the Mathews family—were in Eagle Point. By 1930, the county population of Black residents was only 18, scattered in a range of cities and towns, and ten years later it was only six. While Black people would continue to be counted in subsequent censuses, the terror of the Ku Klux Klan had a profound effect on the Black population in the county. Black people did not return to Jackson County in any significant numbers until the 1980s.

Another Klan kidnapping and near-lynching of a Black man happened in 1923 to Perry Ellis—the only Black resident at the time in Oregon City.[512] He was the owner of an auto-washing business and a rodeo cowboy. He was targeted for his reported interactions with white women in the city.[513]

The next year, a Black man, Timothy F. Pettis, was killed in Coos Bay. For many years it was widely suspected that the Ku Klux Klan was directly involved given the strong membership in the city.[514] If not, the spirit engendered by the Klan certainly emboldened Pettis' killers.[515] His body was mutilated so badly that one newspaper at the time called it one of the most brutal crimes in the history of the state.[516]

The Klan had robust political influence and Walter Pierce—a gubernatorial candidate that the KKK endorsed—won the 1922 election.[517] City leaders, mayors, and sheriffs were members in at least Salem, Medford, and Astoria. However, the few incidents of Klan violence in Oregon hastened the rapid demise of most chapters. Many members were appalled by the extreme nature of these acts. Political candidates supported by the Klan lost their elections in 1923 and 1924, and by 1925 most chapters had closed.[518] A few Oregon chapters hung on a bit longer, such as Tillamook's which continued until 1928.[519]

---

[509] Horton, "A century ago, the Ku Klux Klan terrorized Southern Oregon."

[510] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 133.

[511] Ibid.

[512] Ibid, 134.

[513] "U.S. Interested in Lynching Episode," *Oregon Journal*, July 9, 1923, 2; "Canby Round-Up Thrills," *Morning Oregonian*, August 29, 1922, 13; "Oregon City," *The Advocate*, June 16, 1923, 4.

[514] McLagan, 128.

[515] Ibid.

[516] "Marshfield Negroes Appeal to Governor," *Roseburg News-Review*, July 14, 1924, 6; "Murder Investigation Requested by Governor," *Oregon Journal*, July 15, 1924, 2.

[517] The Klan endorsed Walter Pierce for governor primarily because he supported an anti-Catholic compulsory school bill that was heavily backed by the KKK. Pierce also supported a 1923 law that was directed at immigrant Japanese people, prohibiting them from owning or leasing land. When Pierce supported Progressive Party presidential candidate Robert LaFollette in 1924, he lost favor with the Klan and fellow democrats, and eventually lost the race for governor in 1926. However, he ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1932 and served for 10 years. See William G. Robbins, "Walter Pierce (1861-1954," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/pierce_walter_1861_1954_/, accessed February 26, 2024.

[518] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 278.

[519] Ibid.

The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan likely played a significant role in the Black depopulation of towns, cities, and entire counties in this era. For example, Josephine County (where Grants Pass is located) had four Black families (22 people) in 1920, yet ten years later all these families left the county and no other Blacks resided there. Even if the KKK was not the sole cause for the change given the organization's short life in Oregon, it certainly emboldened citizens to continue harassing and threatening Black people. One example of this were signs placed on the edges of some towns, mostly in southwestern Oregon, warning Black people to stay away. Acknowledged as "Sundown Towns," these were places where Blacks were in heightened danger of harassment, arrest, and violence if seen after dark. Such towns included Eugene, Tillamook, Klamath Falls, Medford, and Grants Pass.[520] While civil rights might have been legally guaranteed for Black people, white Oregonians found ways to scare them away and to restrict others from moving to a new area—in effect, a continuation of the exclusion laws from Era 2. Sundown Towns persisted in Oregon for decades to come.[521] One sign at the edge of Grants Pass persisted into the 1960s/70s, warning any Black person passing it to not "…let the sun come down on you here."[522]

The Great Depression

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the severe unemployment it caused spawned another migration of people—both Black and white—towards Oregon's cities. They were, once again, mainly coming to Portland seeking work and services. Large numbers of Oregonians left the state in search of a better life while others relocated to Oregon from areas even harder hit by unemployment and agricultural ruin in the Dust Bowl states.[523] Conversely, some tried to weather the tough times by moving to more rural areas in search of enough land to support their own vegetable garden and a cow.[524] But the previous mainstays of Oregon's economy—fishing, farming, mining—all continued their decline. Mines and factories shuttered.[525] Even the state's mills were hard hit despite the lumber industry remaining strong following the end of World War I. The Great Depression changed even that, with some operations closing completely.

Racism and discrimination permeated the competitive job market during the Depression. Black workers were laid off before white workers and desperate white workers were given priority for jobs that had historically been held by African Americans. Black people endured significantly higher unemployment rates and received less governmental assistance during the Depression.[526] Many Black-owned businesses in Oregon closed, making it harder for them and their Black employees to make a living.

The Great Depression also saw the creation of New Deal programs in an urgent response to the growing unemployment dilemma, which had reached an all-time high in 1933.[527] The purpose of the New Deal was to aid the recovery of the economy, reform the financial system, and to provide relief to the poor and unemployed. For Black Oregonians, a few of these programs are noteworthy for the opportunities they provided and will be discussed next.

Civilian Conservation Corps and Works Progress Administration

In 1933, the U.S government established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—a work program intended for the unemployed. From 1933 until 1942, millions of CCC enrollees (nearly all young men) provided labor for a wide range

[520] Loewen, 410.
[521] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 137-138.
[522] "Sunrise Project," https://oregonremembrance.org/sunrise-project/, accessed February 16, 2024.
[523] Gail Wells, "The Oregon Coast—Forists and Green Verdent Launs" [sic], *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/the-oregon-coastforists-and-green-verdent-launs/unions-and-hard-times/the-great-depression-2/, accessed February 16, 2024.
[524] Klamath Falls and Altamont, Oregon, Samuel N. Dicken, *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, Vol. 47 (1985), 33-35.
[525] Gail Wells, "The Oregon Coast—Forists and Green Verdent Launs" [sic].
[526] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 136.
[527] Sarah Munro, "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Oregon New Deal Resources from the PWA and WPA, 1933-1943," Washington, DC: DOI, NPS, 2021, 9.

of projects on public lands and in parks throughout the United States.[528] CCC laborers primarily worked in resource protection, land conservation, and infrastructure-related projects, a majority of which were overseen by the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service. Their work did, however, also include projects in state and county parks. Camps for corpsmen were organized and located within close proximity to project areas under the Department of the Army.

During the early years of the program, approximately 200,000 African Americans were enrolled in the CCC. Black men accounted for nearly 6% of total enrollment at the beginning and reached 10% in 1935.[529] [530] Despite a clause in the program that prohibited discrimination on account of "race, color, or creed," African American enrollees were disproportionately represented in many states and officials in southern states deliberately excluded Black men from joining the CCC.[531] Race-based discrimination was present in all aspects of the CCC program as described by author and historian William Lansing:

> When the CCC began, few efforts were made to actively recruit African Americans. Many states, particularly in the South, passed over qualified black applicants to enroll whites. Black CCC enrollees routinely faced hostile local communities, endured racist attitudes in individual CCC camps from Army and Forest Service supervisors, and found limited opportunities for assuming leadership positions within the CCC's administrative structure. This inhospitable environment was aided by the absence of a sustained commitment on the part of the Roosevelt Administration to end racist practices within the Corps.[532]

CCC camps were initially integrated, especially in regions of the country with low Black populations that could not support the need for separate camps. Integrated camps were also an intentional part of the legislation that established the CCC; Oscar DePriest (the only Black member of Congress at the time) reportedly contributed to this component of the legislation. Later, by 1934, after the public expressed complaints about the integrated camps, mainly in the East, Congress moved to enforce segregated camps. By 1935, the CCC director Rober Fechner ordered that all camps should be segregated in eastern and southern states.[533]

While company camps in the west were integrated, there were reports of racial segregation that occurred in some camps in Oregon. Between 70,000 to 80,000 enrollees worked in Oregon. In 1933, at least 450 African American CCC enrollees traveled as part of an integrated company from Chicago to join the first worker camps established in the Pacific Northwest, including in Oregon.[534] They engaged in conservation efforts, wildfire protection, and contributed to the development of roads, trails, campgrounds, and numerous structures and buildings in public lands widely dispersed throughout all regions of the state. Most of the projects and their associated camps were within national parks and national forests, although numerous Oregon state parks were also included. A couple notable projects in the state were the improvement of trails and campgrounds in Crater Lake National Park and the completion of irrigation projects for the Bureau of Reclamation in central and eastern Oregon.

---

[528] Ibid.

[529] Tom Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1993, 219-220.

[530] Olen Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999, 13-14.

[531] Cole, 14.

[532] William Lansing, *Camps and Calluses: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Southwestern Oregon*, North Bend: self-published, 2014, 40-41.

[533] "Civilian Conservation Corps," *Oregon Public Broadcasting* (Portland), November 2, 2009, https://www.opb.org/television/programs/oregon-experience/article/civilian-conservation-corps-/, accessed February 16, 2024.

[534] Donna Sinclair and Richard McClure, eds., *"No Goldbricking Here: Oral Histories of the CCC in the Columbia National Forest, 1933-1942,"*(Vancouver, WA and Portland: Heritage Program, Gifford Pinchot National Forest and History Department, Portland State University), 2003, 6, https://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/fseprd895558.pdf.

By 1940, there were a total of 61 CCC camps in Oregon. One integrated camp was the **Pine Grove CCC Camp Site** in Wasco County. Company 616 from Chicago was headquartered there and, during its brief tenure in Oregon, conducted fence-mending projects on private lands near Wapinitia (five miles east of this site).[535]

Camp Rand (just south of the Rand Ranger Station) was in operation from 1933 to 1941 and located along the Rogue River, roughly 25 miles northwest of Grants Pass. Camp Rand enrollees made improvements to the **Rand Ranger Station** (**14335 Galice Road**; listed in the National Register), constructed roads, and built numerous buildings and structures, including a suspension bridge (no longer extant) over the Rogue River.[536] Although Camp Rand was integrated, about 25 Black men, part of the initial enrollment, were segregated. They slept in separate barracks, were excluded from weekly excursions into Grants Pass, and were required to play on a separate baseball team.[537]

Nine years after its formation, the CCC abruptly disbanded when the United States entered World War II in 1941. Worker camps closed and most CCC enrollees went overseas to serve in the armed forces. Funding for public projects and services diminished as resources were redirected to the war effort.

Similar in nature and scale to the Civilian Conservation Corps was the Works Progress Administration (WPA)—another New Deal program but one that focused on projects closer to urban areas. In Oregon, WPA projects built or improved 4,949 miles of roadways, 430 bridges and viaducts, 9,639 culverts, 252 schools, 88 parks, 226 playgrounds/athletic fields, 14 wading/swimming pools, 22 utility plants, more than 17,000 sanitary privies, 22 landing fields and their runways, and six airport buildings.[538] In addition to Portland, the WPA had bases in Pendleton, Medford, and Salem.

Across the nation, approximately 250,000 African Americans were working on WPA projects in 1935. In 1939, Black men comprised 14% of the enrollment but at the end of 1942 it had risen to 20% as more white enrollees left for war-related jobs.[539] While it is unknown what percentage of Oregon's WPA enrollment was Black, the program was a segregated one. It is also unknown what projects, if any, Black WPA enrollees contributed to in Oregon.

Residential Restrictions

Restricting where people can live based on their race, as has been told in previous eras, was a long-standing and prominent part of Oregon's government and social history. In this era, the National Association of Real Estate Board produced its first code of ethics in 1924, providing guidance to realtors regarding relations between their clients, fellow realtors, and the communities where they worked. The code supported covenants that prevented the sale of properties to African Americans and other minority groups. These restrictions became common in white neighborhoods after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the legality of the practice.[540] In the 1930s, "redlining" began nationwide wherein certain neighborhoods were considered "hazardous" to investment because of their numbers of racial minorities and low-income renters. The Federal Housing Administration—another New Deal government agency—produced color-coded maps that denoted levels of risk for real estate investment based on factors such as race, home values, and proximity of industrial sites. The color red identified neighborhoods where the greatest risk was.

[535] The camp has been recorded a**s site 35WA800**. See Pettit, Daniel Jr. *Post-Fire Survey of 64 Acres in the Pine Grove Unit of White River Wildlife Area*, Salem: Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, 2020, 11. On file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 32289.

[536] The camp is recorded as **site 35JO15**. See Jim Reed, "Rand National Historic Site: CCC Camp Rand - Galice OR," Living New Deal, November 15, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/sites/rand-national-historic-site-ccc-camp-rand-galice-or/.

[537] Kay Atwood, Dennis Gray, and Ward Tonsfeldt, *"The Best Year I Spent in My Entire Life: the Civilian Conservation Corps at Camp Rand (F-75), Josephine County, Oregon,"* Ashland: Cascade Research, LLC, 2004, 44-45.

[538] Munro, 26.

[539] Ibid, 25.

[540] "NAREB Code of Ethics," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/nareb-code-of-ethics/, accessed February 16, 2024.

The practice served to hamper investments in traditionally Black neighborhoods that would have otherwise naturally occurred through the transfer, upkeep, and updating of houses. While Portland was the only city in Oregon to have a color-coded map produced, the continual residential segregation of Black people was now more formally sanctioned. That said, cities such as Klamath Falls, Pendleton, and La Grande did not have formal maps, but investment was discouraged due to areas of high Black residency. The practice of redlining and its legacy would continue into the next era even when and after it became illegal.

Race Relations and Portland Influences

Discrimination and segregation were prominently evident during this era. Segregation in public settings like employment, entertainment, and education were a fact of life. Blacks were disadvantaged by discrimination by banks, the real estate profession, the judicial system, the media, and by popular culture. Often, this discriminatory treatment extended to interpersonal hostility and physical violence. And, if not, the threat of it was omnipresent.[541] These factors in the lives of Black Oregonians had always been evident. But during this era, there was an increase in civil rights advocates taking note. They would speak up, publicize, and challenge these racist practices. Additionally, many Black churches and some white congregations became beacons for racial justice, offering advocates a gathering place to organize their efforts. They also provided health and hygiene programs, choral groups, church dinners and teas, parties, picnics, concerts, and social services.[542] In the 1930 census, 30% of the total Black population were members of a church and that there was one Black church for every 203 Black Oregonians.[543]

It is important to note that Portland was the epicenter of the Black experience in Oregon during Era 4, as the city was home to about 70% of all Black Oregonians and also served as the base for racial justice advocates working in the state.

Newspapers

The Black press began in Portland during the previous era with newspapers. The *New Age* was the first and was in publication from 1896 until 1907. By that point, another more potent publication had begun, also in Portland. *The Advocate* ran from 1903 until 1937 in Portland and provided Oregon's Black community with an outlet to express themselves and learn about events relevant to their lives.[544] It was a weekly newspaper pertaining to Black people of Portland, but also provided coverage about, and to, the rest of Oregon. In addition to the more mundane topics like society news, and announcements of births and deaths of African Americans, there was ample coverage of Jim Crow segregation, discrimination, and attempts to further deprive Black people of their rights.

NAACP

The most notable advocate for fair treatment of Black Oregonians was the Portland chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This entity started in Portland in 1914. While based in Portland, the organization advocated for changes that benefitted African Americans throughout the state. They were instrumental in pushing back against the mania of the Ku Klux Klan.[545] They also helped initiate legislation at the state level that successfully removed the exclusionary clauses from Oregon's Constitution.[546]

---

[541] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[542] Daniel G. Hill Jr., "The Negro in Oregon, A Survey," Masters Thesis, University of Oregon, June 1932, 80. Daniel G. Hill, Jr. received his M.A. from the University of Oregon in 1932, and among his many accolades went on to become Dean of the Howard University School of Religion. He lived, worked, and studied in Oregon from 1929 until 1932. "Daniel G. Hill, 83, Dies," *Washington Post*, October 24, 1979, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1979/10/24/daniel-g-hill-83-dies/91d2194f-c597-47a7-b813-1a09c3c56319/, accessed March 2023.

[543] Ibid, 78-79.

[544] Kimberly Mangun, "The Advocate," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, 2022, www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/advocate, accessed March 10, 2023.

[545] McLagan, 140.

[546] Kathy Tucker, "Portland Chapter NAACP 50th Anniversary," *Oregon History Project*, the Oregon Historical Society, 2002, www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/portland-chapter-naacp-50th-anniversary, accessed March 10, 2023.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

In 1925, Pullman porters founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). After a lengthy battle, the BSCP was officially recognized in 1937, making it the first African American labor union to sign a bargaining agreement with a major company.[547] The BSCP's president was A. Philip Randolph, who—together with other BSCP leaders—would later play essential roles in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.[548] As such, the BCSP can be seen as one of the direct precursors to the movement, as labor rights and civil rights are inextricably connected.

Repeals of the Constitution

Following the worst offenses of the Ku Klux Klan, the opinions of the public had changed enough to tip the balance of the vote towards those in favor of protecting the rights of Black people. Archaic elements of the 1859 state constitution that barred Black people from entering the state or purchasing property still existed, despite being made illegitimate with the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments. While adjoining states had mostly repealed their own exclusionary provisions around the time the U.S. Constitution was amended, Oregon failed to do so in at least two previous attempts.[549]

In 1926, the state legislature submitted a bill that was ultimately approved by the voters to repeal the provision that denied the right of Black people to visit, reside, own property, make contracts, and engage in litigation in the state. One year later, another legislative bill was also approved by the voters to remove the constitutional article denying the right of Black people to vote. Since the existing laws remained "on the books" but no longer held any legal power, repealing it was a symbolic act; however, a very powerful one. [550] For Black Oregonians, it must have provided a modicum of justice.

Population Trends

In the interwar period marked by this era of 1920-1941, the population of Black Oregonians continued to grow, but at a much slower pace. The 40% growth per decade that ended the previous era had now slowed in this short era to 4.2% during the 1920s and then 14.8% in 1930s. Small spikes in Black populations occurred in locations with already established Black communities but also in areas where employment was most available.

Most notably, the population of Black residents in Portland hardly grew at all during the 1920s and was outpaced by the rest of the state. In the 1930s, Blacks living outside of Portland declined in absolute numbers. In fact, the number fell below what it was at the beginning of this era, down to around 565. Meanwhile, growth in Portland was up again but not nearly as high as was seen in the previous era.

[547] "Union History," A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum, 2022, www.aprpullmanportermuseum.org/about-museum/union-history/3, accessed March 9, 2023.
[548] "Pullman Porters.," https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/pullman-porters, accessed January 20, 2024.
[549] McLagan, 52-60.
[550] McLagan, 21-24.

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1920 to 1940									
Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1920s	580	634	9.3%	2,144	2,234	4.2%	1,556	1,559	0.2%
1930s	634	565	-11.0%	2,234	2,565	14.8%	1,559	1,931	23.8%

Figure 5 - Growth of Oregon's Black Populations from 1920 to 1940.

Many counties, not all in Western Oregon, enumerated several dozen Black individuals in their census records in this era. In 1930, the state had 36 counties. Most counties (24) had less than ten Black residents. Five counties, other than Multnomah, had between 10 and 40 Black people. Six counties had more than 40 with one of them, Klamath County, enumerating 101 African Americans. Two counties had a sudden influx of dozens of Black workers as will be told in detail later in this era.

Of note in this era, railroad jobs provided employment to African Americans in isolated locales with no other Black people. In 1930, there were a handful of Black workers in Locust Grove in Sherman County working as part of a 100-plus-man mixed-race team.[551] In 1920, a Black man named John Adams was a 54-year-old supervisor for a team of laborers responsible for a section of track near Madras. He was the only Black person in Madras at the time.

Locations of High Black Populations Outside of Portland

Black people tended to move away from the smaller cities towards the larger ones by this era and even more so during the early parts of it. Accordingly, only a couple of the Secondary Black Population Centers profiled in the previous era appear again in this one. Cities like Baker City, Coos Bay, The Dalles, and those in Jackson County all ceased being home to noteworthy numbers of Black people. Pendleton remained as one of the strongest locations of Black communities with Salem now having far fewer than the previous era. Interestingly, a couple other cities started attracting African Americans in rather large numbers. Surprisingly, so did a few isolated rural locales as will be described below.

Salem and Marion County

Salem and Marion County was one of a few places where Black people lived in relatively substantial number outside of Portland in 1920. They would continue to do so throughout the relatively brief era. As for Oregon cities other than Portland, only Pendleton and Eagle Point had more Black people in 1920. Census numbers for Salem, however, are a bit deceiving. Salem, as the state capitol, had a relatively large number of state-run institutions where the sick, disabled, and incarcerated lived. In 1920, there were 63 black people enumerated in Salem but only 25 of this number were living in the community—still enough to make it the fourth most populous city of Black Oregonians in the state (after Portland, Pendleton, and Eagle Point).

Salem's Black men worked in jobs that were common for African Americans during the era: laborers, domestics, porters, a waiter, and a caterer in a club. William Halsell was different in that he owned his own combination shoe-shining parlor, smoke shop, and confectionary near N. Commercial and N. Liberty Streets.[552] His family had moved to the city in 1912 when he got a job with the railroads. One of Halsell's five children is presented later in this era.

[551] They might have been stationed there while working on the 1897 Columbia Southern Railway from Biggs to Shaniko (with plans to go to Prineville but never did). Since the line was removed entirely by 1966, they might have been dismantling it.

[552] *Polk's Salem City and Marion County (Oregon) Directory, 1924,* Portland: R. L. Polk & Co., 1924, 209.

As another outside-the-mold example, Texas-born Charles Maxwell also owned and operated a shoeshine shop, located on the same block as Halsell's. Maxwell had moved to Salem in 1911 and worked for the Oregon Electric Streetcar depot. Years later, the Ku Klux Klan in the city anonymously threatened the Maxwell business, but Charles refused to leave.[553] The episode did compel the Halsells to leave Salem and they moved to Portland. Maxwell persevered, however, and in 1928 he and his wife Marie opened a restaurant—Fat Boy Barbecue. After enduring year-long city permitting challenges and financial setbacks, they built a two-story building with the restaurant downstairs and apartments upstairs for the family and his adult children. Located at the northeast corner of Capitol Street NE and Erixon Street NE, the restaurant operated with great success for a few years and provided a much-needed social venue for the community.[554, 555]

The Maxwells and the restaurant were also well known and highly regarded in Portland's Black community. Maxwell supplied meat to Richardson's Confectionery and Fountain Lunch in the Golden West Hotel—a Black-owned business that was the first hotel in Portland to accommodate African Americans.[556] Several 1929 advertisements boasted about the beef and pork "barbecued by Fat Boy Maxwell of Salem, Oregon."[557] In 1931, unable to overcome ongoing financial difficulties, the Maxwells closed the restaurant and relocated to California.

In 1930, there were 22 Black people living in Salem (not including those in the city's state institutions). Again, most Black residents were employed in the typical jobs.[558] However, a report from 1936 indicated there were no Black people living in Salem other than those residing in one of the institutions. Many Black people were leaving Oregon following the rise in discrimination with Los Angeles being a popular destination.[559] That said, the final U.S. Census of this era, in 1940, enumerated 19 individuals not in institutions. Those 19 comprised three different households, all dispersed from one another. Aside from working typical jobs, one of the families was headed by the owner of a car-washing business.

In the early 1940s, two famous Black performers, Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson, performed in a few Oregon locales, including at the Mayfair Theatre in Salem.[560] Robeson was a bass-baritone singer and Anderson a contralto. She had performed a critically-acclaimed concert in 1939 on the Lincoln Memorial steps, which was broadcast on the radio to millions. Anderson, especially, was considered an important figure who helped Black artists and entertainers overcome racial prejudice during this era due to her talent, visibility, and civil rights work. However, she, Robeson, and others were not immune to Jim Crow laws and attitudes in the 1930s and 1940s. When they were in Salem, both of the town's hotels had a "no Negro policy," so they took lodging in Portland. Anderson was driven by a local family and Robeson was driven by a young Willamette University student, and later Oregon Governor, Mark O. Hatfield.[561] Around that time in 1940 or as part of the same trip, Marian Anderson performed at the Holly Theatre in Medford. In

[553] Lawrence J. Saalfeld, *Forces of Prejudice in Oregon 1920-1925*, Portland: Archdiocesan Historical Commission, 1984.

[554] Hill, 49-50; *Polk's Salem City and Marion County (Oregon) Directory, 1928-29* (Portland: R. L. Polk & Co., 1928), 279, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2469/images/15588841; *Polk's Salem Directory, 1930-31*, 237, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2469/images/15781577. The Maxwells' home and restaurant are listed under the same address (1940 N Capitol), today the northeast intersection of Capitol St NE and Erixon St NE; Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Maps of Salem, Oregon, Volume One," 1950 ed., New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1926, 135. https://digitalsanbornmaps.proquest.com/browse_maps/38/7429/36297/38035/508962?accountid=14698.

[555] "Barbeque Opposed. Building Violates Zoning Ordinance, Report," *The Oregon Statesman*, February 28, 1928, 8, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1928-02-21/ed-1/seq-8/; "Local News Briefs. Venison Barbecue Held," *The Oregon Statesman*, October 2, 1928, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1928-10-02/ed-1/seq-3/; "Council Move Is Waited By North Salem," *The Capital Journal*, March 21, 1930, 16, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn90066132/1930-03-21/ed-1/seq-16.

[556] Stan Fonseca, "Golden West Hotel," Oregon Encyclopedia, last modified June 5, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/golden_west_hotel/.

[557] The advertisement was published alongside a separate ad for the "Fat Boy Barbecue Inn" that was printed in *The Advocate* from May to June, 1929. Golden West Hotel, "Richardson's Confectionery and Fountain Lunch," advertisement, *The Advocate*, May 4, 1929, 3. https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1929-05-04/ed-1/seq-3/.

[558] Hill, 49.

[559] McLagan, 128.

[560] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 141-142.

[561] Ibid. As a young senator, Hatfield would lead the passing of the 1953 Public Accommodation Law.

the concert promotion, she was described as, "the voice that conquered racial differences, social barriers, and the hearts of thousands upon thousands of Americans."[562] An editorial expressed that the event prompted thoughts on "what the Negro has or may do for the Whites, rather than what the Whites have done for the dark race." [563] As an aside, Marian Anderson died in Portland in 1993, where she was being cared for in her old age by her nephew, James DePreist—conductor of the Oregon Symphony, based in Portland.

Pendleton and Umatilla County

By 1920, the population of Black people in Pendleton numbered 71—an almost doubling from the previous era. Elsewhere in Umatilla County were 13 other Black people making it the most populous for Black people in the state, aside from Portland/Multnomah County. These individuals worked in a variety of service, railroad, and timber/lumber industry jobs.

In Pendleton, most Black people lived on the southwest side of town, many within a few blocks of the train station. Men worked typical jobs with some notable exceptions, including two machinists and a Black man who was a civil engineer from Portland. Two men out of the 71 counted in the census owned their own businesses—one a bootblack and the other a carpet cleaning service. For Black women who worked outside of the home, they tended to work typical domestic jobs, except for one notable case—a woman who owned a lodging house that also housed two other Black lodgers. It was one-and-a-half stories located at the northeast corner of SE 1st Street and SE Frazer Avenue (demolished.)

In 1930 the Black population of Pendleton dropped to 46 Black people as some families had left. The county population also dropped but only slightly to 80. Within Pendleton, Black people mostly remained in the same district and men and women were employed in the same types of jobs. The lodging house was still owned by a Black woman. There were other Black homeowners at this time, although renting a house or a room as a lodger was most common. One example captured in the 1930 Census was Ida M. McAtter who owned her home across from her place of employment at the Pendleton Woolen Mill.

Outside of Pendelton, Black residents of Umatilla County were residing in a relatively high number of precincts.[564] Three-quarters of them were males. Five were in the State Hospital, but many of the remaining ones predominantly worked as laborers, most for the railroads and some on farms. The widely dispersed nature of many, rather than just a few, Black people was unusual for the state. During the 1930s, the Black population of Umatilla County remained one of the largest in the state (outside of Portland), ending the decade with 72 individuals. These were now somewhat less dispersed than ten years prior but still working the same types of jobs.

Within Pendleton, the number mostly stayed the same during the 1930s, rising slightly to 49 at the end of the era although 14 of these people were housed at the Eastern Oregon State Hospital. Those residing in the Pendleton community were in 20 different households and there were now only a couple of children among them. Another indication of this aging Black population in Pendleton was one-quarter of the households were headed by retired individuals. Many of the same people mentioned earlier in the era were still here, some still owning their homes. A unique example of a Black business owner was a man who installed oil burners. These 35 Black Pendletonians, for the most part, still resided in the small geographic area southwest of the train station.

[562] "Marian Anderson Delights Large Audience at Holly," *Medford News*, March 3, 1940; "Marian Anderson Concert Enjoyed," *C.P. American*, March 7, 1940.

[563] "Letter to the Editor," *Medford Mail Tribune*, February 26, 1940.

[564] Unfortunately, most of these precincts are not named.

Churches

This era marked the beginning of a Black church in Pendleton. During the last year of the previous era, 1919, a white pastor of the local Methodist church began an effort to unite the reported three Black denominations of the city and construct a church of their own. It can be assumed that Black parishioners were holding services in some of Pendleton's existing churches at the time. The pastor asked the residents of Pendleton to raise $2,500 towards the cost of the new church and the local newspaper reported the effort as a way to "uplift" the Black people of the city. [565] Less than a year later, the building was completed after the citizens of Pendleton raised the money with a community barbecue. Located at **624 SW 2nd Avenue**, the building still stands but has been highly altered.[566]

The bishop for the African Methodist Church visited the new church later that year with both white and Black people in attendance. After the meeting, the mixed-race church community organized a Sunday school specifically for Black children.[567] Thereafter, in 1922, the St. Luke's African Methodist Episcopal Church was incorporated.[568] It is assumed that this entity took possession of the church built in 1920. The incorporators included William H. Bazell (who owned the carpet cleaner business), Ernest C. Allen, George Hooker (a newspaper agent), Miland Henry Hobson, and his wife Lulu Hobson. Reverend Tolliver—former pastor of Portland's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Portland—became the pastor for St. Luke's.[569] By 1932, the church had approximately 75 Black parishioners.[570]

William Carey

Little detail is known about the individual Black Pendletonians who lived in the city during this era. One exception is William J. Carey. While his life was rather ordinary, providing some additional details here helps establishes a better picture of what life was like in Pendleton. It is unknown when William Carey came to Pendleton, but he joined the St. Luke's African Methodist Episcopal Church, described above, during the year of its construction in 1920.[571] At the time he was a laborer but would open his own automobile painting business. He lived with his wife in a home he owned at **611 SW 5th Street** (extant but modified).[572] Living with them in 1920 were two young Black lodgers; one a machinist at a steel plant. Living down the street was another Black homeowning couple who also boarded a Black lodger. This sort of geographic proximity was critical in the formation of community. In 1921, Carey won third place for submitting a new city slogan ("Pendleton, The City of Results") in a county-wide slogan contest.[573] Carey continued living in the home and working with automobiles as a floorman, mechanic, and car washer until his death in 1933. When he died, the Black woman down the street, Luella Hickman, was the one to notify the county of his death.

Maxville and Wallowa County

Maxville was a logging town in Wallowa County, north of the town of Wallowa. The sparsely populated county was also an area historically devoid of Black people. However, starting in 1923, Maxville had an unusually large Black workforce.[574] The town was established by the Missouri-based Bowman-Hicks Lumber Company to house their workers and (for those who had them) their families. All the workers were experienced timbermen recruited by Bowman-Hicks. Most came from southern states, including Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama,

[565] "Church for Colored Residents is Urged," *East Oregonian*, October 29, 1919, 1.
[566] "State News," *Gazette-Times* (Heppner), March 25, 1920, 10.
[567] "Bishop Organizes Sunday School Here," *East Oregonian*, August 26, 1920, 6.
[568] "Three Churches Incorporated," *The Capitol Journal*, December 2, 1922, 2, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn90066132/1922-12-02/ed-1/seq-2/.
[569] "Rev. Tolliver Visits Here," *The Advocate*, July 28, 1928, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1928-07-28/ed-1/seq-3/.
[570] Hill, 70-71, 80.
[571] "Bishop Organizes Sunday School Here," *East Oregonian*, August 26, 1920, 6.
[572] "Permit for Shed Issued," *East Oregonian*, May 26, 1919, 3.
[573] "Pendleton Gets Slogan," *Morning Oregonian*, April 14, 1921, 5.
[574] Mac's Town, as it was originally named, would later be renamed Maxville.

Georgia, and Florida.[575] In addition to working in the forest and in the mill, Maxville's employees helped the company build the railroads and nearly all the buildings in the town.[576]

During the company town's peak from 1923 to 1933, it had a total population of 400, making it the largest town in Wallowa County.[577] Furthermore, it briefly became one of the largest Black population centers outside of Portland with 57 Black people counted in the 1930 Census.

Maxville's Black men included log cutters, log loaders, a sawmill worker, a railroad builder, a locomotive brakeman, and one foreman in 1930. There were 15 Black women counted, all of whom worked domestic jobs. There were also 11 children. Residences and lodging were separated according to ethnicity, marital status, class, and position within the company.[578] Maxville was home for 11 Black families in 1930, while the rest either lived alone or with other lodgers. Blacks and Whites lived in separate parts of town, divided by train tracks. Provided by the lumber company, the Black families lived in narrow houses without electricity. Running water was only available outdoors and the toilets were located in communal outhouses. Conversely, company residences provided to white workers were wood-framed houses with a kitchen, living room, two bedrooms, indoor water, and one outhouse per home, but also no electricity.[579] Life was reportedly challenging for all residents, though Black residents also had to contend with the physical and psychological burden of having unequal accommodations.[580]

Maxville's workforce was mostly integrated, at least in the forest. However, all other aspects of their lives were segregated. Black workers were not allowed to work in the mill, at least initially. The town's baseball teams were segregated and only played together during the regional tournaments. Black children living in the town were completely segregated. Initially educated by a Black woman who taught in her home, segregated schools were eventually built.[581] While segregated schools had existed in previous eras (such as those in Salem and Coos Bay), at the time, Maxville had the only segregated schools in Oregon.[582] Black parents were rebuffed when they attempted to have their children admitted to the main school. Despite the segregation, race relations were reportedly largely favorable.[583] The Ku Klux Klan, likely from La Grande, attempted to disrupt the relative harmony in 1925 but were repudiated by the resident superintendent.[584]

The Great Depression led to the downturn of the lumber market, which caused Maxville's decline. Bowman-Hicks closed its operations in 1933 and several African American families moved to Wallowa, LaGrande, and Portland to work in the shipyards. Other families relocated to California.[585] Some Black residents remained at least until 1947.[586] The 1940 U.S. Census showed 28 Black residents in Wallowa County. Half were living north of Maxville in the farming community of Promise where a smaller Bowman-Hicks lumber operation continued; four Black men were employed there.

[575] Pearl Alice Marsh, *But Not Jim Crow: Family Memories of African American Loggers in Maxville, Oregon*, Patterson, CA: self-published, 2019, 7-8.
[576] Mark Axel Tveskov et al, *Maxville National Register Nomination*, April 30, 2023, 21.
[577] Gwen Trice, "Maxville," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 18, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/maxville/, accessed February 16, 2024.
[578] Tveskov et al, 23.
[579] Ibid, 22.
[580] Ibid, 23.
[581] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 136.
[582] Tveskov et al, 22.
[583] Ibid, 23.
[584] Ibid.
[585] Trice, "Maxville." Also see McLagan, 141.
[586] Tveskov et al, 13.

The Bowman-Hicks Headquarters Building was removed from its original site and has been rebuilt in association with the Maxville Interpretive Center founded by Gwen Trice. It was individually listed in the National Register in 2024.

Vernonia and Columbia County

Like Maxville, Vernonia was another timber company town that attracted a sizeable Black population during Era 4. Located in Columbia County, it is 45 miles northwest of Portland. This county is another sparsely-populated one in Oregon with few Black people, and none as late as 1920. In that census only 150 people total were counted in Vernonia. By 1923, the town's population had increased to over 1,500 and it was one of the fastest growing towns in Oregon.[587] This was due to a new mill established by the American-Oregon Lumber Company. Planning for the mill began in 1921, construction commenced in 1922, and the mill sawed its first log in the summer of 1924.

Vernonia attracted the largest Black population outside of Portland during this area. Many had moved from California and the southern states, in most cases having previously worked for the Central Coal & Coke Company—the parent company of American-Oregon Lumber.[588] Upon their arrival in Vernonia, some of the Black workers were able to save enough money to pay for their families to join them.[589] In 1929, thirty-nine Black people were on the payroll, constituting eight percent of the workforce. Black residents also operated a barber shop and a pool room in the town."[590] The total population in the town (all races) was approximately 2,500.[591] The 1930 Census enumerated 71 African Americans with most of the men working in the timber operation.[592]

In the beginning, the Black community lived in segregated housing on the southern edge of town, which became known as the **Vernonia Black Colony** (referred to on the 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map as the "Negro Colony"). Most of the Black workers lived in the two dozen two- and three-room shacks abutting the east bank of Rock Creek and the northern bank of the Nehalem River.[593] Homes were organized on both sides of an alley with one water tap shared between two to three households, and shared outhouses in the backyards. Between the Black Colony and the mill was a smaller Filipino Colony. The white workers lived in a development of 66 bungalows constructed by the lumber company called "A-O Hill," north of today's Nehalem Highway, OR-47.

Vernonia's Black residents organized their own religious congregation and, in 1927, the lumber company and the Vernonia community helped to build a church using wood donated by the mill.[594] [595] At different points in time it was called the First Baptist Church, Vernonia Baptist Church, and the Mission Baptist church. Shown on the 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, it was located at the head of the alley leading into the Black Colony.[596] The church hosted a Sunday School starting in 1927.[597]

---

[587] Kaitlyn Kohlenberg, "Vernonia," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vernonia/, accessed December 13, 2023.

[588] "Trip To Vernonia An Interesting One," *The Advocate*, October 10, 1925, 1, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1925-10-10/ed-1/seq-1/.

[589] Hill, 48-49.

[590] Ibid.

[591] National Register nomination 02001485, Oregon-American Lumber Corporation Mill Office, 2002, 14.

[592] Hill, 48.

[593] There has been limited development, and there is a high probability that there are archaeological remains associated with the colony.

[594] "Expression of Appreciation," *Vernonia Early*, September 27, 1927, 2.

[595] Hill, 74.

[596] Sanborn Map Company, "Vernonia, Columbia County, Ore.," New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1928, 10, https://digitalsanbornmaps.proquest.com/browse_maps/38/7456/36381/38120/509476?accountid=14698.

[597] Site 35CO68 – Anderson Park, Vernonia, Columbia County.

Reverend J. W. Anderson—a former Baptist missionary—was instrumental in establishing the church. [598] Pastors of the church included Reverend D. M. Morfitt and Reverend W. M. Green, who were highly involved and affiliated with churches in Portland, such as the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church. Other preachers from Portland would frequently visit Vernonia to give sermons there and Vernonia's Black loggers would often attend church services in Portland. Reverend Green would also lead Sunday sermons at Mt. Olivet. Because of these connections, there was likely a sense of community with other Black Baptists in Portland.

Black students in Vernonia attended a mixed-race school for a time resulting in considerable local agitation for segregated schools.[599] In 1925, "by decrees of the boss," the Oregon-American Company organized a segregated school in a one-room shack.[600] One of the Black workers insisted on sending their children to the public school. Citizens of Vernonia and managers of the company were embroiled in the conflict and the father of the children was fired. Beatrice Morrow Cannady of the Portland chapter of the NAACP interceded to support the integration of Black students. She organized a local chapter of the NAACP among the Black residents and all of the church members joined as NAACP members, including Reverand Morfitt who served on the executive committee of the chapter.[601] Meetings were often held in the church before services.[602] In 1926, Black children were permitted in the public schools; however, parents of the children were bullied to keep their children in the segregated school.

Workplace integration was another issue where the NAACP provided advocacy. While Oregon-American is said to have paid its minority employees the same as its white workers, they were not treated equally.[603] Despite threats from the opposition to rid Vernonia of the "negro problem" by firing the Black workers, these workers persevered in their jobs and remained in Vernonia during the peak years of the mill operation.

The Ku Klux Klan was active in Vernonia in the 1920s. Stories about the KKK and its membership activities appeared in the *Vernonia Eagle* newspaper from 1922 to 1925. Specific instances of threats or violence against Black Vernonians were not uncovered, but this is an area for further research.

With the onset of the Depression, company operations slowed and the sawmill closed in 1931. Closures of the planing mill and shipping departments came in 1932. This caused most workers to depart the town.[604] In 1940, only eight Black people remained in Vernonia. An additional four were enumerated elsewhere in Columbia County. In 1932, only six adults used the church for religious services. [605]

The mill reopened in 1936 and a large percentage of the workers who had moved away to find employment elsewhere eventually returned.[606] The 1950 census enumerated 42 Black people in Vernonia with the heads of each of the 15 Black households employed in the mill. In 1956, a Black church in Vernonia—the Church of God in Christ—was holding services.[607] Some Black workers continued to be employed until 1957when the company closed all operations and the remaining Black families departed thereafter.[608]

[598] Hill, 74.
[599] Hill, 48-49.
[600] Janice Dilg, National Register nomination 02001485, Oregon-American Lumber Corporation Mill Office, 2002, 15.
[601] "Trip To Vernonia," *The Advocate*, October 10, 1925, 1.
[602] "Vernonia News," *The Advocate*, March 5, 1927, 4, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1927-03-05/ed-1/seq-4/.
[603] Dilg, 15.
[604] Hill, 74.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Dilg, 16.
[607] "Church of God in Christ" *Vernonia Eagle*, June 28, 1956, 7.
[608] McLagan, 141.

Klamath Falls and Klamath County

Founded in 1867, Klamath Falls is located in Klamath County where ranching and timber originally dominated the area. However, railroads bypassed the town impeding its further growth.[609] No Black people lived in Klamath County until 1890 when there were 12 enumerated. In the early 1900s, agriculture grew with the opening of public lands and federal irrigation projects. [610] In 1909 the Southern Pacific railroad line from Weed, CA led to the growth of the economy and the construction of many business and civic buildings.[611] Consequently, the population of the town grew in the first decade of the century from 447 to 2,758, supported by a strong timber industry with sawmills and box factories throughout the Klamath Basin. In 1910, there were still12 Black people living in the city plus eight more elsewhere in the county. In Klamath Falls, Black residents were mostly younger and living singly with white families as servants and laborers. One exception to this was the Timms family who would become long-term residents of the city and spearhead efforts to uplift the Black residents of the city.

At the start of this era, Klamath Falls continued to grow with more sawmills and all types of businesses to support the region (including northern California.)[612] The population was 4,801 in 1920 with the county becoming increasingly less rural. Klamath Falls, between 1923 and 1928 had, according to US Bureau of Census, the greatest growth in population of any city in the USA.[613] It was easily the fastest growing city in Oregon during the 1920s.[614]

Increasing numbers of Black workers were arriving from lumber camps in California drawn by the jobs available in Klamath Falls.[615] While no direct evidence could be found, some of the Black people new to Klamath Falls might have been coming from adjacent Jackson County that had more aggressive campaigns by the Ku Klux Klan working to drive out the Black population. That said, Klamath Falls was not without its own Klan presence and at least two Black men left town due to anonymous threats that they believed were sent by Klan members.[616]

By 1923, enough Black people had come to live together in the area around Commercial Street, between S 6th Street and Klamath Avenue that it became known as the "negro district." This was east of the commercial core and just north of the industrial area for the box companies and sawmills. By the end of the decade, the area reportedly housed most of the Black residents in the city. According to local newspaper articles from the time, it was known for its run-down homes with unsanitary conditions and "immoral conditions" with "undesirable negro women" and white women associating with Black men.[617] Developers wanting to build apartments for the town's millworkers pressured the city to take action.[618] [619] Another area where Black residents resided was an area referred to as the ARK, just southwest of the downtown core, around the Hotel Baldwin, and near today's Veterans Memorial Park.

By 1930, Klamath Falls was the fourth largest city in Oregon and the census that year counted 97 Black people in the city and four more elsewhere in the county. It was the second most populous for Black people aside from the much larger Portland. Most of these individuals continued living in the same Black neighborhoods noted above. While not exclusively Black enclaves, Klamath Falls's Black residents lived in very close proximity to each other. Most worked the typical jobs for Blacks at the time—laborers, barbers, bootblacks, etc. However, there were Black-owned

[609] David Casteel, Linkville Pioneer Cemetery National Register Nomination, 11.
[610] Rebecca Chase, Bisbee Hotel National Register Nomination, 8.
[611] "Klamath Falls, 1941," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/klamath-falls-1941/, accessed February 16, 2024.
[612] Ibid.
[613] Chase, 7-8.
[614] Casteel, 13.
[615] Hill, 48.
[616] "Threats Cause 2 Colored Men to Flee City," *The Evening Herald*, October 23, 1923, 1.
[617] "Ferguson May Aid Police in Vice Round Up," *The Evening Herald*, September 19, 1929, 3.
[618] "Bond Vote Was Legal Wiley Says," *The Evening Herald*, September 18, 1929, 1, 8.
[619] "Ferguson May Aid Police in Vice Round Up," *The Evening Herald*, September 19, 1929, 3.

restaurants: the William Brooks' Restaurant (42 Main Street) and the Bertha Atkins' (46 Main Street).[620] Both businesses were sited next to one another and located across the street from the Baldwin Hotel. Both properties are no longer extant and the location is now taken up by the grounds of Veterans Memorial Park.

At the end of the era, there was a significant drop in Klamath Falls' Black population, ending with 53 Black residents. The city experienced a decline in overall growth during the 1930s and many of the surrounding communities started absorbing the economic demands of the county. Consequently, many Black people were now enumerated outside of the county seat. In 1930 there were only four Black residents outside of Klamath Falls; in 1940 there were 39. This spreading out of the Black population into the other parts of Klamath County was also due to the Depression as people of all races were moving to more rural properties to be able to provide their own food with gardens and farm animals. The story of Black Oregonians living in Klamath Falls will also be featured in the next era.

William and Cally Timms and Klamath Falls's Black Churches

One of Klamath Falls's longest-residing and well-respected Black families was the Timms. William B. Timms was a graduate of the Theological School at Tuskegee University and a former pastor in Mississippi. Caroline "Cally" M. Timms was ordained in Chicago in 1893, during a time when it was controversial for women to hold positions in the clergy. They wed in 1908 in Klamath Falls. William first worked as a porter in a barber shop and later started his own home cleaning business specializing in carpets and draperies. He also managed a shoe-shine parlor in a shoe store and later became a well-known proprietor of his own bootblack stand near N 6th Street and Main Street. William's standing in the community and reputation as a hard worker is evidenced by a Crater Oil & Gas advertisement in the local paper that profiled him in 1921, including statements like: "Everybody knows William: He shines most everybody's shoes. By continuous honesty and integrity, he has earned the confidence and respect of bankers and businessmen."[621] The couple had five children, with one being adopted. In 1927, the Timms home was raided, allegedly by mistake, by the Sheriff causing significant damage. William sued for $50,000 in damages but was awarded $100.[622] The Timms two-story house was located at 217 Klamath Avenue—today's site of the Klamath County Library.

In 1926, William and Cally organized the Union Gospel Mission, which was the first Black church in the Klamath Falls vicinity. They both served as ministers.[623] Despite Black women accounting for the majority of congregations, very few were accepted into the ministry. William died only three years after starting the Union Gospel Mission. Caroline then became the sole pastor.[624]

In 1934, another church with a predominantly Black congregation was established and ministered by Reverand Senator H. La Ley. They remodeled a building, which was initially a neighborhood store, at **251 Commercial Street** and the church was named the **African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.**[625]

To raise money for the city's two Black churches in 1934, the Klamath Union High School and the First Presbyterian Church hosted a series of concerts by the Black singers from the California Echo Quartet who performed Negro spirituals.[626] [627]

[620] These no-longer-extant properties were located in what is now called Veterans Memorial Park.
[621] "Take a 'Hunch' from William Timms," *The Evening Herald*, May 18, 1921, 6.
[622] "$100 Damages Awarded Wm. Timms Today," *The Evening Herald*, June 25, 1927, 1.
[623] "General Notices," *The Herald and News*, June 16, 1950, 13, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/94953535/.
[624] Ruth King, "KF Evangelist Candidate For 'Mother Of The Year'," *The Herald and News*, February 23, 1960, 3, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/97310147/.
[625] "Colored Chapel Services Start," *The Evening Herald*, May 2, 1934, 5, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn99063812/1934-05-02/ed-1/seq-5.
[626] "Students Hear Negro Quartet," *The Evening Herald*, May 11, 1934, 10.
[627] "Negro Quartet Coming Again," *The Evening Herald*, May 21, 1934, 8.

During its first year, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church formed a Sunday school, held revival meetings, hosted several benefit dinners, and organized social services for the Black community in which the chief of police, mayor, and other city officials were asked to participate in the work.[628] The church was active only for a year or two when the congregation appears to have dissolved. In its place, Caroline moved her **Union Gospel Mission** congregation into the building, whose name became the **Gospel Mission of the United Holy Church of America**.

La Grande and Union County

Despite being a stop along the Oregon Railway and Navigation railroad since 1884, La Grande only attracted a handful of Black people for many decades. However, by the 1920 Census, La Grande had become a railroad hub and the city was home to 15 Black residents. According to census data, all but two lived in the area northeast of downtown, behind the railroad's roundhouse. Locals referred to this as the Black District, Colored Colony, and the Vice District.[629] There were no children among the Black community at the time with the men and women working the typical jobs that Black people held during this era with the majority employed with the railroads.

By 1930, more Black people had come to live in La Grande as the population was up to 36 individuals—more than double the population from ten years prior. All 15 households were located in the Black District, most within a block of the main street, Monroe Avenue. Many of them were listed as homeowners in the census. Again, most worked for the railroads. By 1940, the number of Black people had risen some to 39 individuals. The story of Black Oregonians living in La Grande will be continued in the next era.

Black Churches in La Grande

During this era, there were two known Black churches in La Grande. The **Boyd Memorial Baptist Church** was founded in 1920.[630] Services began in the home of William and Ermie Torrence.[631] They built a church sometime after the congregation formed and it was located near the corner of N. Fir Street and S Avenue, in the heart of the Black District. The church was originally visited monthly by Reverend D. D. Banks from Walla Walla. In between services, Ester Wilfong—a log cutter—served as the deacon and sustained the church's other religious services such as prayer, choir practices, and Sunday night services. Black railroad men, working as waiters and porters, would attend the services and "socials" at the church whenever they were stopped over in La Grande.[632] The church relocated a block away to **1320 T Avenue** (extant) in 1938.[633]

The Torrences remained active in the church at least until the 1930s. During the Depression, Ermie was in charge of the church's partnership with other churches in the city to can foods.[634] It's possible their home reflected in the 1930 Census—1302 Jackson Avenue—was the first location of the church. When Ermie died in 1939, she and William were living at **1301 Monroe Avenue** (extant). William remained there until his passing nine years later.

Around this time, another church which served as a home for the Black community was the **Gospel Mission**. Located at **2201 North Fir Street** (extant), it was not an exclusively Black church but reportedly drew large crowds when Black

[628] "All Klamath Falls Churches Extend a Cordial Invitation To Come To Church," *The Evening Herald*, November 23, 1935, 5, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/92443132; "At the Churches. Zion Chapel," *The Evening Herald*, June 30, 1934, 4, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/94806412/.

[629] David Horowitz, "The Cross of Culture: La Grande, Oregon, in the 1920s," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 93, No. 2, Summer 1992.

[630] The church is now called Amazing Grace Fellowship.

[631] William was born 1887 in Arkansas and died in 1948 in Union County. Ermie was born in 1886 in Arkansas and died in 1939 in La Grande.

[632] Hill, "The Negro In Oregon," 74-75.

[633] "Amazing Grace Fellowship Perseveres," *The Observer* (La Grande), January 24, 2009, last modified September 10, 2019, https://www.lagrandeobserver.com/archive/dni/amazing-grace-fellowship-perseveres/article_a529fdf9-e478-58f0-b264-830225df28e6.html; "Services Announced," *La Grande Observer*, June 3, 1938, 3.

[634] "Local Committee on Relief Will Meet Wednesday," *La Grande Evening Observer*, July 12, 1932, 1.

evangelist pastors Gus Taylor and daughter Pauline were in charge.[635] This will be described further in the upcoming Black Vignettes section for this era.

University of Oregon and Oregon State University

The University of Oregon was founded in 1876 in Eugene. At the beginning of this era, Black students started to enroll there and at some of Oregon's other colleges and universities, starting the process of increasing levels of education for Black Oregonians and the slow process to integrate these institutions of higher learning.

Before this era, the University hired its first Black employee, Wiley Griffon (vignette provided in Era 3), by the late 1890s. He worked as a janitor at Friendly Hall. The University of Oregon's first Black student was Mabel Byrd, who was admitted between 1917 and 1919.[636] Restricted from living in the dorms, Byrd resided in Professor Joseph Schafer's residence, and likely worked there as a servant (**1378 13th Avenue**). She was one of only a handful of African Americans living in Eugene at the time. Byrd transferred to the University of Washington at the end of her sophomore year and graduated in 1921.[637] The first few students to study at the University, like Byrd, were forbidden to live in the dormitories. Instead, they had to find off-campus housing in a city (Eugene) that had nine total Black residents in 1920. Similar residence-hall restrictions were in place at Oregon State University in Corvallis as well. Later on, some Black students could live in dormitory buildings but only with other Black roommates. Otherwise, they were required to live in a segregated area of the building. Discriminatory housing practices at universities continued through the 1940s, when there were legal challenges to the policy. [638]

Notable Students and Athletes

William Savage

William Sherman Savage (1890–1981) was the first African American graduate student at the University of Oregon. Before coming to Oregon, he graduated high school in Baltimore and then Howard University with a B.A. in 1917. He subsequently taught at high schools in the South and secured a permanent teaching position at Lincoln University in 1921. He interrupted his teaching to study at the University of Oregon in 1923 because "the tuition was only six dollars a quarter." However, he struggled to find off-campus housing. At one point he was living at **775 Willamette Street**.[639] He graduated in 1925 with a master's degree in history.[640] Returning to Lincoln University, he was a professor there for 39 years, though took another break in 1934 to obtain a PhD in history from Ohio State University. He published *Blacks in the West* in 1976. Considered to be his magnum opus, it is an important book that presents Black contributions to settling the West. Through his lifelong research and writing, Dr. Savage played a key role in bringing recognition to the role of Black people in Westward expansion.[641]

Maxine Maxwell and Nellie Franklin

Another Black student at the University of Oregon who faced the customary difficulties finding student housing was Maxine Maxwell. She enrolled in 1929 as a resident of Salem (daughter to the proprietors of Fat Boy Barbecue). With support from her parents, Maxwell protested the university's policy of excluding Black women from the dormitories.[642] She found housing twelve blocks away from the university, residing with another Black university student, Nellie L.

---

[635] "Revival Meetings," *La Grande Evening Observer*, January 26, 1931, 5.
[636] Mabel was born 1895. Her date of death is unknown.
[637] Herman L. Brame, *A Forgotten Woman of Oregon: Mabel Byrd's Life of Protest*, self-published, 2014. 8.
[638] McLagan, 126.
[639] *Polk's Eugene City (Oregon) Directory, 1925*, Portland, R.L. Polk & Co., 1925.
[640] Jennifer O'Neal, "Untold Stories: Black History at the University of Oregon," *Unbound*, February 4, 2015, https://blogs.uoregon.edu/scua/2015/02/04/untoldstoriesblackhistoryattheuniversityoforegon/, accessed October 27, 2021.
[641] Herman L. Brame, *Dr. William S. Savage: The University of Oregon's First African American Graduate*, self-published, 2014, 2.
[642] Herman L. Brame, *Maxine's Struggle: The Story of Maxine Maxwell and the University of Oregon*, self-published, 2014.

Franklin.[643] Both women lived at **1970 Columbia Street** (extant) from ca. 1929-1932.[644] Majoring in music, Franklin became the University of Oregon's first female African American graduate in 1932.

Palmer Patton

Palmer Patton has recently been discovered to be the first known African American to graduate from Oregon State University. He traveled to Corvallis from Chicago and graduated with a bachelor's degree at the end of the previous era in 1918. He continued his studies and earned a master's degree in 1920. Patton became a member of the faculty—the oldest identified Black faculty member.[645]

Carrie Halsell

Carrie Halsell had long been thought to be the first African American to graduate from Oregon State University, completing her degree in 1926.[646] Her family was mentioned in the earlier Salem section when her parents left the city after another Black business owner was threatened. While at the school, she lived off-campus due to dormitory housing discrimination. Following her graduation, she moved to Portland where her family had fled to after Salem. Although educated, she found limited job opportunities there and worked as a department store housekeeper.[647] Eventually, she moved to the east coast and had a successful career in higher education.[648] In 2002, Oregon State University recognized her achievements and named a new residence hall—Halsell Hall—after her.[649]

Bob Robinson and Chuck Williams

In 1926, two Black men enrolled at the University of Oregon became Oregon's first African American collegiate athletes of record. Robert "Bob" S. Robinson moved to Portland from Texas in 1922, attending high school there. Eventually enrolling with him in Eugene was Charles "Chuck" Edward Williams. Williams also moved to Portland from Kansas City in 1925 with his family and he also attended high school there. Although both were attending the University on full athletic scholarships, Robinson and Williams were not allowed to reside in the dorms during their first year. They lived off-campus in an apartment at **825 E 13th Street**.[650] During their sophomore year, the University allowed them to live in **Friendly Hall** (**1233 University Street**) but not in the main dorm area.[651]

The two athletes were unable to play their final game of their careers in 1929 when their opponent, the University of Florida, refused to compete against Black athletes. The University of Oregon decided to capitulate and traveled to Miami for the game without Robinson and Williams.[652] Robinson completed his bachelor's degree in physical education. Williams never received his degree due to changing majors.

Mack Robinson

Mathew "Mack" M. Robinson was another early track and field athlete at the University of Oregon and was the older brother to famed baseball player Jackie Robinson.[653] Originally from Georgia, he became involved in track and field

[643] McLagan, 126.
[644] Herman L. Brame, *Nellie L. Franklin: Pioneering Oregon Soror*, self-published, 2015.
[645] Teresa Hogue, "Palmer Patton recognized as earliest identified African American graduate, faculty member at Oregon State," Oregon State University website, https://today.oregonstate.edu/story/palmer-patton-recognized-earliest-identified-african-american-graduate-faculty-member-oregon, accessed February 19, 2024.
[646] Carrie was born 1903 in Colorado and died in 1989 in South Carolina. Oregon State University was called Oregon Agricultural College at the time she attended.
[647] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 154.
[648] Ibid, 154-158.
[649] Ibid, 158.
[650] This location now houses Espresso Roma.
[651] Herman L. Brame, *The Long Ebony Line: African American Athletes in Oregon, Circa 1860-1979*, self-published, 2017, 23.
[652] Ibid.
[653] Mack Robinson lived from 1914 – 2000.

while attending Pasadena Junior College, excelling in the 100- and 200-meter sprints and the long jump, and setting national junior college records in all three. Inspired by the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, Robinson set his sights on the succeeding games. Despite health and financial difficulties, he earned his place on the U.S. team, and made it to the Berlin Olympics in 1936.[654] The United States was conflicted about whether American Jewish and Black athletes should attend, given the rising white nationalism in Nazi Germany. However, the African American press advocated for the athletes—the "Black Eagles" as they called them—as an important step to disprove the myth of white superiority.[655] Mack was one of 18 African Americans who participated in the games. They stayed in integrated housing at the Olympic Village—a rare experience for Black Americans at the time.[656]

Coming in just four-tenths of a second behind Jesse Owens, he won the silver medal in the 200-meter dash.[657] While there, Robinson met University of Oregon head track coach Bill Hayward, who convinced him to enroll at the university.[658] There, he studied physical education and competed for the university's Webfoots, winning the NCAA and AAU titles in the 220-yard dash and becoming the Pacific Coast Champion in the long jump.[659] Upon his return to Pasadena after graduating in 1941, he struggled to find secure employment, working as a street cleaner, wearing his Olympic jacket to keep warm.[660] Later, he was reportedly fired by the city—together with all its Black employees—as retaliation for a court order that desegregated public pools.[661]

Robinson continued working in the area, becoming increasingly involved in community service. This included advocating for the creation of playgrounds, YMCAs, and swimming pools, as well as lobbying for better books in public libraries. His focus was on improving the professional and academic prospects of local youths. He was well known to local lawmakers and was a near-constant presence at city hall meetings. In 1997, the Pasadena Robinson Memorial—featuring nine-foot bronze sculptures of the heads of the Robinson brothers—was erected directly in front of Pasadena's city hall where he was so active. Among his other accolades, Robinson was inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame in 1981 and the University of Oregon Hall of Fame in 1995.[662]

Robert Whitfield

Robert Whitfield was a reserve halfback for the University of Oregon football team in the 1930s; however, he was more well known for his acting accomplishments.[663] He began his acting career at the university where he was noted for acting, singing, and dancing. His lead role in a late-1930s university student production of Eugene O'Neill's play *Emperor Jones* led to a Hollywood contract. Although Whitfield often played supporting characters in stereotypical service occupations, he had reliable and steady employment as an actor in Hollywood for decades.[664]

---

[654] Warren Dawson Woods III, "Matthew Mackenzie "Mack" Robinson (1912[sic]-2000)," *Blackpast*, April 15, 2010, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/mack-robinson-1912-2000, accessed March 14, 2023.

[655] "Olympic Pride, American Prejudice," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympic_Pride,_American_Prejudice, accessed February 19, 2024.

[656] Hansi Lo Wang, "Black U.S. Olympians Won In Nazi Germany Only To Be Overlooked At Home," *National Public Radio,* August 13, 2016, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetorch/2016/08/13/489773389/black-u-s-olympians-won-in-nazi-germany-only-to-be-overlooked-at-home, accessed February 19, 2024.

[657] Damian Foley and Riley Ovall, "Second to None: The Legend and Legacy of Mack Robinson," University of Oregon, n.d., https://around.uoregon.edu/mackrobinson, accessed March 14, 2023.

[658] Woods, "Matthew Mackenzie "Mack" Robinson (1912-2000)."

[659] Foley and Ovall, "Second to None."

[660] Wang, "Black U.S. Olympians Won In Nazi Germany Only To Be Overlooked At Home."

[661] Lori Lakin Hutcherson. "Learn About Mack Robinson, Olympic Silver Medalist, Community Activist, and Jackie's Older Brother," *Good Black News*, April 16, 2022, www.goodblacknews.org/2022/04/16/learn-about-mack-robinson-olympic-silver-medalist-community-activist-and-jackies-older-brother-listen, accessed March 14, 2023.

[662] Foley and Ovall, "Second to None."

[663] Robert performed under the first name "Smokey" or "Smoki" or "Jordan." He lived from 1918 to 1967.

[664] Herman L. Brame, *Robert "Smokey" Whitfield: Oregon's Gift to Hollywood*, self-published, 2014. See also Brame 2006, 2014, 2017.

Black Vignettes

The following vignettes provide diverse stories about Black Oregonians, including their struggles and unique accomplishments, while living in a variety of locations across Oregon during Era 4.

Gus Taylor (Malheur County, Harney County, La Grande)

Gus Taylor and his daughter Pauline were mentioned earlier in relation to La Grande. They were both pastors at the Gospel Mission church there. Gus and Pauline would lead services in other Eastern Oregon locales as well during this era. While Gus' story of itinerant residency and frequent employment changes spans two eras, Gus and Pauline are featured here for their work as evangelists in the 1930s.

Gus was born in Arkansas c. 1881 and moved to Malheur County with his wife and four children towards the end of the previous era. He was briefly a "railroader" in Huntington in 1908 and then was a laborer in Vale. In 1910 his family lived on the Glenn Ranch in Vale. He began partaking in boxing contests and, within a few years, became a prize fighter. "Big Gus" was well-known to local residents as an athlete and performer. For reasons unknown, he abandoned his family in 1912, leaving his wife and children to live in a shack. Charitable people in the county helped the family by providing them a better place to live, as well as fuel and groceries. After Gus was injured working in a lumber yard in 1914, he moved to Crane in Harney County where he worked as an engine watchman for the Oregon Short Line railroad. He appears to have reunited with his family at some point by the start of this era as the 1920 census reflects him working as a railroad section gang laborer and living with his wife and seven kids. There were few Black residents living in Harney County at the time and his family made up more than half of the county's Black population. By 1930 the Taylors moved to Spokane, Washington where they lived with one of his daughters and her husband. There, Gus worked as a plasterer.

The following year Gus returned to Oregon and embarked on a very different type of work as an evangelist for Christian churches. Gus and Pauline, who was also a singer, led meetings and worship services in a variety of Oregon locations. The revival meetings they led at La Grande's **Gospel Mission** (**2201 North Fir Street**) every night except Saturday reportedly drew large crowds.[665] In 1933, the Taylors moved to Stanfield in Umatilla County and continued their evangelism work. In one instance, they led evangelistic meetings in the Pentecostal Mission in Ione (Morrow County) for three weeks, providing music at each service.[666]

Kathryn Hall and Richard Bogle (Coos Bay and Corvallis)

Kathryn Hall was born in Oklahoma but moved to Oregon with her stepfather who started working in Coos Bay for the railroad.[667] She arrived shortly before the suspected but unsolved murder of Timothy Pettis, which added to the fear of attending a new high school in a new town where no classmates spoke to her.[668]

In 1927, Kathryn married Richard Waldo Bogle, Sr. (1904-1979), grandchild of Black pioneers America Waldo and Richard Arthur Bogle, both covered in Era 2. Born in Walla Walla, Washington, Richard was a student at Oregon State University. Kathryn and Richard moved to Portland where he operated a barbershop at the Golden West Hotel.

In 1937, Katherine wrote an essay called "An American Negro Speaks of Color", describing the lived experiences of a Black Oregonian. She sold the article to *The Oregonian* for publication, making it the first submission the paper paid for from a Black author. Afterwards, she became an accomplished journalist and philanthropist leader in Portland. In 1993,

[665] "Revival Meetings," *La Grande Evening Observer*, January 26, 1931, 5.
[666] "Ione," *Heppner Gazette-Times*, March 23, 1933, 4.
[667] Katherine was born in 1906 in Oklahoma. Her year and place of death is undetermined.
[668] Urban League of Portland, 5-6.

Hall was presented a Lifetime Achievement Award by the Portland Association of Black Journalists.[669] She lived an inclusive life having friends of every race while still being proud of her color and heritage.[670]

Hall and Bogle had a son, Richard Waldo Bogle Jr., "Dick," who also attended Oregon State University in the 1950s. He would become the first general assignment reporter for the *Oregon Journal* and became Portland's first Black on-air reporter at KATU, a Portland Police officer, and the second Black person elected to the Portland City Council.[671]

William Badger (Gearhart)

William Samuel Badger was an elected city council member on the Oregon Coast during this era and likely the first (and certainly one of the earliest) elected Black government officials in Oregon. [672] William, and wife Emma J. Badger, were wed in Portland in 1912 and moved to Gearhart in 1915. William worked various odd jobs in several fields including shuttling passengers from the train station into town. By 1924, the Badgers were operating a chicken dinner restaurant there.[673] In 1930, William was a merchant for wood and coal and Emma was the owner of a tearoom. They then started the **Badger's Chicken Dinner Inn** (**3359 Highway 101**), which was a roadside restaurant that they operated out of their home for 17 years in the 1930s and 1940s. Selling "southern style" fried chicken, it became a landmark for travelers on the coast.[674]

William's interest in politics began in the 1910s. He was appointed to fill a vacant Gearhart City Council position in 1915. He ran for election to this same position in 1922, but was defeated. He ran again for the position in 1934 and won.[675] William might have been the mayor at some point for he was unofficially known by some locals as the "Mayor of Gearhart." He died c. 1955.[676]

The Andersons (Harney County)

On occasion Black ranch laborers became landowning ranchers such as brothers Oscar and Walter Anderson and their wives Maude and Martha. During this era, land for grazing was abundant and demand for animal products was buttressed by the constant demand from a growing population. At some point in the 1910s, the Anderson brothers moved to Harney County—a region with only two other Black people in the 1910 census. They both started ranching operations and would remain among the few other Black people to reside in the county. They are considered some of the earliest Black ranchers in Oregon. Oscar established his homestead and ranch just north of Burns while Walter established the **Anderson Ranch** approximately 90 miles south of Burns, on the southern edge of Juniper Lake, in the Steens Mountain Wilderness.[677] After his first wife, Stella, died, Walter married Martha in 1940. Walter and Martha

[669] Oregon Black Pioneers, "Oregon Black History Snapshot #4," https://www.facebook.com/groups/1613284028939529?hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen&multi_permalinks=3143595552575028, accessed February 19, 2024.

[670] Urban League of Portland, 5-6.

[671] James Harrison, "Richard 'Dick' Bogle (1930- 2010)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/bogle_dick_1930_2010/, accessed February 19, 2024; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 48-50.

[672] William was born in 1867/1879 in Ohio. His wife, Emma, was born in c. 1886 in Texas.

[673] "Badger's Chicken Dinner," *Statesman Journal*, June 15, 1924, 18.

[674] Edward Stratton, "Early African-Americans Charted Course in Clatsop," *The Daily Astorian*, February 24, 2016, https://www.dailyastorian.com/early-african-americans-charted-course-in-clatsop/article_a4c8779f-86e9-509b-943f-5261b162114c.html, accessed February 19, 2024; "Site Information: Egbert House," Salem: SHPO, last accessed September 7, 2023, https://heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic/index.cfm?do=v.dsp_siteSummary&resultDisplay=650029.

[675] Stratton, "Early African-Americans Charted Course in Clatsop."

[676] "Was 'Mayor Badger' First Negro Mayor in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, October 9, 1967, 2.

[677] Chance and Fagan recorded "ruins of a ranch" on the south side of Juniper Lake within the boundaries of site 35HA22, which is a lakeside lithic scatter. The site form does not identify the ruins as the Anderson Ranch but they are in the approximate location of the property. Additional archaeological studies will need to be conducted to confirm this association. See David Chance and John Fagan, "Site form for 35HA22 (Juniper Lake Site)," Eugene: University of Oregon, Museum of Natural History, 1968, on file at the Oregon SHPO.

retired from ranching and moved to Portland in 1952 due to Walter's declining health. He passed away in 1958. Martha lived until 1981, a year after she published her book *Black Pioneers of the Northwest 1800-1918*.[678]

Henry H. Hawkins (Jefferson County, Deschutes County)

Henry Hiram Hawkins and wife Bertha A. Ross were also ranchers in rural Oregon.[679] The two married in 1900 in Kansas where they had met. Henry was a farmer nearly his entire life and relocated to Central Oregon in 1913 to continue in that line of work. In 1919, Hawkins was approved by the General Land Office in The Dalles for a 320-acre homestead in Ashwood—a small town that had prospered following the turn of the century due to the mining of gold and silver. The Hawkins family, including their 18-year-old daughter, established a farm there, growing grain for cattle. They were the only Black people in the town and there were only two others in Jefferson County (both in Madras). By 1930 he pivoted his farm to the raising of dairy cows—the only one of its type in the town. Bertha died in 1934 and Henry relocated to a farm north of Bend, purchasing various lots in both Bend and Redmond over the rest of his life. He also owned an 80-acre ranch in Clackamas County and a 160-acre farmable plot near Madras. In 1950, he was 77 years old and working as a house painter in Redmond. The only Black person in the city, he lived at **202 SW Black Butte Boulevard**. He died six years later in a Bend nursing home. Both he and his wife are buried in Madras at **Mount Jefferson Memorial Park** (**NE Loucks Road and NE Bean Drive**).[680]

Donald Bagley (Gresham and Clackamas County)

Donald Ward Bagley emigrated with his family to Oregon by train as an eight-year-old from Florida in 1918.[681] His eventual wife, Bessie Viola James, emigrated from Mississippi via a horse and buggy around 1912. This was a common way for Black people to move to Oregon at the time while white Americans typically rode the trains. Both the Bagley and the James families purchased property in Oregon. When Donald and his wife married in 1928, they grew crops to supplement his wage as a janitor in Portland theaters and bought a house in Portland. After having a family of seven children, they built a house in 1939 in Gresham (**NE 185th Avenue and NE Halsey Street**). Daughter LaVerne (born 1929) was ten years old at the time but recalled that, during the construction of the home, white residents threatened to burn the house down unless construction ceased. The Bagleys, however, kept building their home and a week later it was destroyed by fire. Afterwards, the Bagleys moved to unincorporated Clackamas County, living along **SW Petes Mountain Road**, southwest of West Linn, where LaVerne and her siblings attended a one-room schoolhouse.[682] LaVerne graduated Pete's Mountain Grade School in 1943 and would eventually graduate from Marylhurst College.[683] Donald eventually moved to Portland where he worked for more than 25 years as a maintenance man and stagehand for the Fox Theater.[684]

[678] Zachary Stocks, "Oregon Black Pioneers," *Portland Audubon* (blog), February 1, 2021, https://audubonportland.org/blog/oregon-black-pioneers/; "Harney County Group Pursues Grave Markers for Black Pioneers," OBP, August 24, 2020, https://oregonblackpioneers.org/harney-county-group-pursues-grave-marker-for-black-pioneers/, accessed February 19, 2024.

[679] Henry was born in 1872 in Missouri and died in 1956 in Oregon. Bertha was born in 1882 in Kansas and died in 1934 in Oregon. She went by "Bertie" "Birdie" "Berta" and "Alberta."

[680] "Hawkins Rites Due on Saturday," *The Bulletin*, March 1, 1956, 5.

[681] Donald Bagley was born in 1909 in Florida and died in 1892 in Oregon. His wife Bessie was born in 1908. Her year of death is unknown.

[682] Ancestry.com files on city directories, marriage records, United States census records.

[683] Urban League of Portland, 7-8. Additional info from sources on Ancestry.com

[684] "After 25 Years," *Oregon Journal*, January 12, 1973, 14. This article includes a photo of Donald.

ERA 5: WORLD WAR II, WAR ON POVERTY, AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (1942-1969)

Overview of Era 5

This era begins with the start of US involvement in World War II, which led to possibly the most significant change in Oregon's African American history during this study period. Within a couple of years, the population of Black Oregonians increased drastically, augmented by tens of thousands of African Americans from other states, and created the beginning of a new Black experience in the state. Most of these newcomers landed in Portland and dramatically changed the nature of the Black population in the city. Following the end of the war, thousands of the new Portlanders remained as residents of the city. However, some returned to their home state, many moved to other West Coast cities, and, most notably, upwards of one thousand moved to various parts of this MPD's study area.[685]

This era also marks the advancing of civil rights for Black Oregonians as state and federal legislation started to reverse the race-based policies prevalent up until this point. These changes created a tumultuous period as Oregonians of all races adjusted to the shifts in employment, social, and civic traditions during a phase of heightening national change and tumult, such as the Cold War and related anxieties, the Vietnam War, and anti-war protests. In this era, Black youth were increasingly enrolling at the state's colleges and universities and advocating for changes in curriculum. Finally, the era also witnessed the War on Poverty that introduced federally-funded programs that had a distinct impact on Black history in Oregon.

Employment Shift

A gradual shift occurred regarding the extent to which fields of employment were open to Black workers during Era 5. As in previous eras and for much of this era, most Black Oregonians outside of Portland held unskilled, low-paying jobs. Starting in the 1950s, this started to change perceptibly. While the improvement in options was slow, unspectacular, and still rather limited, it was a change towards increasing equality of opportunity. Helped along by state legislation and a booming economy, employers were becoming more receptive to hiring Black applicants. Some industries, such as the high-demand construction and metals industries, started to actively recruit African Americans. Black Oregonians were also starting to be employed in more publicly visible jobs such as clerks in retail stores and secretaries and typists in offices. Some were even being hired into professional-class jobs. Oregon businesses such as Pacific Northwest Bell, Tektronix, and Electronic Specialties were intentionally trying to hire African Americans in a variety of their thousands of positions. Black people were also employed as teachers and social workers in schools where few Blacks attended such as in Coos Bay, Madras, Estacada, and St. Paul.

Railroads continued to be major employers of Black people, as they had been in Oregon since Era 3. The vast majority of railroad workers were concentrated in Portland.[686] However, smaller but still significant numbers concentrated in La Grande, Pendleton, Klamath Falls, and elsewhere.[687] Across the nation, railroad jobs often offered economic stability and increased social status, helping thousands of African Americans to make their way in the world. With newly acquired and hard-fought labor protections in the previous era, the job of a Pullman porter became increasingly attractive to African Americans in the 1940s. Indeed, the railroad industry—and especially the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' efforts—played an important role in dispersing information about attractive work opportunities, resulting in the migration of thousands of Black people to those opportunities.[688] For much of the 20th century, wherever the railroad

[685] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."
[686] Galbraith et al, "African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1865 to 1973 National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form."
[687] Brooks, "James Brooks Oral History Interview."
[688] Brittany Hutchinson, "The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," Chicago History Museum, n.d, https://www.chicagohistory.org/brotherhood-sleeping-car-porters/, accessed March 9, 2023.

went, African Americans often followed, pursuing better working conditions, greater equality, and economic stability for themselves and their families. As an example of the stability that railroad employment could ensure, most retired Black railroad workers in Portland in the 1980s were financially-secure homeowners.[689]

The timber industry, which was a key employer of Black Oregonians in the previous era, changed drastically following World War II. The post-war housing boom, which was, in part, brought about by increasing suburbanization, increased the demand for lumber. Improved technology of chainsaws and the further development of heavy machinery led to jobs becoming more automated. This often meant the laying off of the lowest-skilled positions, usually the only ones Black Oregonians were hired into.

The booming population in America also caused an increase in migrant farm workers of every race in the state. African Americans traveled to Oregon's rural areas every summer to work in the fields, notably in the Willamette Valley. To a lesser extent, they also labored in the Hood River Valley, the area around Hermiston, and the western Treasure Valley in northeastern Malheur County. By the middle of the 1960s approximately 17,000 migrant farm laborers traveled every planting and harvest season to work in the Willamette Valley.[690] Black migrant workers often returned to Oregon every year, living in mixed-race labor camps. In some cases, these individuals and families liked Oregon enough that they stayed permanently.[691]

As the population of Black people in some Oregon cities grew, combined with the development of a stronger Afro-centric culture within the Black community, there was an increasing demand for businesses tailored to the needs of Black customers and consumers. These included clothiers, milliners, haircare, and makeup enterprises that met some of the commercial needs of Black Oregonians but also supported the Black community socially.

Population Trends

In 1940, there were approximately 565 Black people living outside of Portland—a very small number in a state with over 1.5 million people. This is especially notable considering that half-a-century earlier, in 1890, there were more than 700 Black Oregonians living in the study area. However, World War II prompted a large migration of African Americans to major cities in the country's northern and western states in what historians have termed the Second Great Migration. In Oregon, Black people ended up in Portland in much greater numbers than elsewhere in the state. Portland's Black population increased from a prewar population of approximately 2,000 to more than 20,000 by 1944.[692] Before the war, and since 1900, Portland had maintained a remarkably level 70% share of Oregon's Black population. That 70/30 split changed during the 1940s. Starting in 1950 and lasting through the entire era, Black Oregonians outside of Portland only comprised around 15%. That said, the war did change the situation radically for the rest of the state and the study area, which ended the 1940s with approximately 1,700 Black residents—a tripling of the population in the study area.

In the 1950s, most of the increase in the Black population continued to be in Portland with very little growth in the rest of the state. However, starting in the 1960s, there was a switch in this pattern. After decades of Portland attracting more African Americans than elsewhere in the state, more were moving to places outside of Portland's boundaries after 1960. The reason for this change was multifaceted and included the development of federal job programs, the increased enrollment at colleges and universities, the addition of migrant farm workers, and the movement away from Portland due to suburbanization. Each of these factors will be addressed more within this era.

---

[689] Michael Grice, "Black Families and the Railroad in Oregon and the Northwest: An Oral History," no other source information.

[690] "Migrant Labor Families in the 1960s: Portraits from the Valley Migrant League Photographs," *Oregon Historical Society,"* https://www.ohs.org/museum/exhibits/migrant-labor-families-1960s-valley-migrant-league.cfm?fbclid=IwAR1fkuhWd4WJZWtCAuf3vCmh5c_6DSn2WEiiLW6Rq1LZmtk7IXtaJNNHM5c, accessed February 19, 2024.

[691] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 205.

[692] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1940 to 1970									
Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1940s	565	1722	200.9%	2,565	11,529	349.5%	1,931	9,529	393.5%
1950s	1,722	2,100	21.9%	11,529	18,133	57.3%	9,529	15,367	64.1%
1960s	2,100	4,736	100.5%	18,133	26	45.1%	15,637	21,572	37.9%

Figure 6 - Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1940 to 1970.

World War II

The onset of America's involvement in World War II resulted in a sudden influx of military-related jobs to Oregon, now available to many who had formerly been denied equal access to employment opportunities due to racial and gender discrimination. These military industries recruited Americans of all races with most of the Black workers that moved to Oregon originating in the south, giving the state an even more Southern influence.[693] Most of the newcomers worked in the Kaiser shipyards in Portland and nearby Vancouver, Washington. The Kaiser Shipyards were two of the largest shipbuilding centers in the country during World War II. Workers of all races came to Oregon on special trains provided by Kaiser and the federal War Manpower Commission. Newly-arrived Black families lived wherever they could find housing, many in temporary and segregated federal war-housing projects, notably Vanport—a city located directly north of Portland built specifically for this purpose. It became the largest wartime housing development in the country, and in 1945, housed more than 6,300 Black people.[694,695] The massive influx of African Americas to the city prompted the development of another Black newspaper, the *Portland Inquirer*—"Oregon's Negro Weekly"—that ran from 1944 until 1946. Even though the newspaper was published in Portland and, even though most of these new Oregonians worked and lived in Portland, it reached the Black community outside of Portland and served as a key conduit for information.

While shipyard jobs attracted the majority of Black migrants to Oregon during World War II, military assignments for non-Blacks caused labor shortages in the railroad and timber industries, bringing additional Black workers and their families to other areas of Oregon. Additionally, the activity to increase the production of war-related materials resulted in the construction of many production facilities, opening the field of construction to more Black people.[696] These increased employment opportunities were in both rural and urban locales in places such as Lane, Klamath, and Umatilla Counties.

A specific example where Black workers were employed was the Reynolds Aluminum plant in Troutdale. Housing for some of these workers was provided at another federally-funded housing project, **Fairview Homes (northwest corner of NE Halsey Street and NE 238th Avenue)**.[697]

Another factor drawing African Americans from other parts of the country to Oregon were military assignments. After America entered World War II, the U.S. military established bases in the state, some of which accommodated Black

[693] Quintard Taylor, "The Great Migration: The Afro-American Communities of Seattle and Portland during the 1940s," *Arizona and the* West, vol 23, no. 2, Summer 1981, 125.

[694] Vanport was destroyed by a catastrophic flood in 1948 that resulted in 15 deaths and the displacement of all 18,500 residents, nearly a third of whom were African Amercans. For more historical background on Vanport, see Galbraith et al., "National Register of Historic Places MPD Form: African American Resources in Portland, Oregon."

[695] Taylor, "The Great Migration: The Afro-American Communities of Seattle and Portland during the 1940s," 117.

[696] Oregon Secretary of State, "A Matter of Color: African Americans Face Discrimination," n.d. Oregon Secretary of State, Exhibits, World War II, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/life-race.aspx, accessed March 9, 2023.

[697] Kimberly S. Moreland et al, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)," City of Portland Bureau of Planning, February 1993, 66.

soldiers. Troops during World War II were segregated, and it is believed that the troops quartered at these bases were also segregated.

Camp Adair

Camp Adair was a U.S. Army cantonment located in Benton County, northeast of Corvallis.[698] Between 1942 and 1945, Camp Adair/Adair Air Force Base was used primarily as a training facility for four infantry divisions. Almost 2,000 buildings were erected at the site and its fluctuating population of about 40,000 made it the third-most populous city in Oregon, after Vanport (42,000 at its peak) and Portland.[699] White and Black soldiers received training at the camp, although it is suspected that they were segregated as was the norm in this era. While other U.S. military bases often had separate recreation and worship facilities for Black troops, Camp Adair did not.[700] However, Camp Adair did host African American entertainers and Black troops quartered there provided entertainment for the nearby communities. A newspaper article from early in the war described the musical entertainment provided by a quintet of Black singers at a Lions Club party in Corvallis. Quartered at Camp Adair but from the Deep South, they offered "rare entertainment" and performed throughout the Willamette Valley.[701]

Kindness was sometimes extended to the Black troops at Camp Adair. When the base's Black quartermasters requested to have their wives relocate to the area, the Chambers of Commerce of Corvallis, Albany, Salem, Monmouth, and Independence found jobs for the women as domestic workers in local homes.[702] The local community also provided charitable gifts to enhance the recreational and cultural facilities at the camp, and one woman was recognized for taking responsibility for seeing that the Black troops had ample support and supplies for recreation."[703]

Pendleton Army Air Base

In 1940, the United States War Department selected Pendleton (in Umatilla County) as the site for an Army Air Corps station known as Pendleton Field.[704] It was constructed and began operating the next year and was also known as the **Pendleton Army Air Base**. By 1942, there were around 150 Black soldiers stationed there. In May 1945, the base was host to the Triple Nickels—an all-Black, all-volunteer unit of paratroopers.[705] Nearly 200 Black men comprised this first all-Black airborne unit in U.S. history.[706] Training to fight in Europe, the Triple Nickles began their journey under an African American named Walter Morris, a first sergeant in the U.S. Army paratrooper school in Fort Benning, Georgia. In 1945 they were transferred by train to Pendleton Field in Oregon.[707]

In Pendleton, only two bars and one Chinese restaurant in town would serve the Black troops. While the attitude was reportedly not hostile, the Triple Nickels had orders not to leave base and go into town. Instead, on at least some

[698] "Camp Blair (sic) Name Given Army Cantonment at Corvallis, War's Largest," *The Oregon Statesman*, March 28, 1942, 1. Camp Adair was named after Lt. Henry Rodney Adair who died in 1916 while trying to replenish supplies of Black troops that were trapped during a major skirmish with Mexican revolutionaries at the US-Mexico border. Camp Adair earned the nickname "Swamp Adair" due to Oregon's damp climate, wet terrain, and training features that involved water.

[699] Carl Abbott, "Vanport," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vanport/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[700] "Colored Feminine Help Will Be Made Available for Homes," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, July 30, 1943.

[701] Merle Hollister, "Lions Club Party Hears Colored Singers," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, August 1, 1942; "Camp Adair Group To Sing at Amity," *The Oregon Statesman*, February 3, 1944, 3.

[702] "Colored Feminine Help Will Be Made Available for Homes," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, July 30, 1943.

[703] Marian Reeve, "Sue Shopper Says," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, October 27, 1949.

[704] Susan Badger Doyle, "Pendleton Field," Oregon Encyclopedia entry, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and the Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/pendleton_field/#.ZAD_RbTMIqw, accessed February 20, 2024.

[705] Oregon Department of Veterans Affairs, "ODVA Black History Month 2023: The Triple Nickles," https://oregondva.com/2023/02/09/odva-black-history-month-2023-the-triple-nickles/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[706] They were the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion, nicknamed "Triple Nickles" because of their unit number.

[707] Sharon Bywater, "Courage Has No Color! The Lasting Legacy of the U.S. Army's First All-Black Paratroopers: Oregon 'Triple Nickles,'" *Southern Oregon Historical Society Quarterly: Making History Together,* Winter 2020-2021, 1-2.

occasions, the paratroopers, courtesy of the United Services Organization, enjoyed some weekends in Portland.[708] The base commander also organized baseball, basketball, and handball games for recreation and entertainment on the base. The Triple Nickels took flying lessons at the airfield, hunted and fished in the region, and attended the Pendleton Round-Up.[709]

The Triple Nickles did not end up in Europe, but instead fought forest fires in Oregon as part of "Operation Firefly." They were the only military unit in American history to work as smokejumpers. This mission originated in response to Japanese balloons carrying incendiary bombs being sent across the Pacific Ocean. Approximately 9,300 of these balloons were launched, intended to start forest fires along the West Coast.[710] The Japanese effort was kept a secret from the American public for fear of inciting panic. Half of the Triple Nickels' missions in the summer and fall of 1945 were airborne-based, smoke-jumping.[711] The only fatality among the Triple Nickles was Malvin L. Brown, the first smokejumper to perish in the line of duty. He was killed on August 6, 1945 after he parachuted into a fire on Lemon Butte in the Umpqua National Forest. His fellow smokejumpers searched through rocky terrain to find his body, then carried him 12 miles to get help. Today, there is a **tribute and statue in honor of Brown** at the Siskiyou Smokejumper Base Museum in Cave Junction, Oregon.[712]

Camp White

Camp White (**8495 Crater Lake Highway**) was a U.S. Army cantonment located north of Medford (in Jackson County). It had a garrison of 40,000 troops in training with approximately 1,000 buildings.[713] The facilities were integrated but Camp White's Black soldiers were not allowed to patronize local businesses. Several newspaper articles discussed the unwillingness of white businesses to serve Black soldiers or their ability to gain entry to Jackson County's entertainment venues. However, similar to efforts at Camp Adair, local citizens sometimes hosted Black troops, such as at the **Topsides Estate Ranch** after they had been denied service in Medford.[714] Later, the Jackson County Defense Recreation Committee opened a recreation hall to accommodate the Black soldiers.[715] In 1944, the United Service Organization opened a center for Black servicemen in Medford on East Main Street.[716]

Clatsop County

In Clatsop County, there were at least four different U.S. military sites, all located in the vicinity of Astoria. These were the **Naval Air Station Tongue Point** (**37573 US-30, Astoria**), **Camp Clatsop** (now Camp Rilea at **33168 Patriot Way, Warrenton**), **Fort Stevens** (**1675 Peter Iredale Road, Hammond**), and the **Naval Hospital** (**River Point Drive, Astoria**). Before America's entry into World War II, Clatsop County enumerated only 17 Black people with five in Astoria. During the war, however, there were approximately 600 segregated Black soldiers stationed in the county

[708] "Negro Soldiers to Weekend in City of Portland," *Herald and News*, November 5, 1942, 14.
[709] Mark Corbet, "The Death of PFC Malvin L. Brown: 'In the Interest of Public Welfare,'" *Smokejumper Magazine,* July 2006.
[710] Klein, Christopher. "When Japan Launched Killer Balloons in World War II," May 5, 2015, History.com, https://www.history.com/news/japans-killer-wwii-balloons, accessed March 10, 2023.
[711] Oregon Department of Veterans Affairs, "ODVA Black History Month 2023: The Triple Nickles."
[712] Bywater, "Courage Has No Color! The Lasting Legacy of the U.S. Army's First All-Black Paratroopers: Oregon 'Triple Nickles.'" There are ongoing discussions to place a historical marker at the intersection of Steamboat Road and the Rogue-Umpqua Scenic Byway (Hwy 138) about 38 miles east of Roseburg, Oregon.
[713] George Kramer, "Camp White," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/camp_white/, accessed February 20, 2024.
[714] "Colored Troops Spend Pleasant Evening at 'Topsides' Ranch," *Medford News*, August 7, 1942; George Kramer, "Carpenter, A.S.V. & Helen Bundy, House/ 'Topsides,' National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2005.
[715] "U.S.O. News," *The Central Point American*, August 6, 1942, 4.
[716] "Negro Center," *Herald and News*, May 25, 1944, 1.

according to Oregon Black Pioneers. The United Services Organizations had a separate entertainment space for Black soldiers on the upper floor of the American Legion building in Astoria (**1132 Exchange Street**).[717]

Five years after the war ended, the influence of the military sites on the Black population persisted, showing massive increases. The 1950 census enumerated 112 Black residents in the county and 39 in Astoria. At least 13 families were living on or near three of the four facilities. (Fort Stevens had closed by then). Most Black families lived at the Navy Heights housing project near Tongue Point in segregated quarters. Nearly all the male heads of Black families in the county worked for the armed forces. In 1960, the county number had declined to 70 as at least the Naval Hospital had shuttered. Tongue Point closed in 1962. By the end of this era, the number of Black people in Clatsop County would skyrocket due to another type of vocational purpose, as will be told later in this era.

Gilliam County

Other military sites continued or started after the war and brought more Black enlistees with the U.S armed forces to Oregon. One small example in a county with a history of only one or two Black residents in recent censuses was the **Condon Air Force Radar Station** (**Richmond Road**). Located west of Condon in Gilliam County, the station opened in 1951. In 1960 eight Black people were living there and, in 1970, the Black population was 14 before the station closed that year. Statewide, there were 55 Black people living in military barracks in 1970.

Portland After the War

Towards the end of World War II thousands of Black residents left the Portland area as ship production was reduced and shipyard jobs were eliminated en masse. Many stayed in Portland while some returned to their original homes in the South. Others relocated to larger industrial centers such as Seattle or cities in California in search of other industrial labor opportunities. To a lesser extent, but significant for this study, a noteworthy number of Black people moved to Eugene.

Wherever the Black shipyard workers and their families moved to, the Portland-Vancouver area saw a rapid reduction in the number of Black residents from around 21,000 in 1945 to 12,000 by 1947. About 5,000 of those who stayed in the Portland area remained in Vanport's war housing, even though it was only intended to be temporary housing until the war was over.[718] While Vanport is outside the scope of the MPD (because it was annexed by Portland during the 1950s and is covered in the Portland MPD), its impact after the war is relevant. Vanport was inundated by Columbia River floodwaters in 1948, leaving 18,000 residents of all races homeless. While many of the thousands of Black refugees relocated within Portland, others were forced to find housing in other parts of the state.

The Civil Rights Movement

This era encapsulates the Civil Rights Movement as it is traditionally known—a momentous time for Black people in the United States. After the war ended in August 1945, African Americans felt empowered to seek more equality following their war-time contributions.[719] The bold and persistent initiative by Black Oregonians ushered in a new wave of racial and civil rights reforms in Oregon. In 1945, groups like the Urban League formed and undertook advocacy that impacted government legislation during this era. These efforts by Black Oregonians were increasingly being supported

[717] Oregon Black Pioneers, "Reel about Fort Stevens and Astoria," https://www.facebook.com/reel/369635569336112/?s=single_unit&__cft__[0]=AZUG3xvi3X6k-jQ5xJfFLjA5RhuWJxiV71yT-HB16tKL2MrgL2i2w819Zph598zlukZ16wcmcMOLxQImU5j3DzMHBCYpmsbIeZvWydddBSK_uNa0Z_ADgQJmpJSwZ1pti4btfcNdxf6EsEo0LDf0KcxyCE7hv5oip-wpMtDcN51QXmOmpR8Uda_dUUJCbFjLUm5pQ_kZn94uq962c0eYg6IJ&__tn__=H-R, accessed March 1, 2024.

[718] William Robbins, "African American and Women Workers in World War II," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/oregon-in-depression-and-war-1925-1945/african-american-and-women-workers-in-world-war-ii/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[719] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 146.

by white Oregonians as well. This combining of forces generated a dynamic period of collective activism that spawned a series of progressive legislation successes that, to an extent, countered and corrected the past discrimination. Even while more victories were needed, it marked a historic period for Black advocacy, as Oregon race relations changed in quick order, with dramatic and enduring results.[720]

On the national scene, one civil rights milestone was a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1948 that found race-based deed restrictions to be legally unenforceable based on the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment. Even though the National Association of Real Estate Board amended their code of ethics accordingly, the practice of discrimination surrounding real estate would continue. Of note, the Supreme Court decision did not prevent individuals from voluntarily restricting to whom they sold property. In Oregon, the state Real Estate Board published their own code that removed mention of race but tacitly permitted the practice to continue by discriminating against any client who "will clearly be detrimental to property values." The common belief was that Blacks taking residence in a neighborhood lowered the value of real estate property in that area. Thus, for the time, Black homebuyers were effectively kept out of many neighborhoods by an unwritten custom.[721]

The year 1949 marked the beginning of a four-year span of progressive civil rights legislation in Oregon.[722] This kicked off with the Fair Employment Practices Act. Passed overwhelmingly by the state legislature in 1949, it empowered the State Labor Bureau to pursue reports of hiring discrimination in the workplace based on race, national origin, or religious affiliation. The Oregon Fair Employment Practices Commission was created to investigate accusations by job seekers. The act set financial and legal penalties for workplace discrimination. Oregon was the sixth state to have such a law.[723]

Two years later, in 1951, the Oregon legislature repealed its ban on interracial marriage, previously enshrined in state law in 1862 and 1866.[724] And, in 1953, the state legislature handily passed an anti-discrimination bill—the Public Accommodations Law—making Jim Crow laws illegal in Oregon.[725] Recall that in 1906, the Oregon Supreme Court had affirmed the right of Oregonians to practice racial discrimination and segregation in public places and in providing services. At the beginning of this era, this law was still in place. In 1939, a bill had been proposed that would outlaw the practice of refusing services on the basis of race. It stalled in a house committee and was re-attempted in 1941 and 1945.[726] The effort finally succeeded with the Public Accommodations Law establishing the legal right to equal facilities with respect to eating, lodging, and entertainment. That said, the law only allowed for civil, and not criminal, action.[727]

The next year, the U.S. Supreme Court mandated the integration of public schools (*Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*). Churches and other organizations throughout Oregon, including the Urban League of Portland, the Portland chapter of the NAACP, the Roseburg Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Lane County Fellowship for Civic Unity had united under the banner of Oregon's Legal Committee for Equal Rights to garner the support for its passage.[728] However, as Governor Mark Hatfield said in 1959, "…laws are meaningless unless they are written in the hearts of men."[729] Issues with segregation still occurred throughout the state following the Public Accommodations Law

[720] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[721] "NAREB Code of Ethics," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/nareb-code-of-ethics/, accessed February 16, 2024.

[722] Moreland et al, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)," 95.

[723] "Fair Employment Measure Passes House by 53-4 Vote," *The Bend Bulletin*, March 19, 1949, 1.

[724] "Act to Prohibit the Intermarriage of Races, 1866," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/act-to-prohibit-the-intermarriage-of-races-1866/, accessed February 20, 2024; "Race Ban Lifted," *Oregon Statesman*, April 13, 1951, 1.

[725] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[726] "Senate Defeats Civil Rights Bill 24 to 6 as Full Galleries Listen to Proponents' Pleas," *The Oregon Statesman*, February 8, 1945, 2.

[727] "Oregon Gets Civil Rights Law," *Portland Challenger*, April 17, 1953, 1.

[728] Moreland et al, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)," 97; "Civil Rights Groups Pack Anti-Racialism Hearing," *Oregon Statesman*, February 20, 1953, 1.

[729] "Oregon's Civil Rights Laws Are Among Nation's Strongest," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 13, 1963, 5.

and the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. In 1963 the Portland chapter of the NAACP tried to secure assurances from officials in Medford, Grants Pass, and Ashland that Blacks could use public accommodations in those cities.[730] (Research did not reveal if they were successful.)

Later in the 1950s, a few other significant changes took place. The Oregon legislature passed the Fair Housing Services Act in 1957, as finding acceptable housing at a fair price was a significant challenge for Black people in Oregon. The problem was most acute in places like Eugene and Salem.[731] The resulting new law made it illegal to discriminate against African Americans in buying and renting places to live. Two years later, another bill passed to extend the law's application to all business enterprises that sell, lease, or rent homes.[732] Another piece of legislation allowed for the revocation of a realtor's license for violation of the law.[733] Finally, in 1959, Oregon formally ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, which had ensured the right of Black men to vote in elections since 1870. While a symbolic change, it was an affirmation that at least some elements within Oregon were trying to move forward rather than hold onto the past.[734] While Oregon's early discriminatory laws and key court rulings had persisted for nearly a century, the national Civil Right Movement in Oregon produced one of the strongest sets of civil rights laws in the country.[735]

The first phase of civil rights victories in the 1940s and 1950s did not immediately change the attitudes of Oregonians nor all of their worst actions. Discrimination was still prevalent in many areas especially outside of Portland. However, organizations for racial progress had gained respect and influence. Progress was reportedly being made and attitudes of a portion of the populace was notably shifting.[736] This shift is well symbolized following the hiring of a Black man, Harold Smith, into a meteorologist position in Medford—a city where "sundown town" practices continued into this era. The local Ministerial Alliance, surely aware of the discriminatory sentiments of some of its citizens, publicly encouraged residents to be welcoming to him and his family.[737] Newspaper articles and editorials subsequently appeared in the Medford *Mail Tribune*, urging acceptance and tolerance of Medford's new Black residents, who lived at **1121 Reddy Avenue**.[738]

The second phase of civil rights victories during this era coincided with the passage of federal legislation. The Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, invalidated Jim Crow laws in America, prohibiting racial segregation in schools, jobs, and public accommodations. The next year, the Voting Rights Act became law, assuring that race, color, or nationality could not be used to abridge the rights of American citizens to vote. Finally, in 1968, passage of the Fair Housing Act outlawed redlining. However, the practice which segregated neighborhoods by race continued in some areas through tacit agreements between realtors, lenders, and sellers.

The 1960s were a momentous era of progress, tension, and change. Black community organizations in Portland encouraged Black Oregonians to uplift themselves economically through homeownership and business development. The decade also coincided with widespread advocacy by university and college students, in part brought about by America's military involvement in Vietnam.[739]

---

[730] Ibid.

[731] "Prof Describes Foreign Student Discrimination," Oregon Daily Emerald, March 28, 1957, 1.

[732] "Fair Housing in Oregon Study," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/fair-housing-in-oregon-study/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[733] Ibid.

[734] David Peterson del Mar, "15th Amendment," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/15th_amendment/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[735] "Oregon's Civil Rights Laws Are Among Nation's Strongest," 5.

[736] Ibid.

[737] "Ministers Deplore 'Racial Prejudice,'" *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 13, 1960, 1.

[738] "There's a Choice to Be Made," *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 13, 1960, 4; A photo of Smith at his meteorological job can be found at "The Weather Man," *Medford Mail Tribune*, November 13, 1960, 17.

[739] "The Wall of Faces," https://www.vvmf.org/Wall-of-Faces/, accessed February 20, 2024. Of 710 Oregonians to die while serving in the armed forces in Vietnam, five were African Americans.

Colleges/Universities

During the Era 4, increasing numbers of Black students in Oregon started enrolling in the state's universities. Every institution had its first, like the first Black enrollee at Pacific University—Hattie Fannings Gaskin—in 1935. By the autumn of 1949, a survey by the Portland chapter of the Urban League showed that Black students were enrolled in 12 of the 16 universities and colleges in the state.[740] At the beginning of the era, they were often there on athletic scholarships, but later were increasingly enrolled as students primarily pursuing academics.[741] However, discrimination at these colleges and universities (and in the cities where they existed) was prevalent.[742] That said, more and more African Americans were enrolling and slowly changed the perceptions and habits of the institutions they studied at and the residents in the area. Eventually, by the end of the era, every city or town in Oregon with a university or college had Black residents. Additionally, Black students across the state increasingly clamored for Black Studies programs and founded Black student unions at colleges and universities. At the end of the era, the 1970 census identified 1,156 Black people in Oregon enrolled in higher learning—796 in public institutions and 360 in private. The census also enumerated 273 African Americans residing in college dormitories in the state.

War on Poverty Programs

The federal War on Poverty was declared in 1964 as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's agenda of a Great Society. This was done, in part, in response to a national poverty rate of about 19%, of which African Americans were disproportionately affected. Amidst a proliferation of War on Poverty agencies and programs were a number of efforts noteworthy for how they impacted African American history in Oregon.

VISTA

Created in 1964, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) was one of these anti-poverty programs and a domestic version of the Peace Corps. The program created employment opportunities for people seeking meaningful work to fight the War on Poverty. Lorinne Brown is one known VISTA volunteer who left Georgia to work in Oregon in 1966. She worked on behalf of the Valley Migrant League. Brown supported families with children who lived in migrant labor camps. Afterwards, she organized a kindergarten in Salem for mixed-race children.[743] The VISTA partnership with Valley Migrant League lasted from 1965 until at least 1968. [744] VISTA trainees routinely supported both migrant labor projects and Job Corps sites.[745]

Job Corps

Another War on Poverty program was the Job Corps, also established in 1964. Oregon had seven Job Corps sites with Black people known to participate in significant numbers during this era. Job Corps was a meaningful contributor to the shift in Black population during this era away from Portland. Out of the approximately 4,736 Black people outside of Portland at the end of the era, about 15% were taking part in Job Corps programs.

At its inception, Job Corps members, called corpsmen, were males between 16 and 21 years of age who participated for six months to two years. Around the country, they were selected for admittance due to their low level of employability as a result of insufficient education. Most were high-school dropouts with reading and writing levels of a sixth grader. Job Corps was open to all races and members came from various ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds.[746] Within a couple of years, women were admitted as well, with participants thereafter known as corps members. Job Corps

[740] "Survey Reports Negro Students," *Oregonian*, November 16, 1949, 12.
[741] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."
[742] "Move to End Discrimination Before Oregon Legislature," *The Bend Bulletin*, February 21, 1953, 4.
[743] "Three VISTA Volunteers Complete First Year of Service for VML," *Opportunity News*, April 29, 1966, 1,3.
[744] "VISTA Volunteers and VML," *Opportunity News*, March 25, 1968, 3.
[745] "VISTA Volunteers to Graduate," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, December 3, 1965, 8.
[746] "Facilities for 500 Provided," *Oregon Journal*, November 9, 1964, 1.

provided members basic education towards the completion of their GED, instilled positive work attitudes, and most crucially, trained them in a variety of vocations.

Thousands of Oregonians applied and only hundreds were admitted in the program's first year. However, the more relevant aspect of Job Corps history is the number of Black corps members that added to the Black population in Oregon.[747] While this study only found a few mentions of numbers, it is clear that Black people made up significant portions of the Job Corps in Oregon. Some Oregon sites reported that 45% of participants were African American.

Out of 109 Job Corps centers in the nation, Oregon had six.[748] These six original centers started in 1965 and were located in mostly rural areas on public land. The rural locations were called conservation centers and provided training in environmental conservation. Corps members completed many projects in their region, including tree planting, forest management, trail and campground construction, forest fire prevention and response, road building, watershed management, recreational facilities. Some centers taught carpentry, masonry, plastering, painting, auto repair, heavy equipment operation, welding, and cooking.[749]

Oregon's single non-rural Job Corps site was an urban center, located just outside of Astoria. The Tongue Point Job Corps Center, located on the former US Naval Air Station, was the second urban center to open in the nation.[750] Up to 800 young men were brought in from around the country to Tongue Point.[751] About 45 percent of the trainees there were Black.[752] One newspaper reported that the Black Tongue Point corpsmen were happy to be away from the poverty, divorced parents, and racial mistreatment that they came from.[753] The young men that first year studied automotive repair, appliance repair, marine engineering, and boat building.

When started in 1965, many of the eleven urban centers in the nation were run by universities. Tongue Point was administered by the University of Oregon. The university partnered with the Philco-Ford Corporation for some of the vocational training provided.[754] After a couple of years, nearly all universities dropped out of the partnership because of conflicts between centers and the communities in which they were located. Afterward, nearly all urban centers were administered by private corporations. [755] However, Tongue Point continued as the only urban center to be administered by a university. The University of Oregon was originally concerned about the lack of success that young adults of minority populations were having in the job market. Universities were also known to struggle with recruiting and retaining minorities and the University of Oregon wanted to help. Job Corps was an opportunity to provide, at an entry level, educational and vocational skills to groups of young people who, according to the Vice President of the University, Ray Hawk, "don't have much destiny in history unless something's done."[756] Further, the University also wanted to use Tongue Point to study why minority youth did not make it to college and learn how to remedy that.[757]

Two years after opening, Tongue Point was converted to a training center for female corps members, while the young men were transferred to other Job Corps sites. The switch was done to meet the Equal Opportunity Act that required 22% of total Job Corps enrollees be women. Tongue Point was instrumental in providing roughly 9,300 spaces nationwide for women by the summer of 1967.[758] At Tongue Point, 650 women were accepted by that first summer.[759]

[747] "Job Corps Popular," *Oregon Journal*, August 28, 1965, 14.
[748] "2 Oregon Job Corps Sites 'Out'," *Oregon Journal*, April 10, 1969, 23.
[749] "Wolf Creek Job Corps Camp's Chief Ready for Quick Start," *Oregon Journal*, December 11, 1964, 23.
[750] "Many Changes Made at Tongue Point," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 1966, 1.
[751] "Job Corps Center Not Poverty Cure," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, June 30, 1966, 8.
[752] Ibid.
[753] "Situation Reassuring at Tongue Point," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 13, 1966, 6.
[754] "Tongue Point to Become Women's Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 6, 1967, 1 and 7.
[755] "University Only School Still Operating Job Corps Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 21, 1872, 11.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Ibid.
[758] "Tongue Point to Become Women's Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 6, 1967, 1 and 7.
[759] "Family Visits for Job Corps Girls Proposed," *Oregon Journal*, October 11, 1967, 15, 18.

The university modified their work-training programs accordingly offering courses in food services, electronics, drafting, business, clerical trades, and nursing aides.[760] Again, approximately 45% of Tongue Point female corps members were Black that first year. Most of the women attained employment after leaving Tongue Point with some having transitioned to college.[761]

The 1970 census for Clatsop County enumerated about 450 Black women at Tongue Point with a large percentage of them originating from the South. Astoria, by contrast, had 54 Black residents. In 1972 Tongue Point was made the pilot center for coed operations, which soon became the standard throughout the nation.[762] Later that year, there were approximately 700 trainees, 85% of whom were nonwhite. [763] As of 2010, more than 25,000 students have received training at Tongue Point.[764]

Oregon's other original Job Corps sites were the conservation centers. These were smaller, serving about 200 trainees at any one time. These also opened in 1965 and included the following:

- **Timberlake Job Corps Center** (**59868 E, OR-224**) was located in the Mt. Hood National Forest of Clackamas County, near Ripplebrook, on the site of the old Acme Lumber Company sawmill.[765] The 1970 census enumerated 150 Black people in the Estacada division, which all or almost all were likely engaged at Timberlake. In 1980, the center had 240 corpsmen with the composition reportedly balanced between white, Black, and Hispanics. Most of the trainees were from the Los Angeles area with significant numbers also from Chicago and Las Vegas. The center was operated through a joint effort of Clackamas Community College, the U.S. Forest Service, and representatives of unionized trades from the Portland area.[766]
- **Angell Job Corps Center** was located five miles south of Waldport in the Siuslaw National Forest on a former (1941-1942) CCC site. It was operated by the U.S. Forest Service. While it is unknown exactly how many Black corpsmen were here, the 1970 U.S. Census for Waldport enumerated 47 Black residents, likely all or most were at Angell Center for the previous census a decade prior enumerated no Black residents. The Angell Center was made coed in 1975—the first conservation center in the nation to do so. That year, there were 185 men with only three from Oregon, one from Alaska, and the rest from Washington. The women at the site mostly trained in forestry, some in carpentry, a couple in painting, and one in welding.[767] Angell Job Corps Center operated until 1986.
- **Wolf Creek Job Corps Center** (**2010 Opportunity Lane**) was located east of Roseburg, 12 miles southeast of Glide. It was administered by the U.S. Forest Service in the Umpqua National Forest. Upon its opening in February 1965, there were 60 men who were considered minorities. The Black men of the program were reportedly well-received by those in Roseburg.[768] The 1970 census showed about 15 Black men living at the Wolf Creek Center.
- **Fort Vannoy Job Corps Center** (**3345 Redwood Highway**) was located southeast of Grants Pass and operated by the Bureau of Land Management. Upon its opening, 224 corpsmen were anticipated. Future professional boxer George Foreman (born 1949 in Texas) was a part of the initial class. He was sixteen at the time, having dropped out of the ninth grade. Foreman stayed at the center for six months. After winning the Olympic gold medal in boxing in 1968, he credited his time at Fort Vannoy with saving his life. His illustrious boxing career

[760] "Tongue Point to Become Women's Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 6, 1967, 1 and 7.
[761] "University Only School Still Operating Job Corps Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 21, 1972, 11.
[762] "Tongue Point Job Corps Center Celebrates 45 Years," *The Daily Astorian*, January 31, 1910, https://www.dailyastorian.com/news/tongue-point-job-corps-center-celebrates-45-years/article_1cb17157-3b33-5b13-a53b-563e2350d399.html
[763] "University Only School Still Operating Job Corps Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 21, 1972, 11.
[764] "Tongue Point Job Corps Center Celebrates 45 Years," *The Daily Astorian*, January 31, 1910, https://www.dailyastorian.com/news/tongue-point-job-corps-center-celebrates-45-years/article_1cb17157-3b33-5b13-a53b-563e2350d399.html
[765] "It's a Place Where You Can Come and Help Yourself in the Future," *The Print*, November 12, 1980, 6.
[766] Ibid.
[767] "Job Corps Goes Coed; Oregon Center First," *Oregon Journal*, January 10, 1975, 27.
[768] "Many Astoria Residents Wary of Antipoverty Training Camp," *Oregon Journal*, December 14, 1964, 2.

began at the center when he heard a radio broadcast of a bout and was encouraged to try boxing by another corpsman.[769] Fort Vannoy Center had a short life, closing in 1968.

- **Tillamook Job Corps Camp** at the former Tillamook Naval Air Station in Tillamook County was the first Job Corps Center to open in Oregon.[770] It was operated by the Bureau of Land Management but also had a short life, operating from 1965 until 1969.
- One other original center also closed in 1969. **Malheur Job Corps Camp**, located at the Malheur Wildlife Refuge, was operated by the U.S. Bureau of Sports Fisheries & Wildlife and later the Bureau of Land Management.[771] One of the Black corpsmen there had never experienced racial discrimination in his Southern hometown but he was ordered off the sidewalk by a local resident in Burns. Even an older Black instructor at the Malheur center reported being threatened in Burns because of his race.[772]

The closure of three of these Job Corps sites at the end of the era was compensated for by the creation of the Springdale Job Corps Center in unincorporated Springdale, near Troutdale, east of Portland. Started in 1970 and operated by the Portland School District, it provided training for upwards of 300 male and female corps members, most from the Portland metro area. Some lived on site as residents and others arrived by bus each day. The vocational course offerings included business, welding, auto body repair, food services, health occupations, small engine repair, and dental assistance.[773] It operated in conjunction with a "skill center" in downtown Portland, also in partnership with the Portland School District. The skill center functioned more as a day school than a full-time residential center.[774]

Upward Bound

Another program that was funded through the War on Poverty was Upward Bound. The University of Oregon started an Upward Bound project during the summer of 1965 following internal concerns about the lack of Black students. The pioneering effort hosted 76 high school graduates, half of them Black, who had barely graduated and lacked college qualifications. The eight-week summer program provided guidance, counseling, and cram courses for college preparation. The support continued into the fall term when all participants either started regular coursework as university students or as special projects, taking a smaller course load. The participants had to pay their own tuition but were provided with room, board, and a stipend. They also all worked jobs on the campus. The success of the program in its first year prompted more than 200 other colleges and universities to initiate similar Upward Bound programs throughout the nation.[775]

Suburban Migration

In large cities across the nation increasing numbers of Americans—mostly upper- and middle-class white Americans—relocated to the suburbs after World War II. The mix of forces, policies, and preferences that created this shift also applied to Portland with families moving to East Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas Counties. Even though many Black people remained in the town of Vanport and the Albina neighborhood of Portland following the war, others increasingly began to move outside of Portland's boundaries into other cities and unincorporated areas in the three counties in the Portland metropolitan area. While this trend is noteworthy, it did not produce any dense, geographically proximate communities of Black Oregonians.

[769] Stephen R. Mark, "George Edward Foreman (1949--) in Oregon", *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/foreman-george/, accessed February 20, 2024.
[770] "Forest Service Official Describes Purpose of Youth Camp in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, October 15, 1964, 6.
[771] "Situation Reassuring at Tongue Point," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 13, 1966, 6.
[772] "Problems Hamper Progress of Job Corps in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, August 16, 1965, 2.
[773] "Job Corps Holds Open House," *Portland Observer*, August 18, 1977, 7.
[774] "2 Oregon Job Corps Sites 'Out'," *Oregon Journal*, April 10, 1969, 23.
[775] "Project Upward Bound Proves Deprived You Can Make the Grade," *Oregonian*, June 5, 1966, 26.

There were 109 Black people living in Multnomah County outside the city of Portland's boundaries in 1940. This number comprised 5.3% of the county's total number of Black residents. By 1950, the share of Black Multnomah County residents living outside of Portland rose to 13%. Blacks were starting to move to places like Gresham, Fairview, Corbett, and Rockwood.

Clackamas County had 40 Black people living in generally very dispersed locations throughout the county at the beginning of this era. This was a very small percentage of the total population—the fourth-most populated county in Oregon at the time. The Black population, as would be expected, rose in 1950 to 85 with only 37% of them in urban areas; the rest were scattered in the many rural communities throughout the county. A sizeable number of males were employed with the railroads. The numbers grew again in 1960 but remained spread out widely. In 1970, however, the number was much higher at 372 even when factoring in the presence of about 150 at the Timberlake Job Corps Center.

Washington County had no more than ten Black residents until the 1950 Census. That year 47 were enumerated with 22 of them employed as railroad laborers living in segregated quarters west of the town of Timber. One county resident was a Black student at Pacific University in Forest Grove. The rest were all nearly domestic workers, usually living in homes headed by white people. The number crept up slightly in 1960 with some Black people scattered widely, including in rural locations like North Plains and Buxton. But by the end of the era, the Black population in the county was increasing drastically. One Washington County company—Tektronix—employed approximately 200 Black people in 1969. That said, most of these workers, including Ozella Canada, a Black woman hired in 1959, commuted by bus from Portland.[776]

Locations of High Black Populations Outside of Portland

Other than the two timber company towns of Maxville and Vernonia, all the other population centers presented in the previous era continued to host notably high numbers of Black Oregonians and will be discussed here. Added to this are some new cities that were previously not profiled, but these places saw population increases such that they became noteworthy communities.

Eugene and Lane County

This era marked the beginning of what eventually became Oregon's second-most-populous Black city, behind Portland. Before this started to develop Lane County had only 15 Black people in 1940, of which seven were in Eugene. However, events already presented earlier caused all of that to change. The war industry did not only touch Portland and caused an increase in jobs in lumber mills and working in for the railroads in and around Eugene. Many of these jobs were previously filled by white men who either were drafted into the war or drawn away by better paying jobs in the war industry. With all the change, the total population in Lane County grew by 82% in the 1940s. The number of Black people increased following the end of the war, as most Black shipyard employees who chose to leave Portland but stay in Oregon, moved to Eugene.[777] They were enticed by sawmill jobs and dam construction—namely the Lookout Point/Meridian Dam. [778] Additionally, the Southern Pacific railroad, who had hired many Black laborers during the war continued to do so. [779]

By the 1950 census, there were 254 Black people in the county and 63% of the Black population was male, reflecting the presence of single men working as laborers during the war. Almost half of this Black population resided in rural areas, yet only a handful were on a farm. Many of these rural people were working as railroad laborers in often segregated residences, sometimes in bunkhouses. Eugene—the center of population for the county—only had 22% (55)

[776] City of Beaverton, "Our Cities, Our Stories."
[777] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 281.
[778] "Racial Problem Strikes Eugene," *Oregonian*, February 10, 1952, 1 and 24.
[779] "Eugene Citizens Begin to Seek Means of Helping Negroes," *Oregonian*, February 11, 1952, 12.

of the county's Black residents with 13 living in the dormitories at the University of Oregon. Of the remainder, there were some families but not many children.

The number of Black people in the county rose in 1960 to 336. Most significantly, there were 168 individuals in the Eugene area, including in Springfield where there were 34. As more and more African Americans continued to move to Eugene and Lane County, by the end of the era, the number of Black residents in the county more than doubled and in Eugene it had tripled.

Housing and the Ferry Street Settlement

Housing was a critical issue for Black residents of Eugene during this era. In the 1940s, as in previous decades, property owners commonly refused to sell or rent to African Americans. Without other options, many took residence on land owned by Lane County on the north bank of the Willamette River. It was an area where transients would camp, sometimes referred to as "Tent City." With the Black (and a small number of white) families living on county property, they built wood-framed houses often out of scrap lumber. The residentially segregated community became known as the **"Ferry Street Settlement" (where Alton Baker Park is located).** [780] While there was no plumbing and flooding of the Willamette River was a regular occurrence, the community became the hub for African American families and included a church and other services held in a tent structure.[781] A local church—the Fairmount Christian Church—helped to build the tent chapel. At its peak, the neighborhood had 65 to 70 Black residents. It is thought that the number of whites was 30 to 35.[782]

In March 1948, the residents of the Ferry Street Settlement were given six months to leave and, within a year, a new vehicular bridge was constructed on the site. Some successfully found homes elsewhere while others did not. A Eugene committee of fifteen whites and seven Blacks formed to find a new location.[783] One member of the committee convinced five real estate agents to sell contiguous lots to form another community along Amazon Creek, paralleling West 11th Street, 1.5 miles west of the city limits. The new area did not have water, sewage, or any system for drainage. It was, however, recently protected from seasonal flooding of the creek by dikes. The community was home to 39 Black people in 1950—more than half of Eugene's Black population.[784] Comprising around a dozen families, they lived in one- to two-room shacks and trailers.[785] A **historical marker** designates the Amazon Creek community on the south side of West 11th Street, east of Sam Reynolds St., near the bus stop.

After the Ferry Street neighborhood in Eugene was destroyed, about 10 of the families found housing scattered elsewhere in white neighborhoods, either renting or owning. Leon Glaster and his family was one of these. Leon worked at a barber shop in the day and at a drive-in restaurant at night. His family of four was able to rent a house at 2785 Friendly Street. While some neighbors accepted the family, others threatened to "blow the house off its foundation" if the landlord allowed the Glasters to stay. The landlord disregarded the threats, the Glasters stayed, and the house was not destroyed.[786]

[780] The Oregon SHPO OARRA database has a polygon for this community but no formal site form. Although no site has been confirmed on the property that is associated with the Ferry Street Settlement there is still a high probability that there are some archaeological deposits related to the community. Chrisanne Beckner, "Cultural Demolition: What Was Lost When Eugene Razed Its First Black Neighborhood?" Master's thesis, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 2009, electronic document accessed on Oregon SHPO GIS database September 30, 2022.

[781] Peggy Nagae, "Dealing With Race," in *Eugene 1945-2000: Decisions That Made a Community*, ed. Kathleen Holt and Cheri Brooks, Eugene: City Club of Eugene, 2000, 199-200; Thomas C. Hogg, "Black Man in White Town," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63, no. 1, 1972, 14–21; Beckner, "Cultural Demolition," 102-103.

[782] See intensive level survey for the Ferry Street Settlement that accompanied this MPD.

[783] "Racial Problem Strikes Eugene," *Oregonian*, February 10, 1952, 1 and 24.

[784] Ibid.

[785] Ibid.

[786] Ibid.

Another married Black couple who had lived at Ferry Street—C. B. and Annie Mims—bought a couple lots with homes in Eugene and would provide housing to other Black people. Before doing so, C. B. came to Eugene during the war in hopes of gaining employment in the timber products industry. He was unsuccessful and instead became a busboy at the Osburn Hotel, a now-demolished early 20th-century hotel located in downtown Eugene. Unable to find housing, the family moved to the Ferry Street Settlement. Evicted from there, they received a personal loan and bought two houses just north of downtown Eugene. They began living in one of the houses in 1948 and rented the other to fellow African Americans. The Mims' houses became a welcome haven for Black people, both full-time residents of Eugene and travelers. Celebrities who traveled to perform in the area such as Ella Fitzgerald and Nat "King" Cole stayed at the house because they were denied lodging at commercial establishments. The house continued to be a safe haven for other performers and athletes while segregation was still common. C. B and Annie became the full, sole owners of the houses in 1955. The **Mims Hotel** (**330 High Street**) is a contributing resource in the East Skinner Butte Historic District. [787]

Another married Black couple also provided critical housing to Black people in Eugene during the same period. Leo and Pearlie Mae Washington had moved from Arkansas in 1941 and resided in Eugene during World War II. They worked as the butler, yard man, and maid for the lumber-mill-owning Russell family. Leo also worked for the railroad and later owned his own shoeshine stand. The Washingtons were able to find housing in downtown Eugene and near the end of the 1940s moved to a house one block away from the Mims (on East 2nd Avenue between Mill and High Streets; demolished). They provided housing for African-American boarders there who were denied permanent and temporary housing elsewhere. Guests included a young Sammy Davis, Jr. touring with his father and uncle as the Will Maston Trio. [788] The Washingtons were pressured by neighbors to leave the neighborhood because they were Black, but they persevered and remained there.

Sam and Mattie Reynolds were among the first residents of the Ferry Street Settlement and at Amazon Creek. They had relocated to Lane County from Louisiana in 1942 and briefly resided near Oakridge, where Sam worked for the railroad. They were unsuccessful in trying to rent a home within Eugene and ended up at the Ferry Street Settlement.[789] Sam accepted a job at a Eugene sawmill and eventually became the joint owner of a sawmill, possibly located southwest of Eugene along the Lorane Highway.[790] After being displaced from Ferry Street, the Reynolds family accounted for 9 of the 39 residents at Amazon Creek. They purchased four of the lots, one which had an unfinished shack.[791] By living through these challenging experiences, both Sam and Mattie became leaders of the Black community in Eugene, including as civil rights activists. In 1966, Mattie became the first Black person to ever seek elective office in Eugene, vying for a seat on the City Council. A street was eventually named after Sam Reynolds at the site of Amazon Creek (Sam Reynolds Street).

Another area that Black families settled in after the eviction from Ferry Street was Glenwood—a neighborhood between Eugene and Springfield. Twelve Black families rented small houses of substandard construction from Sam Lewis, an elderly white man. The cheaper cabins had three small rooms and were unpainted.[792] Glenwood was another area prone to flooding, though it did have limited utilities. In 1950, the area of Glenwood known as "Skunk Hollow" had 16 Black residents—mostly men working in railroad jobs living with their families.

"Race Problem" and the Eugene Chapter of CORE

In 1952, there were about 135 Black residents in the Eugene area, with two-thirds of them outside the city limits at the time, living along Amazon Creek and in Glenwood. Housing problems, due to the poor conditions in these locations and

[787] OHSD (Res. Id. No. 59545)
[788] Beckner, 73.
[789] Beckner, 88.
[790] "Lumber Parley to Be Resumed," *Eugene Register-Guard*, March 23, 1945, 3; Beckner, 88. The job he accepted may have been at the Sun Valley Lumber Company, which was operated by Sam Reynolds, Clarence Taylor, and Pearl Maupin.
[791] "Racial Problem Strikes Eugene," *Oregonian*, February 10, 1952, 1 & 24.
[792] Ibid.

the ongoing discrimination by landlords, had continued. Inordinately high unemployment, caused by businesses such as Southern Pacific and some sawmills reversing course and ceasing to hire African Americans, also hindered the ability for Black people to secure housing or to move elsewhere.[793] Eugene's "race problem" caught nation-wide attention, spurred, in part, by Portland's Urban League helping to publicize the scandal. About 400 citizens attended a panel discussion put on by the Eugene League of Women Voters on the housing and job discrimination problems facing Eugene's Black population. [794] When attendees realized that Black people in Eugene were not going away, they focused on where they could live and what support they needed to be able to do so. When the formation of a volunteer committee was agreed upon to help solve the "race problem," 183 people volunteered.[795] Research did not reveal how successful they were at creating change.

In 1963, lower-income Black areas of housing were reported to still exist in Eugene.[796] Eugene's Black residents continued to face housing and job insecurity, and the poor quality of education for Black students also became a chief concern. The establishment of the Eugene chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1963 was an important moment in the city's civil rights movement. CORE started in Chicago in 1942 by an interracial group of students. In Eugene, CORE gathered data on incidents of police profiling, they publicly demonstrated against racism, and tested job and housing listings for racial discrimination. The founders of CORE in Eugene were mostly newcomers to the state and, consequently, many Black Oregonians were skeptical to get involved.[797]

Churches in Eugene

As was the case for most Black communities, churches played a vital role in community cohesion and connection. Annie Mims, Mattie Reynolds, and the Washingtons were among the leaders who started the first Black church to be formally organized in Eugene. Along with others who had worshipped together in the Ferry Street settlement, they met in the Washington's home in 1949 and discussed the formation of a new church. The **St. Mark Christian Methodist Episcopal Church** was founded on July 11, 1949 as a predominantly Black congregation. Originally, services were held in the Washington's home. The church community went on to purchase two lots with a two-room shack (**3995 W 12th Avenue**).[798] A modest church building was later built with materials donated by a local lumberman and employer of Sam Reynolds, J. P. O'Neill.[799] They held a benefit concert to raise money to build the church. The first minister was Reverend John T. Taylor, who had construction experience. By October of 1949 services were taking place in the parsonage they had built. In the meantime, Taylor and the others were building their church, adjacent to the parsonage.[800] Completed in the spring of 1950, the church (**1167 Sam Reynolds Street**) served as a place of worship, and an important meeting place where the Black community could gather, socialize, and organize.[801] Reverand Taylor stayed until mid-1951 when Reverand Herman C. Riley took over. The church is still active today and continues to offer worship services to the predominantly African American fellowship in its original location. In 1987, the city nearly condemned the building due to structural deficiencies, but the congregation remedied them. At some point, many members of the congregation were members of CORE and their meetings took place there.

Another predominantly Black church that started in c. 1950 was the Jerusalem Church of God in Christ at 1210 Chambers Street. This is an area for further research.

---

[793] "Eugene Citizens Begin to Seek Means of Helping Negroes," *Oregonian*, February 11, 1952, 12.
[794] Ibid.
[795] "Eugene Group Takes Steps for Race Relations Council," *Oregonian*, February 14, 1952, 9.
[796] "Oregon Negroes Seek to Break Pattern of Segregated Housing," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 17, 1963, 5.
[797] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 284.
[798] "Racial Problem Strikes Eugene," *Oregonian*, February 10, 1952, 1 and 24.
[799] Beckner, 82-83.
[800] "St. Mark's CME," *Eugene Register-Guard*, December 3, 1949, 3, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/140776843/.
[801] "Small Church To Be Aided By Concert," *Eugene Register Guard*, December 12, 1949, 8, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/140777147/; see also intensive-level survey for the St. Mark church that accompanied this MPD.

Glenwood had a predominantly Black congregation, possibly called the Antioch Baptist Church. Glenwood resident and construction worker Arthur J. Shankle attended this church. After becoming a preacher, he founded the Bethel Temple Faith Ministries in Glenwood. In 1965, the Bethel Temple Faith congregation purchased the Antioch Baptist Church property. As the first African American member of Oregon's local carpenter union, Shankle built a church for his Bethel Temple Faith Ministries.[802] Bethel Temple is now the **Shankle Safe Haven** (**1545 Brooklyn Street**).[803] Shankle would build two more churches, one in Salem during this era, and another one for Bethel Temple in Eugene in the next era.

The University of Oregon

Picking up from the University of Oregon discussion in Era 4, Black students continued to enroll at the university in increasing numbers. In the 1950-51 school year, there were 17-18 Black students enrolled.[804] During the era, the University established a student chapter of the NAACP, which began as early as 1949. As students came and went, the chapter would cease only to be revived by others when events in the city spurred action. For example, the widely publicized housing problems of the Black residents in 1952 led to its revival.[805] [806] [807] The University of Oregon also established a Black Studies Department and created the Black Student Union (BSU) in 1966 to foster activism regarding issues of racial discrimination on campus.

DeNorval "De" Unthank, Jr. was the first Black man to graduate from the University of Oregon Architecture School.[808] He was the son of notable Portland resident—Dr. DeNorval Unthank, Sr.—who moved to the city in 1929 from Kansas City, Missouri, shortly after his son was born. After arriving in Portland, the family's time was marked by discrimination, threats, and vandalism, especially in the early years. Unthank, Jr. attended Portland public schools, then attended Howard University—a historically Black university. However, he returned to Oregon after two years and began his studies at the University of Oregon. Following the completion of his architecture degree, one of his early projects was the 1952 **Robert D. and Opal R. Clark House** (**2323 University Street**). He also designed the 1958 **Crasemann House** (**2520 Woodland Drive**). Both houses are located in the Fairmount Neighborhood in Eugene.

Unthank, Jr. was responsible for major buildings in Eugene and the University of Oregon campus over the course of his career. The Lane County Courthouse (**125 E 8th Avenue**) and its associated **park block** (1959) were both designed with partners Robert Wilmsen and Charles W. Endicott of the firm Wilmsen, Endicott & Unthank. He was honored by the Southwest Oregon Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1961. He also was responsible for **Kennedy Middle School** (**2200 Bailey Hill Road**) in Eugene and **Thurston High School** (**333 North 58th Street**) in Springfield, which opened in the early-1960s. On the University of Oregon campus, he designed **McKenzie Hall** (1970) and the **Bean Dormitory** complex of 1962. In 2017, the Dunn Hall wing of the Hamilton Hall Complex dormitory was renamed Unthank Hall to honor him. While he did not design the building, it was thought by the University and his family that naming a building on the campus of the school that gave him opportunities and to which he contributed much—including through teaching—was a fitting tribute.[809]

[802] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 180.

[803] Tiffany Eckert, "Historic Black church building in Glenwood becomes sanctuary for Lane County's homeless," *KLCC Radio*, October 6, 222, https://www.klcc.org/2022-10-06/historic-black-church-building-in-glenwood-becomes-sanctuary-for-lane-countys-homeless, accessed February 20, 2024.

[804] "Does Oregon Need NAACP?," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 1951, 2.

[805] "Students Form NAACP Chapter," *Herald and News*, February 15, 1952, 6.

[806] "Meeting Today Features Speech on Race Problem," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, February 13, 1952, 1.

[807] "Does Oregon Need NAACP?," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 1951, 2.

[808] Unthank, Jr. was born in 1929 and died in 2000.

[809] Herman L. Brame, *DeNorval Unthank, Jr.: Pioneering Oregon Architect*, 2015, 3; Dean Rea, "Business Beat." *Albany Democrat-Herald*, January 25, 1961; "Unthank Family Celebrates New Dormitory at UO" *Albany Democrat-Herald*, July 13, 2017.

Black Panther Party in Eugene

A chapter of the Black Panther Party started in Eugene in 1968 with support from founders of the Seattle chapter.[810] In 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had been founded in Oakland, California by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton and grew across the nation in the next couple years with chapters in most major American cities. Its original purpose was to provide protection for African American residents from local police. They eventually shortened the name to the Black Panther Party and incorporated Marxist revolutionary principles for the liberation of African Americans. They also provided a wide range of community assistance/social services in education, medical supports, legal aid, transportation, and a Free Breakfast for Children Program.[811] The Eugene chapter grew out of the Black Student Union at the University. With a membership of 18-20 at its peak, they addressed issues that Black university students had with the school's community, racism, and academics. Membership in the local Black Panther chapters in Oregon was small; however, Eugene's Black Panther Party had significant overlap with the University of Oregon's Black Student Union. While the student union focused on issues related to campus life, the Panthers sought to address problems within the greater Black community. Chapter activities included organizing a free breakfast program that served up to 40 young children daily in Eugene, a Liberation School that taught African and African-American history, health and dental clinics, and a public speaker program.[812] Like other chapters around the country, in 1969, the Eugene Chapter began to experience armed confrontations with and harassment by the local police. The Eugene Chapter ended in 1970 when members moved away from Eugene.[813]

Corvallis and Benton County

Oregon State University, as mentioned in the previous era, graduated its first Black person in 1918 (Palmer Patton) with limited numbers of others in the 1920s. In 1950, there were at least three Black students living on campus but only 15 Black people total were living in Benton County. However, in 1960, there were 75 living in the county with nearly all of them in the area of Corvallis.

As in Eugene, Black students at Oregon State agitated for a Black Studies Department and, in 1966, founded a Black Student Union to foster activism regarding issues of racial discrimination on campus. The group also promoted Black culture and Black history through talks, film festivals, and social events. In 1968, the union had about 50 students as members, and they began to actively recruit students of African descent to study at the university and to take more high-profile actions in response to ongoing discriminatory acts on campus.[814]

In 1969, the group staged a walkout protest against university policies that forced Fred Milton—a Black football athlete—to shave his beard and mustache. The coach threatened to expel Milton from the team and void his scholarship. Weeks after the walkout, hundreds of students and university employees joined in support as they began a boycott. The students created *The Scab Sheet*—an underground newspaper to counter the bias shown by the mainstream student newspaper.[815] Meanwhile, counterdemonstrations occurred in support of the coach. Students were incensed with the lack of responsiveness to the concerns of discrimination and, as a result, only 18 out of the 56 Black Student Union members that were enrolled in the winter term registered for the spring term. Milton transferred to another university

[810] Taylor, "In Search of the Racial Frontier: African American in the America West 1528-1900," 304; Jaja Anderson (Tommy), "Short History of Black Panther Eugene, Oregon Chapter," *It's About Time: Black Panther Legacy*, http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Chapter_History/Eugene_Oregon_Chapter.html, accessed March 10, 2023.

[811] "Black Panther Party," *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party/Legacy, accessed February 20, 2024.

[812] Anderson, "Short History of Black Panther in Eugene, Oregon".

[813] Ibid.

[814] "Welcome to the Lonnie B. Harris Black Cultural Center, *Oregon State University,* https://dce.oregonstate.edu/bcc, accessed February 20, 2024.

[815] "The Scab Sheet: An Underground Newspaper Exposing OSU's Dark Past," *OMA and OSQA Blog,* https://blogs.oregonstate.edu/oregonmulticulturalarchives/2012/02/24/scab-sheet/, accessed February 20, 2024.

where he played football and graduated. After graduation he lived and worked in Portland, including for city government. The athletic scandal harmed the university's ability to recruit Black players for years after.[816]

Nevertheless, in 1970, the number of Black residents in Benton County had more than doubled, with 162 of the 172 Black people living in the vicinity of Corvallis. About 40 of these were Black students living in student dormitories, likely a decrease from a year or two prior.

Klamath Falls and Klamath County

Described in Era 4, Klamath Falls' Black District continued into this era. New Black-owned businesses had popped up, such as Stella's Place—a Black nightclub on Broad Street. In the 1940s, the city lost some of its Black population, though some remained in the suburbs close to Klamath Falls. One of those developing suburbs was Altamont, directly southeast of Klamath Falls, which included an air base—the Klamath Falls Naval Air Station. It was commissioned in 1944 towards the end of World War II as a final training base for pilots and their crews who were approaching the end of their training for combat.[817] While it is unknown how many Black soldiers went through the base, at least one Black man was there in 1945—boxer Al Burkhardt. By the 1950 census, with the war in the past, the Altamont precinct encompassed the base, and it enumerated nine Black people, all of whom were working the typical jobs with none directly tied to the base.

Klamath Falls's Black population in 1950 remained mostly steady at 60 but the total county population nearly doubled since 1940. Growing numbers of Black residents were living in other communities in the county—a trend that started towards the end of the previous era. When considering the population of Klamath County outside of Klamath Falls, the increase in Black population during the first decade of this era was 205%, rising to 119 individuals. Far-flung rural towns were suddenly housing many African Americans. Chiloquin, a town of 688 total population, had about 40 Black people living in at least 11 households, including many with children. The small community around Crescent Lake had a sizeable number of Black loggers and railroad laborers. The town of Bly hosted a number of Black male sawmill workers.

While the naval air station had been only minimally active since the end of the war, in 1954 the U.S. Air Force took control and two years later dedicated the base and renamed it Kingsley Field. In 1958, the Air Force constructed Falcon Heights, a residential area of 290 housing units for military personnel. [818] The following 1960 Census, the town of Altamont added 60 Black residents from ten years prior, now home to 69 Black people. It is presumed much of the increased Black population was due to Kingsley Field. By 1970, the U.S. Census division enumerated 88 Black people in the Altamont division with 62 living in the town.

Along with the growth at Altamont, the rest of Klamath County was also drawing more Black people during the 1950s, with the county seeing a 155% rise in its Black population during the decade, to 456 Black residents in 1960. About half were living in rural areas. Klamath Falls' Black population had added over one hundred individuals, rising to 163. One 1963 report indicated that the city still had lower-income Black housing areas, presumably the ARK and the Black District.[819] At the end of this era, Klamath Falls continued to add Black population, now with 224, which was 1.4% of the total city population. Those living in the county outside of the city declined even though the total county number, because of Klamath Falls' growth, increased to 469.

[816] William G. Robbins, "Fred Milton (1948-2011), *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/milton_fred/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[817] United States Air Force, 173rd Fighter Wing, "The History of Kingsley Field and Its Namesake," https://www.173fw.ang.af.mil/About-Us/History/, accessed March 2023.

[818] Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

[819] "Oregon Negroes Seek to Break Pattern of Segregated Housing," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 17, 1963, 5.

Caroline Timms and the Gospel Mission Church

With regard to the Gospel Mission Church, which was a central part of the Black community as discussed in Era 4, Caroline Timms continued her work as the head of the church even though some of the congregation had left. The church's roof collapsed due to heavy snow in 1952 and, consequently, Timms would hold church services in her home, where she had lived at since moving to Klamath Falls, 217 Klamath Ave (demolished). This practice continued for four years until the church raised enough funds to erect a new building adjacent to the damaged church.[820] In the 1955 City Directory it was called the Gospel Mission of the United Holy Church of America. Caroline remained the pastor of the church until her death in 1963 and she is buried in the Linkville Pioneer Cemetery.[821] The building that served as a church for both the AME Zion Church and later the Union Gospel Mission remains intact (**251 Commercial Street**).[822]

Cemetery Segregation

A noteworthy incident of segregation that occurred in Klamath Falls in the 1940s was resolved when the NAACP stepped in. It involved Pete Williams—a resident of Klamath Falls for only three years towards the beginning of this era. He was born in 1921 in Arkansas and joined the U.S. Army, serving in World War II from 1941-1943. Afterwards, he lived in Klamath Falls and worked as a railroad laborer. When he died at age 27 in 1948, he was set to be buried at the Klamath Memorial Park—a cemetery for veterans. However, an ordinance stipulated it was only available for whites and so he was instead buried at the Linkville Pioneer Cemetery. Residents of all races protested the segregation, particularly of a war veteran. The matter was half-heartedly resolved by the city which, on the basis that such exclusion of a war veteran was unconstitutional, established within the veterans' cemetery, a segregated section for non-whites. Eventually the local chapter of the NAACP helped to overturn this supposed solution of slightly-less segregation and, as a result, all race-based policies at the Klamath Memorial Park Cemetery were removed.[823] It is unknown what year the local NAACP chapter formed in Klamath Falls but it was certainly established by 1958. In 1963, the city held the NAACP area conference and Mrs. William Barnett was reelected president of the local chapter.[824]

Pendleton and Umatilla County

Pendleton saw a slowing and possible decline in its Black population during the 1930s. However, following the influx of Black people to the state during World War II, the number of Black residents in Umatilla County and in Pendleton rose. In 1950, there were 202 in the city—an increase of 312% from ten years prior. Umatilla County also saw an increase to 319—a bump of 343%. Much of this increase, in addition to Pendleton, took place in the town of Hermiston, which had previously experienced modest growth until World War II. The Umatilla Army Depot was constructed there in 1941 as the world's largest munitions depot, storing and maintaining the nation's military ammunition and supplies.[825] Hermiston's total population rose from 803 in 1940 to 3,804 in 1950. That year, the census enumerated 55 Black people living in Hermiston. There were relatively few families and only a couple of children. Most of the families lived next to one another in a few different locations. The men worked in heavy construction as laborers and as ammunition handlers at the Depot. Some of the other traditional jobs were also evident in the census, especially for the women who were employed in domestic roles.

By 1960, the numbers in the county had declined some. The decline was most pronounced in Pendleton, which dropped 28%. Still, among Black populations, Pendleton was the third most populous city for African Americans behind Portland and Klamath Falls (and Salem if the institutionalized population is included.) These 142 residents were almost

[820] Ruth King, "New Klamath Falls Church Dedication Ceremony Held," *The Herald and News*, December 13, 1956, 2, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/103924268/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[821] Ruth King, "KF Evangelist Candidate For 'Mother of The Year'," *The Herald and News*, February 23, 1960, 3, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/97310147/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[822] The building is currently used by the Unity Faith Full Gospel Church.

[823] Casteel, 18.

[824] "NAACP Dinner Meeting," *Herald and News*, August 29, 1963, 4.

[825] "Umatilla Chemical Depot," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umatilla_Chemical_Depot, accessed February 20, 2024.

all living in the low-income SW neighborhood.[826] Pendleton and Umatilla County would continue to lose numbers of Black people in subsequent censuses before rising again by 1990. Hermiston, however, continued to add to its Black population, hitting 70 in 1960, comprising 1.6% of the total population of 4,402. The number made it the seventh-most populous Black city in Oregon at the time. Collectively, Umatilla County had the fourth-highest population of Black people behind Multnomah, Lane, and Klamath Counties. The depot in Hermiston switched to chemical weapons storage in 1962 and, whether related or not, the town's population of Blacks declined some by 1970.

Malheur County

Black people started moving in significant numbers to Malheur County during this era, particularly starting in the 1950s. Malheur is in the far-flung southeast corner of the state—the opposite corner of Portland. The presence of the Amalgamated Sugar Beet Company, which opened in the 1930s, might have started employing African Americans during this era. Other agricultural activities, encouraged by federal irrigation projects, were drawing people to this area as migrant farm workers. By 1960, there were 74 Black people in the county. Despite the county's large geographic size, nearly all of these individuals resided in a small area in the northeastern part of the county, triangulated between the towns of Nyssa, Ontario, and Vale. With its moderate total population of 22,764 people, Malheur County was tied for eighth-highest countywide Black population that census, only bested by counties with cities that had large concentrations of Black people and a couple of counties that had much larger total populations. Malheur was also unique in 1960 for its high percentage of non-white residents (5.7%; higher than Portland), nearly all who were not Black but rather Japanese, with over 1,100 following their forced relocation there during World War II.

Salem

Recall that in 1940 the Black population in Salem, aside from those living as inmates or patients in the state's institutions, was on a downward trend. By 1950, there were only two Black families living in the city. There were more Black residents, however, including a dozen segregated railroad laborers living along the tracks at 14th Street SE and Howard Street SE within the city. Two female students were living in the dormitories at Willamette University and one Black maid lived in a white home. In 1960, the total numbers in the county had risen although it is unknown how many were living in the community. Reports of housing discrimination occurred following the Fair Housing laws enacted in 1957 and 1959. For instance, a Black employee of IBM was transferred from Portland to Salem in 1963 and, when his family tried to move in to an apartment in NW Salem, the lock had been changed by the landlord. [827] Compton McKenzie, a native of Guyana, filed a complaint with the Oregon Bureau of Labor who sued the landlord for discrimination, the first of its kind to be heard in the state.[828] The 1964 trial was resolved with a mid-trial settlement that granted the family lodging in the 12-unit building.[829]

In the 1960s, Salem's community of African Americans was mostly made up of families who ended up staying in Oregon after traveling to the Willamette Valley as migrant farm workers.[830] For example, Larry Darnell Wilson, veteran of the U.S. Army and Air Force, brought his family to Salem in 1962, moving from Arizona as migrant farm workers. A few years later, threatening language towards them was written on a cross and later rotten apples were thrown through the windows. In 1968, Wilson was an employee of the Salem Department of Public Works and his wife, Mattie, worked for a piano repair company. One of their sons was president of the sophomore class at North Salem High School—the first African American to be elected class president in the school. With things going relatively well, the Wilsons bought

[826] "Oregon Negroes Seek to Break Pattern of Segregated Housing," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 17, 1963, 5.
[827] "Negroes Likely to Win Salem Apartment Row," *Oregonian*, September 18, 1963, 18.
[828] "Duncan Denies Change of Venue," *The Bulletin* [Bend], February 15, 1964, 2; A photo of McKenzie and his wife can be found at "Couple Test Oregon's Civil Rights Law," *Statesman Journal*, January 25, 1964, 5.
[829] "Goerkes Agree to Rent Negro Pair Apartment," *The Bulletin* [Bend], April 18, 1964, 2; "Settlement Ends Race Law Test," *Oregon Journal*, April 18, 1964, 1.
[830] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 177.

a house (**1605 4th Street NE**). Shortly after, it was shot with bullets from a passing car, nearly missing some of his children sleeping in their beds.[831]

Claudia Mae Thompson was possibly a relative of the Wilsons. She would become the first Black nurse in Salem, joining the Salem Hospital in 1966. She traveled to Oregon in 1962 with her husband, Robert Lee Thompson, as a migrant berry picker, working for a contractor. After returning to Arizona, they worked again as Oregon migrant farm workers in 1964. Based in Parkdale in Hood River County, they relocated to Salem, intending to stay permanently and cease working as migrant farm laborers. Both of the Thompsons eventually found jobs through the local employment office. Claudia first worked as a housekeeper for a department store. After taking an aptitude test, she utilized funds available through the federal Manpower Act to pay for her nursing education at Chemeketa Community College. After working at the Salem Hospital for a few years she then worked at the state-run Fairview Hospital. In addition to raising a family, she had a 30-year career in nursing.[832]

In the Independence area—just southwest of Salem—was an office of the Valley Migrant League, which advocated for Black and Mexican/Latino migrant farm laborers, mostly in the Willamette Valley. The league formed in 1964 and was funded as part of America's Great Society anti-poverty programs. A private non-profit, it also had offices in Ontario, Hermiston, Talent, and Hood River. [833] At the "opportunity center" in Independence, Chris Bernard was a Black man working as a supervisor, supporting farm workers in establishing more economically-secure lives. Bernard is an example of the slowly increasing numbers of Black professionals working outside of Portland during the latter part of this era.

La Grande

Building on the Black population gains in Era 4, La Grande saw further increases in this era. In 1950, the number rose 167% to 104—a relatively high 1.2% of the city's population. In the Black District, there were at least 93 Black residents living in 22 households with most of them being families, many with lots of children. All the adults worked jobs traditionally held by Black workers but, contrasted with previous censuses, there was only one Black man employed in the railroad industry and notably more janitors. Additionally, nine others in two households lived north of the city limits. After 1950, the number of Blacks seemed to have declined by about 30%. The Black percentage of the population remained roughly stable, though declining, until the end of this study, at around 0.7%.

The Boyd Memorial Baptist Church kept on at 1320 T Avenue and added a basement to their church in 1953.[834] The church was once pastored by Reverend Joseph Poole of La Grande, remembered for his quality upholstery business, and Julius Coleman, a former logger.

Black Vignettes

These vignettes describe the stories of five Black Oregonians who made notable accomplishments in the state during Era 5. With more research, additional stories will certainly be uncovered.

William Tebeau (Corvallis, Baker City, and Salem)

Long thought to be the first Black man to graduate from Oregon State University, William "Bill" Tebeau had an extraordinary career in Oregon.[835] As mentioned in the section on Baker City in Era 3, Tebeau was the grandson of John and Melinda Tebeau and was born in Baker City in Era 4. He had what seems like an exceptional youth, claiming a

[831] "Salem Negro Family Lives in Fear," *Oregonian*, May 14, 1968, 15.
[832] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 195-204.
[833] "Valley Migrant League," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/valley_migrant_league/, accessed February 20, 2024.
[834] "Building Permits," *La Grande Observer*, February 13, 1953, 2.
[835] Bill Tebeau (pronounced "Tee-bow") lived from 1925 to 2013.

good education, enjoying his experience as a traveling musical performer, and becoming an Eagle Scout.[836] Upon his arrival at Oregon State, where he did not specify his race on his application, he was told there was no housing for him, and it was suggested he switch to the University of Oregon in Eugene instead. Tebeau was insistent on remaining and found housing and work in Corvallis. Tebeau earned a degree in chemical engineering in 1948.[837] After being unable to secure employment as a chemical engineer in the Pacific Northwest, Tebeau returned to Baker City and worked a menial labor job for the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT). In the meantime, he studied independently to get hired as a civil engineer. He worked for the next 36 years for ODOT, eventually as a civil engineer on construction, surveying, planning, and design. In addition to his position at ODOT, he also worked as a part-time teacher at Chemeketa Community College in Salem for 30 years, where he and his family lived. He taught math, economics, thermal dynamics, physics, chemistry, engineering, and surveying principles to prospective ODOT engineers and others. Over his lifetime he received multiple awards, for professional, educational, and community achievements, as well as for his role as a trailblazing Black pioneer in his field.[838]

Winston Jerome (Eugene)

Winston "Harry" Jerome (1940-1982) was a Canadian track athlete and Olympic bronze medalist, physical educator, and political consultant. An excellent athlete from an early age, Jerome broke the Canadian 220-yard record at the age of eighteen. This attracted the attention of the University of Oregon, which invited him to run for its track team, where he would study physical education on an athletic scholarship. Over the next few years, Jerome would equal the 100-meter world record at the Canadian Olympic trials in 1960. He would equal the 4 x-110-yard relay world record with a University of Oregon team in 1962. Two years later he won the 100-meter bronze medal for Canada at the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. He also won gold medals at the 1966 Commonwealth Games and the 1967 Pan American Games, among other achievements. He ran his last race in 1969, at the age of 29.[839]

Jerome received a B.S. in physical education from the University of Oregon in 1964, and an M.S. in 1968. He taught physical education in Canada and was subsequently involved in several physical education programs, including the National Fitness and Amateur Sport Program, and the Premier's Sports Award Program. He was also personally involved in the creation of Canada's Ministry of Sport.[840] He was a vocal advocate for athletes in general and minority athletes in particular. In 1982, he tragically passed away at the young age of 42, following a brain seizure.[841] Just before his death, Jerome was inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame in 1981 (three years after its creation). He was inducted into the University of Oregon's Sports Hall of Fame in 1993.

Otis Davis (Eugene)

Otis Davis (born 1932) is a former track athlete, two-time Olympic gold medalist, and educator. Born in Alabama, Davis began his adult life with a four-year stint in the U.S. Air Force, during the Korean War.[842] He played basketball and baseball while enlisted, and upon leaving the service, he enrolled at the University of Oregon on a basketball scholarship. Originally intending to become a professional basketball player, he switched his focus to track and field in 1958, at the age of 26. Just two years later, he competed at the 1960 Rome Olympics and won the 400-meter gold medal, making him the first University of Oregon Olympic gold medalist. He not only set a world record with that race, but also became the first person in human history to run that distance in under 45 seconds. Not only that, but two days

[836] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 161.
[837] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 161-165.
[838] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 165-168.
[839] Tabitha De Bruin, "Harry Jerome," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 24, 2008. Electronic resource: https://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/harry-jerome, accessed March 13, 2023.
[840] "Harry Jerome - Track & Field." Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, December 11, 2018, www.oregonsportshall.org/timeline/harry-jerome-track-field, accessed March 13, 2023.
[841] De Bruin, "Harry Jerome."
[842] "Otis Davis - 2004 Hall of Fame Inductee," The National Track & Field Hall of Fame, https://www.usatf.org/athlete-bios/otis-davis, accessed March 13, 2023.

later Davis helped the American 4x400-meter relay team win another gold medal and set another world record in the process. This makes him one of only two two-time Olympic gold medalists from Oregon (and the only one for more than 50 years, until Oregonian Ashton Eaton won his second Olympic gold medal in 2016).[843]

Davis' track career was as short as it was spectacular, and he retired from competing in 1961, just three years after picking up the sport. He remained near Eugene and worked as a teacher in Springfield for many years. He then moved to New Jersey, where he worked as a verification officer, coach, and mentor. He founded and presided over the US Olympians Tri-States Chapter, and as of 2015 (when he was 83), he was running United Athletes, LLC, another organization he founded which recognizes and promotes young athletes. He was inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame in 1981, the University of Oregon Hall of Fame in 1992, and the USA Track & Field Hall of Fame in 2004.[844] He is one of five track & field icons depicted on the exterior of the tower at the newly remodeled Hayward Field in Eugene.

Ahmad Rashad (Eugene)

Ahmad Rashad (born Robert "Bobby" Earl Moore in 1949) was a sportscaster and professional football player. Born in Portland, he grew up in Tacoma, Washington, before enrolling at the University of Oregon in 1967. He played football there, setting the school records for rushing, receptions, all-purpose yardage, and scoring—records which stood for 18 years.[845] He was named College Football All-American in 1971 and his receiving total at the University of Oregon is still unbeaten.[846] He subsequently embarked on a professional football career, playing and setting various records with teams from St. Louis, Buffalo, and Minnesota. After retiring from professional football, Rashad worked as a sportscaster, becoming one of the most popular reporters covering football and basketball. He was inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame in 1987 and the University of Oregon Sports Hall of Fame in 1992.[847]

Margaret Johnson Bailes (Eugene)

Margaret Johnson Bailes (born 1951) is a former track athlete and an Olympic gold medalist. Born in New York City, her family moved to Eugene in 1956 when she was five years old. The Johnsons were one among many Black families moving to Lane County in the mid-20th century at the time that county's Black population was surging. Still, among her age group in Eugene, Johnson Bailes was one of only a handful of Black individuals, and as a highschooler she was bullied for her race by white students. Furthermore, once she became involved in sports at the age of nine, she (and others involved with the local girls' running club) experienced discrimination from some community members who opposed the participation of girls in sports. Still, she persisted in her passion, and by the time she was in seventh grade she was the best girls' youth sprinter in America.[848] In Eugene, she attended Lincoln Elementary School and Churchill High School. She ran track for the latter (setting the state high school records for 100 and 200 meters, both of which still stand) as well as for the Oregon Track Club. In 1968, at seventeen, she equaled the world record for 100 meters at the national championships. A few months later at the Mexico City Olympics, she and her teammates won the gold medal in the 4 x 100-meter relay, setting a world record in the process. Although she retired from the sport that same year, her track legacy lives on. The Arts & Technology Academy in west Eugene has named its **racetrack** (on which Johnson Bailes used to practice in her youth) in her honor, and a commemorative plaque stands near the entrance. In 1991,

[843] Bob Moseley and Zach Lawson, "But First There Was Otis," Hayward Field, University of Oregon, n.d., https://hayward.uoregon.edu/otis-davis, accessed March 13, 2023.

[844] "Otis Davis, BS '60," UO Alumni, University of Oregon, November 6, 2015, https://www.uoalumni.com/s/1540/21/interior.aspx?sid=1540&gid=3&pgid=5008, accessed March 13, 2023.

[845] "Ahmad Rashad," University of Oregon Hall of Fame, 2023, https://goducks.com/honors/hall-of-fame/ahmad-rashad/165, accessed March 14, 2023.

[846] "Ahmad Rashad – Football," Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, 2018, http://oregonsportshall.org/timeline/ahmad-rashad-football/, accessed March 14, 2023.

[847] Ibid.

[848] Ashley Conklin, "Celebrating high school track phenom Margaret Johnson Bailes," *World Athletics*, February 1, 2022, https://worldathletics.org/news/feature/celebrating-high-school-track-phenom-margaret-johnson-bailes, accessed February 20, 2024.

Johnson Bailes was the first Black woman to be inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame. Finally, in 2019, she was among the first inductees into the recently created National High School Track and Field Hall of Fame.[849]

ERA 6: THE RECENT BLACK PAST (1970-2002)

Overview of Era 6

This era begins with the dawn of a new decade and, in some ways, the dusk of the ardent phase of the battle for civil rights, at least for most African Americans in Oregon. The advocacy would undoubtedly continue but not with the same urgency and passion. From the beginning of this era, Black Oregonians were more integrated into the wider society than they ever had been before. As a result, some individuals attained pronounced success and prominence. Race relations were perceptibly changing for the better, although to what degree was highly dependent on location. Despite the progress, a large percentage of Black people remained in the same station in life as before. Others began to shun the dominant culture and fortify their own sense of identity.

For this study, the last three decades of the 20th century brought about a slight weakening of the centrality of Portland in the story of African Americans in Oregon as areas outside the city saw more growth than within Portland. This reversal started at the end of the previous era but became more of an established pattern throughout Era 6. Less significant of a pattern, yet still notable, was the immigration of African refugees to the state, mostly to Portland and its suburbs. Locations with sizable populations of Black residents from the previous era continued to develop and expand in most cases. The exception to this continued growth were those locations outside of the Willamette Valley, as Oregon's Black population centers east of the Cascade Mountains all stagnated or declined.

A few pieces of state legislation and an important court case were significant during this era for African-American history in Oregon and the experience of Black Oregonians going forward. One of the legislative actions, approved by the voters of Oregon, serves as the bookend for this MPD, for it closed the door substantially further on Oregon's legacy as a state that, at the highest level, plainly and profoundly discriminated against African Americans.

Political Advocacy, Legislative Action, Court Cases, and Race Relations

The intense flame of the Civil Rights Movement died down at the beginning of this era. After so many victories in the previous era, there was a return to a sense of complacency. There was also a backlash against Black people for what some Oregonians perceived as victories for equality but came at a loss to their culture. However, many Black Oregonians continued to push for improvements by organizing and advocating. The 1970s saw a rise in Afrocentrism[850] within Black communities nationwide and many Black Oregonians did things to celebrate their heritage, such as changing their names and adopting a Pan-African wardrobe. Affirmative phrases like "Black is Beautiful" celebrated the beauty and strength of African American people. However, many of the older Black Oregonians were ambivalent and wanted to be unnoticed, thereby avoiding the pain of Oregon's legacy of injustice.[851]

New Black newspapers started providing coverage and readership to other parts of the state. The *Portland Observer* newspaper started in 1970 and *The Skanner* newspaper started in 1975. New local branches of the NAACP were formed in the Willamette Valley, in part, organized by Calvin Henry. He would become the president of the Corvallis branch and tried to instill a political voice of African Americans in Oregon. In 1969, Oregon was one of nine states without a Black person holding elected office, but that year was the start of a slew of elected positions being filled by Black

[849] Ibid.
[850] Afrocentrism was a cultural and political movement giving central importance to the culture and history of Africa.
[851] Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 284-285.

Oregonians.[852] These were dominated by positions in Portland and Multnomah County at first.[853] (Multnomah County, outside of Portland, is part of this MPD's study area.)

In 1977, the Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs was created with the goal of improving the political, educational, social, legal, and economic status of Black Oregonians and to build a better Oregon for them. Calvin Henry, along with 60 others, were responsible for the formation of the group. Every other year they held the Oregon Black Political Convention to bring African Americans from across the state to take action that impacts their communities and to support candidates for public office. The biggest concern was that Blacks felt they must tolerate crimes or discrimination because they cannot get suitable legal representation. The Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs successfully lobbied the state to conduct a study that was released in 1994: the Oregon Supreme Court Taskforce on Racial and Ethnic Issues. This concluded that bias exists in the legal system and that non-minorities working in the justice system need ongoing, cross-cultural training. Despite the successful effort, no law resulted from it.[854] The Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs is still active with its work in the state.

Another statewide group that formed in this era to serve Black Oregonians was the Black United Fund of Oregon. It started in Portland in 1983 to, among other things, change the disproportionately low level of charitable dollars given to organizations serving Black people. Working across the state, their effort later included scholarships for youth and programming focused on education and economic opportunities. The nonprofit is still active today.

One of the most notable pieces of state legislation during this era was the re-ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (recall that Oregon had rescinded its ratification in 1868). It was spearheaded by the first African American to serve in the Oregon House of Representatives—William "Bill" Lipscomb McCoy. While he lived in Portland and his district only represented the city, one of his first actions as an elected legislator was to introduce legislation for the re-ratification. The bill passed the Oregon Legislature on May 21, 1973. He served one two-year term and then was appointed to the Oregon Senate in 1974 and was later elected as a senator. In 1970, his wife, Gladys McCoy, was the first African American to be elected to the Portland School Board. Years later Gladys McCoy was elected to the Multnomah County Board of Commissioners in 1978, the first Black woman to serve in Multnomah County government, and eventually became the commission's chairwoman.[855]

Mulugeta Seraw

The racially-motivated killing of a Black man named Mulugeta Seraw in 1988 had a significant impact on the history of Black people in Oregon. Race relations in the state became a prominent concern once again. Following the murder, Oregon lawmakers would soon pass legislation that also served as the basis for subsequent federal legislation. Further, the outcome of a civil court case initiated by the family of Seraw led to historic changes in how racially-driven intolerance manifested throughout the nation.

The murder of Seraw—a student from Ethiopia—drew the attention of people throughout Oregon, and even across the globe.[856] Seraw was a resident of Portland and was killed in that city; however, the episode reached far beyond Oregon's largest city, re-exposing the state's history of racism and underscored the growing presence of neo-Nazi

[852] "Oregon One of 9 States Without Elected Negro," *Oregonian*, June 26, 1969, 24.

[853] "Racing to Change: Oregon's Civil Rights Years," *Oregon Black Pioneers,* https://oregonblackpioneers.org/exhibit/racing-to-change/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[854] Urban League of Portland, 100-101.

[855] Alison Gash, "Gladys McCoy (1928-1993)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, a project of the Oregon Historical Society, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/mccoy-gladys/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[856] Elden Rosenthal, "White Supremacy and Hatred in the Streets of Portland: The Murder of Mulugeta Seraw," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 120, no. 4, (2019): 588-605; Elinor Langer, "Mulugeta Seraw (1960-1988)," Oregon Encyclopedia, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/seraw-mulugeta/#.ZADtjT3MJPY, accessed March 1, 2023.

skinheads, especially in the Pacific Northwest.[857] Skinheads had originated in Great Britain in the 1970s and became known for their racist ideology.[858] Starting in the 1980s, neo-Nazi groups commonly recruited in the predominately white states of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington. Portland was among a handful of cities in the country during the 1980s that had the most skinhead activity.

Former Ku Klux Klan grand dragon member Tom Metzger, and the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) group he founded in 1983, would ultimately be implicated in inciting the murder of Seraw—the first killing by skinheads in the Pacific Northwest.[859] Based in California, Metzger admired some of the active Pacific Northwest white nationalists and, in 1988, sent his best recruiter—Dave Mazzella—to Portland to organize a skinhead gang called East Side White Pride. For several weeks, Mazzella trained the gang. Shortly thereafter, three Portland members happened upon Mulugeta Seraw and his Ethiopian friends and proceeded to terrorize them, ultimately crushing Seraw's head with a bat. The three men at the scene of the murder all later pleaded guilty to the charges they faced.[860]

Seraw's killing came as a shock to the residents of Portland, a city that, over the last couple of decades, had garnered an image of progressive politics and tolerance as key aspects of its civic character.[861] However, racial animosity had not faded from the public sphere during the early parts of this era. (Further research might show its exact prevalence, public manifestations, and how it became more subdued.) Following the deadly assault, the Portland area experienced an increase in a variety of hate crimes and not just white-on-black. These crimes nearly tripled in the months after, averaging more than two per week.[862] Encouraged by the resurgence, Dave Mazzella subsequently went to southern Oregon (the location of some of the state's most violent activity in the 1920s), where he was accused of organizing as many as 60 skinheads, resulting in another surge of hate crimes.[863]

Less than a year after the murder, Oregon legislators passed a groundbreaking law to track hate crimes, whereby police were required to report all bias crimes into a statewide database. This prompted the federal government, in 1991, to pass a similar law requiring the collection of national hate-crime data.

Seraw's father and son initiated a civil case against Tom Metzger and WAR. In part, their effort was an attempt to bankrupt both the man and his organization and to also "provide a conduit for public education on the evil of hate crimes."[864] After the prosecution successfully argued that Metzger had directly influenced the killers to commit violence, the jury awarded the largest civil verdict in Oregon history at $12.5 million.[865] It was also a record judgment for a racism-based case in the country.[866]

---

[857] Langer, "Mulugeta Seraw."

[858] "Leaders Join Forces to Fight Hate Crimes," *Oregonian*, July 22, 1993, section F, page 2.

[859] "One Killing Drew the Skinheads to Portland," *Oregonian*, November 12, 1989, 1.

[860] "Third Man Sentenced in Slaying," *Oregonian*, November 30, 1989, section G, page 10.

[861] Rosenthal, 589.

[862] "In Oregon Climate, Skinheads Sprout," *Oregonian*, March 23, 1989, section E, page 8; "Portland-Area Hate Crimes Rise After Murder of Ethiopian Man," *Oregonian*, August 1, 1989, section B, page 4; "One Killing Drew the Skinheads to Portland," *Oregonian*, November 12, 1989, 1.

[863] Bryan Denson, "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged," *Oregonian,* November 12, 2014, https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/11/1998_story_legacy_of_a_hate_cr.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

[864] Violet Showers Johnson, "When Blackness Stings: African and Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, Race, and Racism in Late Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Fall 2016), 47, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.36.1.0031, accessed February 20, 2024.

[865] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Berhanu v. Metzger: What Aryan Resistance/Skinheads Case, https://www.splcenter.org/seeking-justice/case-docket/berhanu-v-metzger, accessed January 6, 2023.

[866]Brad Benett, "'Remember Mulugeta': 30 years after SPLC lawsuit, life and legacy of man killed by hate group memorialized," October 25, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/news/2020/10/25/remember-mulugeta-30-years-after-splc-lawsuit-life-and-legacy-man-killed-hate-group, accessed January 6, 2023.

Following completion of the trial, hate-group activity reportedly slowed in 1990 in Portland.[867] The number of people believed to be involved in hate groups in America also subsequently declined even though there was a rise in the number of such groups. However, they were intentionally smaller in size, trying to maintain a lower profile, using telephone answering machines, mail drops, distribution of recruiting flyers, and early internet sites rather than more trackable means of organizing.[868]

Hate Crimes and Anti-Hate Groups

The Seraw murder heightened awareness of the threat of racially-motivated violence in the state. In response, numerous Oregon groups formed and/or added elements to their existing efforts to reduce the chances for future race-motivated violence. By the latter part of the 1990s, Oregon had a network of human rights activists and organizations united against hate in various forms, and not all based in Portland.[869] They were not all were focused on preventing violence against Black people with many forming to support gay/lesbian Oregonians. Collectively, they formed a substantial bulwark against hate. Future research might more fully reveal how these groups came to fruition, the degree to which the various forms of hate were addressed within each one, and to what extent the Seraw murder/case inspired their development.

One of these anti-hate groups, Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice, formed after the murderous 1992 firebombing by a group of three men associated with racist skinhead groups. The victims who lost their lives were both gay, one of them Black (Hattie Mae Cohens and white, intellectually-disabled man Brian Mock). Their murder was preceded by a few run-ins with the perpetrators in the days and weeks prior, all stemming from the hateful conduct of the three men. The attackers were at least partially motivated by the race of the victims, which also included at least four other Black people in the home who were injured. [870] The next year, a member of the Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice group, who were known to resist the violence of racist skinheads with their own violent actions, shot and killed a racist skinhead in Portland.[871] At the time, there were approximately 200 to 300 neo-Nazi skinheads active in Oregon. Oregon was still among the top seven states that had the most skinhead activity. [872]

The captain of Portland Police Bureau's East Precinct when Seraw was murdered (Wayne Inman) was the chief of police of Billings, the largest city in Montana, in 1992 when a series of racially-motivated hate crimes occurred. He vociferously urged residents to take immediate action to counter the message the attackers made. Billings residents did so in force, combining the power of citizen activists, civic leaders, business owners, law enforcement, faith groups, and local media helping to nullify the effect of the attacks.[873] A Public Broadcasting Service documentary, *Not in Our Town,* was made about Billings' response to the incident, which also included mention of Seraw's murder. The work was aired as part of public events in various locales in Oregon, organized by the state's various anti-hate groups.[874] The showings occurred a month after another deadly hate crime in Oregon, this one driven not by race, but sexual orientation. A white Medford couple (Roxanne Ellis and Michelle Adbill) was murdered in December 1995 because of their sexual orientation and advocacy for the rights of gay and lesbian Oregonians. Their deaths and the broadcast of the documentary led to Oregon declaring the first week of January 1996 to be "Not in Our Town Week."[875]

Later that year, a cross-burning by five white men occurred in front of the home of a Black U.S. Army veteran, Billy Ballard, in Gresham. It was the first cross-burning in Gresham history and was investigated as a hate crime by the

[867] "Cross Burning: A Smell of Hate," *Oregonian*, June 18, 1996, 1.
[868] Bryan Denson, "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged."
[869] "Facing Hate," *Just Out*, January 19, 1996, 13.
[870] Bryan Denson, "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged."; "Facing Hate," 13.
[871] "Bryan Denson, "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged."
[872] "Leaders Join Forces to Fight Hate Crimes," *Oregonian*, July 22, 1993, section F, page 2.
[873] "Facing Hate," 13.
[874] Ibid.
[875] Ibid.

Federal Bureau of Investigations. Ballard had been attacked in an unrelated incident the previous year when his house was ransacked, his car was stolen, and he was beaten into a three-week coma. When he moved to the house c. 1976, he was the first Black person in the neighborhood in the Rockwood area of west Gresham, somewhere on SE 179th Avenue.[876] The cross-burners, one clearly tied to a local hate group named Volksfront, were arrested and convicted. A local hate watchdog group, possibly the East Metro Human Rights Coalition began monitoring the activities of Volksfront, prompting them to operate underground.[877]

Day of Acknowledgment

In the ten years following the murder of Mulugeta Seraw, other instances of hate crimes continued. In 1992, the prevalence of them peaked in Oregon. By 1997, hate crimes per year were only 20% as prevalent (545 down to 108). Nationally, hate crimes peaked in 1993, declining thereafter as the country's economy improved.[878] The efforts of Oregon activists to counter the bias and intolerance, however, was notable. Continued initiatives by activists culminated in an important way on April 22, 1999. A Day of Acknowledgment ceremony was held in the state capitol building in Salem during a joint session of the state legislature, attended by the governor and state Supreme Court. The event was timed to coincide with the 150th anniversary of Oregon's second exclusion law that made it illegal for Black people to take up residence in Oregon.[879] The legislative action had been proposed and organized by Oregon Uniting, a Portland-based organization focused on racial reconciliation.[880]

More than 800 attendees watched the governor and legislative leaders sign the bill acknowledging the "racial discrimination, exclusion, bigotry, and great injustice" towards Black Oregonians and other people of color.[881] The resolution had passed the Oregon senate unanimously that morning with seven members of the house voting against it.[882] Speeches followed the signing, celebrating those who advocated for change, recognizing the state's history towards racial minorities, condemning discriminatory attitudes, with state and local officials vowing to pursue justice for future acts of racial bias.[883] Some lawmakers claimed the day sparked a new level of awareness and sensitivity for people of color.

The spirit generated by the event inspired the passage of other pieces of legislation. The first piece expanded the scope of history Oregon schoolchildren were taught and the second required multicultural curriculum that includes "all of our stories" as a part of instruction on Oregon history and government. This legislation had been proposed every session since 1993 did not garner the necessary support until after the Day of Acknowledgment.[884]

Measure 14

The final year for this MPD study coincides with the passage of Measure 14 by the voters of Oregon in 2002. This milestone reaffirmed the state's recent attempts to reconcile the history of injustice toward Black Oregonians and advanced it in a new avenue. Measure 14 was an amendment that removed all references to the race of its citizens from the state constitution: phrases and terms such as "white population," "white" inhabitants, "free Negroes" and "mulattoes." These words had remained in sections of the constitution that were made obsolete by 1926's repeal of exclusion clauses and by the passage of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. State Senator Avel Gordly of Portland led the effort, one that started in 1991, to amend the constitution. Only following the events of the 1990s,

[876] "Cross Burning: A Smell of Hate," 1.; "FBI, Police Arrest Two in Gresham Cross-Burning," *Oregonian*, July 26, 1996, 1.
[877] "Bryan Denson, "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged."; "Undaunted," *Just Out*, July 5, 1996, 11.
[878] "Hate Crimes Fall, But Only on Paper," *Oregonian*, October 4, 1998, section D, page 1.
[879] "Day to Acknowledge Racism Grows Into Year of Awareness," *Oregonian*, April 23, 2000, C06.
[880] "Some Want Oregon to Formally Mark Racial Bias in Past," *Oregonian*, February 16, 1999, 1.
[881] "Day to Acknowledge Racism Grows Into Year of Awareness," C06; Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 191.
[882] "State Faces Up to the Racism of its Past," *Oregonian*, April 23, 1999, 1.
[883] "Your Vote on Measure 14 Can Unite, Divide," *Oregonian*, October 30, 2002, B02.
[884] "Day to Acknowledge Racism Grows Into Year of Awareness," C06.

which had drawn more attention to Oregon's legacy of unjust treatment of Black people, did it receive enough attention to prompt lawmakers into action.[885] After the initiative was approved by the state legislature, voters approved Measure 14 by a wide margin on November 5, 2002.[886]

Employment Changes

The significant change in employment access that was brought about during the previous era was becoming more clearly evident in this era. African Americans held a more diverse range of employment options and were no longer found in the relatively few job types that were open to Black people for most of their history in Oregon. Some industries and employers made it a point to hire more diverse workforces. While many Black Oregonians continued to feel the effects of discrimination and a system which disadvantaged them, others moved into more professional roles, with some becoming influential and successful leaders. As shown in the table below, the top four employment sectors where Black Oregonians were employed at the beginning of the era were first as service workers, next as clerical workers, then manufacturing/industry, followed by professional/technical jobs.[887] The data does include all of Oregon including Black workers in Portland, which comprised 82% of the state's Black population at the time. Further research might show how Black Oregonians outside of Portland fared in the changing employment landscape.

1970 Census - Employment Sectors	Black Workers	% of Total
Service Workers	2,272	26.6%
Clerical Workers	1,504	17.6%
Manufacturing/Industry	1,260	14.8%
Professional/Technical	991	11.6%
Craftsmen/Foremen	686	8.0%
Non-Farm Laborers	650	7.6%
Managers/Administration	339	4.0%
Private Household Workers	334	3.9%
Transport Equipment Operatives	209	2.4%
Sales Workers	174	2.0%
Farm Laborers/Foremen	102	1.2%
Farmers/Farm Managers	15	0.2%
TOTAL	8,536	

Figure 7 - Black Workers in Oregon by Employment Sector

In the 1980s, however, American companies began moving their means of production overseas to utilize the relatively cheap labor available in some foreign countries. This brought high unemployment nationwide, which hit Black Oregonians especially hard.

During this era, Black Oregonians were also still being employed as migrant farm workers, although farm-related jobs made up the smallest percentage of jobs held by Black people statewide. Hood River County with its numerous orchards is a good example. In 1970, there were 36 Black people in the county with 29 of them in the farming area of Odell. At the end of the era there were 117 in the county, only 35 in the town of Hood River, nine in Odell, one in Cascade Locks,

[885] Peter Prengaman, "Oregon's Racist Language Faces Vote," *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, September 26, 2002, https://www.theintelligencer.com/news/article/Oregon-s-Racist-Language-Faces-Vote-10487849.php, accessed February 20, 2024.

[886] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 192.

[887] US Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Oregon*. Chapter C. Page 39-199. Table 93. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/population-volume-1/1970a_or-06.pdf, accessed February 28, 2024.

but 72 in Oak Grove, amidst the fruit orchards. The Culver census division in Jefferson County and the area around Independence in Polk County—both with significant agriculture—were two other examples with similar numbers. Independence had three Black residents in 1960 but in 1970 it had 41.

Suburbanization Continues

The suburbanization trend that started in the previous era continued, heightened by new challenges African American families remaining in Portland were facing. Many factors contributed to the gradual process of Black families leaving the city. However, it was the loss of community and civic life that hit Black residents particularly hard. Urban renewal, the overuse of eminent domain, school bussing to integrate the public schools, the failure of the War on Poverty to aid more than the middle class, drug addiction, the draconian War on Drugs, and the draw of gangs all made Portland, by and large, a less favorable place for African American families to be. Additionally, by the late 1990s and continuing into the early 2000s, the gentrification of North and Northeast Portland was well underway and the attendant rise in the cost of housing continued to push more Portland families out.

Increasing numbers of Black families became part of the suburban migration and many of these Black families moved to Gresham, Troutdale, Fairview, and Maywood Park—all east of Portland in Multnomah County. In Clackamas County, they moved to Milwaukie, West Linn, and Lake Oswego. Washington County was a bit slower than the other two Portland metro area counties to see a substantial influx of Black people. The greatest numbers were in Forest Grove, Beaverton, and Hillsboro. Black people were also relocating to Vancouver, Washington—directly north of Portland on the other side of the Columbia River.

Increased African Immigration

The movement of Black people to Oregon during this era declined compared to the fevered rate of growth that occurred in Era 5. However, it is worthwhile for this context statement to study a new phenomenon that developed during this era: the immigration of African-born refugees to the United States from war-torn nations. The number of African refugees entering the country rose sharply during the last three decades of the 20th century. While these individuals would come to reside throughout the country, within Oregon, they mostly went to Portland. However, over time, they spread further into the Portland metropolitan area and likely elsewhere in the state.[888]

In the previous eras outlined in this MPD, immigrants of African descent had come to Oregon and the rest of the United States, but did so in small numbers and as individuals. They were not part of a larger diaspora. (Also note that the slave trade of Africans to the United States ended in 1808 only a couple of years after the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery, so these individuals were not arriving as slaves.) Immigrants of African descent entering the state had commonly originated from countries in the Caribbean, the Atlantic islands, Central and South America, as well as western European nations—not from Africa. Immigration by native Africans to the United States was insignificant until the late 1960s.[889] Traditionally, if Africans had migrated, they did so to their former colonial powers: Great Britain, France, and Portugal.[890]

The start of significant immigration by Africans to the United States was marked by the federal Immigration Act of 1965 that ended the quota system, which had given preference to Europeans and put constraints on those from Africa. With the change in policy, family repatriation and specific job skills were instead given priority. Beginning in the late 1970s, the former European colonial power countries were placing freezes on immigration because of economic constraints. For Africans, immigration to the United States thus became a viable alternative and the introduction of more

[888] Anne Curry-Stevens and the Coalition of Communities of Color, *The African Immigrant and Refugee Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile*, Portland: Portland State University, 2013, 2-3, https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1080&context=socwork_fac, accessed February 20, 2024.

[889] Ibid, 14.

[890] Ibid, 24.

favorable U.S. immigration policies followed.[891] In 1980, the federal Refugee Act made the refugee process more orderly and uniform. Six years later, the Immigration Reform and Control Act legalized the status of eligible undocumented individuals resulting in more than 31,000 Africans applying to enter the United States. Lastly, the Immigration Act of 1990 established a lottery system that favored acceptance of citizens from underrepresented nations—a category that included all African countries.

The main driver of African immigration, however, was war in African nations during the 1980s. The wars led to famine, factional violence, and political persecution in nations such as Sudan, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. Many people were forced into refugee camps in their home countries and they ultimately sought a new life elsewhere. With the European countries curtailing African immigration and the United States starting to prioritize this population, humanitarian agencies in Africa began to resettle more families to the United States. Tens of thousands of refugees from Ethiopia and Eritrea entered the United States, with some, starting in the mid-1980s, landing in Oregon.[892] During the 1990s and through the end of this study's scope, the numbers of immigrants, including Africans, coming to the United States increased substantially and to Oregon accordingly.[893] Since 1995, an average of 40,000 African immigrants have entered the country legally every year, with the number rising incrementally to more than 60,000 in the last year of this MPD.

In 1970, Oregon enumerated around 170 Black residents who were born in Africa and the vast majority of these were between 20 and 34 years old, suggesting they may have been international students.[894] Throughout the 1970s, African immigrants arrived in Oregon in small numbers, mainly as students from West African countries.[895] Immigration to Oregon increased from all nations, not just in Africa, starting in the late 1970s. By the 1980 Census, the number of African-born Oregon residents had risen over 800% (to 1,605) since the ten years prior. Of these, most lived in urbanized areas likely Portland. However, 289 of them were categorized as living not within the urbanized area—a likely indication that a sizeable number were living outside of the city of Portland. More clearly, 167 of the African immigrants lived in rural areas; mostly in locales of less than 1,000 persons.[896] Thereafter, in the early 1980s, Oregon became a leading place for refugees from Africa (as well as Southeast Asia and the former Soviet Union).[897]

One of the many African immigrants who came to Oregon in the 1980s was Mulugeta Seraw, introduced above. Born in 1960, his early life was spent on a farm in Ethiopia. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of his uncle who had previously moved to the U.S. and studied at Portland State University before Ethiopia became embroiled in civil war. When Seraw followed in 1980, he lived with his uncle in an apartment in Beaverton and became part of the city's growing Ethiopian exile community of a few hundred, mostly students.[898]

In the 1990 U.S. Census, the total number of residents born in Africa rose to 2,146—only between 1.5% to 2% of Oregon's total foreign-born population.[899] Near the end of this final era for the MPD, the number had more than

[891] Nikole Hannah-Jones, "African immigrants help shape Portland's small black community," *Oregonian*, January 19, 2009, https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2009/01/african_immigrants_help_shape.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

[892] Curry-Stevens et al., 14.

[893] Hannah-Jones, "African immigrants help shape Portland's small black community."

[894] The U.S. Census for Oregon enumerated 293 Black residents who were born in another country. Africa was not listed as a possible place of birth in that census' summary/report. However, subtracting out the other places of origin (other nations on the American continents, Europe, Asia, etc.) it shows that around 170 residents were born in Africa.

[895] Curry-Stevens et al., 14.

[896] 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Oregon, Table 63. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[897] "Understanding the Immigrant Experience in Oregon," Research, Analysis, and Recommendations from University of Oregon Scholars, Robert Bussel editor, 27.

[898] Johnson, "When Blackness Stings: African and Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, Race, and Racism in Late Twentieth-Century America."; Langer, "Mulugeta Seraw (1960-1988)."

[899] State Immigration Data Profiles, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/OR, accessed February 20, 2024.

doubled to 5,033 African-born Oregon residents. Oregon's Black immigrants during the 1990s came from Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and Togo.[900]

Most of the refugees who arrived in Oregon would live in the Portland Metro area, mostly in inner north and northeast Portland, and later, along and east of the I-205 corridor through Portland. By 1990, significant numbers of refugees had moved to Portland suburbs, especially Beaverton, Tigard, and Hillsboro.[901] A mosque—Bilal Masjid—started in Beaverton in 1987 and continued to operate beyond the end of the era.[902] Additionally, other refugees, especially Sudanese, moved to eastern Multnomah County. The search for affordable housing was a notable force that drove existing migrants and directed new refugees out of Portland as it did for native-born African Americans. For refugees in particular, the availability and proximity of immigrant organizations supporting African culture was another chief concern.[903] By 2000, numbers of African immigrants were continuing to increase in Washington County's Portland suburbs and were also starting to grow in Clackamas County's Oregon City, Gladstone, and West Linn. [904]

Upon their arrival in Portland, many African refugees received assistance from church-sponsored and private, non-governmental organizations. In 1975, a Portland nonprofit called The Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization was started. In 2000, it created the African Refugee and Immigrant Network of Oregon specifically to connect refugees from Africa together across Oregon. Catholic Charities and Lutheran Family Services were two other main support organizations for African refugees. While African refugees and immigrants have some shared experiences and a mutual pan-African identity, they have tried to maintain national, ethnic, and tribal distinctiveness and some measure of that identity. Some of the newcomers established individual ethnic associations and built community centers and strong social support networks to aid the others.[905] Most of these have been based in Portland and research did not reveal any that were outside the Portland metro area, although some have, at times, purported to serve all of Oregon. One example—the Oregon Somali Family Education Center—was founded in Beaverton in 2001.[906]

Population Trends

During the last decade of the previous era, Oregon's Black population outside of Portland had more than doubled. The extraordinary increases to the African American population in Oregon slowed during this era. Nevertheless, the Black population continued to grow and areas outside of Portland outpaced the increase in Black population to a greater degree than within Portland—both in absolute and relative terms. This was especially so in the 1970s when another doubling of Oregon's Black population outside of Portland took place. The 1980s and 1990s did not produce such a dramatic increase but within those 20 years, the population more than doubled again, growing by 135%. The growth of African Americans in Portland slowed quite dramatically during this era. Annexations of unincorporated areas by Portland certainly helped to keep Portland's numbers from reversing into net losses of Black population. Over the thirty years of this era, the number of Black people living outside of Portland grew 334%--an increase of 15,811 individuals. Within Portland the increase was 63%, or 13,543 extra Black residents. While Portland maintained roughly 85% of the Black population in the state, Era 6 saw that number trend downward. The study area accounted for 18% of Black Oregonians in 1970, rising decennially to 25.2%, 27.4%, and, lastly, 36.9% towards the end of the era. Lane County

[900] Hannah-Jones, "African immigrants help shape Portland's small black community."

[901] Serena Dressel, "'Living Day by Day' Refugees of Color Navigate Gentrification and Racism in Portland, Oregon: a Sense of Place" (2018). University Honors Theses. Paper 541, 24. Dressel sourced a map called "Portland Metro Area Refugee Resettlement," which was produced by Hardwick and Meacham in 2005.

[902] Dominique Fong, "Beaverton notes: Touring the Bilal Mosque Association with Shahriar Ahmed," *Oregonian*, https://www.oregonlive.com/beaverton/2011/05/beaverton_notes_touring_the_bilal_mosque.html, accessed February 20, 2024; "History of Bilal Masjid," https://www.bilalmasjid.com/AboutUs/History.aspx, accessed February 20, 2024.

[903] Dressel, 45.

[904] Susan E. Hume and Susan W. Hardwick, "African, Russian, and Ukrainian Refugee Resettlement in Portland, Oregon," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 95, Issue 2, April 2005, 9.

[905] Understanding the Immigrant Experience in Oregon," Research, Analysis, and Recommendations from University of Oregon Scholars, Robert Bussel editor, 27.

[906] City of Beaverton, "Our Cities, Our Stories."

continued to maintain a significant Black population, while Jackson County started to see Black people return after decades of a very small population. Benton County also continued its slow climb.

Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1970 to 2000									
Decade	Study Area			Statewide			Portland		
	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Populaiton	Population Growth as a Percentage	Starting Population	Ending Population	Population Growth as a Percentage
1970s	4,736	9,605	102.8%	26,308	37,060	40.9%	21,572	27,734	29.9%
1980s	9,605	13,639	42.0%	37,060	46,178	23.3%	27,734	33,530	17.6%
1990s	13,639	20,547	45.7%	46,178	55,662	20.5%	33,530	35,115	3.9%
Year 2000	20,547			55,662			35,115		

Figure 8 - Growth of Oregon's Black Population from 1970 to 2000.

At the end of the century, Black Oregonians made up 1.6% of the total state population. The nationwide percentage was 12.3%. Compared to the other 49 states, Oregon was number 40. Wyoming, Vermont, Utah, South Dakota, North Dakota, New Hampshire, Montana, Maine, and Idaho all had lower percentages. Washington's proportion was double that of Oregon's at 3.2% while California was 6.7% and Nevada was 6.8%.[907] For Oregon outside of Portland, the percentage was 0.71%.

Locations of High Black Populations Outside of Portland

Umatilla County including Pendleton and Hermiston

Umatilla County, and its two main cities of Pendleton and Hermiston, both lost significant numbers of Black residents by 1970. Pendleton was down from 142 in the previous era to 114 at the start of this one. By 1980, the Pendleton and county numbers dropped further. In fact, the number of Blacks living in Umatilla County more than halved, from 221 in 1970 to 109 in 1980. All of those remaining were enumerated in either Pendleton (97) or Hermiston (12). The Black population shot back up again in 1990s census although this was due, at least in part, to the 1985 opening of the Eastern Oregon Correctional Institution in Pendleton—the first state or federal prison outside of Marion County. With 1,373 total people incarcerated there in 1990, about 150 of the county's 371 Black residents were incarcerated.[908] Umatilla County numbers rose further to 582 in 2000, again, somewhat tied to the 1999 opening of the Two Rivers Correctional Institution in the city of Umatilla. Subtracting out the number of Blacks incarcerated at the two prisons meant the number living in the community was lower.

Hermiston saw a near doubling of its total population during the 1970s when potato growing and processing was expanded in the area.[909] Yet, the number of Black residents plummeted from 61 at the beginning of this era to 12 in 1980. (The reason for this was not readily evident and it is an area for further research.) In 1990, the Black population rose to its highest level of 88 and the city added more at the end of the era, with 122 in the 2000 census. As the total

[907] US Census Bureau, "Table 2, Black or African American Population for the United States, Regions, and States, and for Puerto Rico:1990 and 2000, The Black Population," *U.S. Census 2000 Brief*, August 2001, 4, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/2000/briefs/c2kbr01-05.pdf, accessed February 26, 2024.

[908] 45.3% of Black people in Umatilla County were living in group quarters—prisons, jails, dorms, group homes, hospitals, Job Corps centers, etc. Similarly, two other Oregon counties had high percentages of its black population living in group quarters that cannot be explained by the presence of colleges, universities, or Job Corps sites. This was Marion County with 37.0% and Yamhill County with 64.3% living in group quarters.

[909] "Hermiston, Oregon," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermiston,_Oregon, accessed February 20, 2024.

population of Hermiston grew, mostly driven by increases in Latino residents, it was on its way to surpassing Pendleton as the largest city in Eastern Oregon by 2010.

Corvallis

As mentioned in the previous era, the Black population in Corvallis rose from about 70 in 1960 to 162 in 1970. Ten years later, there were 351 Black people enumerated in Corvallis. In 1990, 528 Black people were living in the city, 72 of which were residing in college dorms. These were massive increases in the city. The growth slowed by 2000 when 570 were in the city, comprising 1.2% of the total population.

Several occurrences happened to improve the position of Black residents in Corvallis during this era. First, a local branch of the NAACP opened sometime in the early 1970s. At Oregon State University, an Office of Minority Affairs opened in 1970 and, in 1973, a cultural center opened on campus for students of color. In 1975, the Black Student Union opened a center of their own at 2320 SW Monroe Avenue (demolished) in a converted house.[910] Eventually called the Black Cultural Center, the goal was to make the academic experiences of Black students at the university more relevant to their needs and to create a desire in each member to develop a deeper awareness of their African origins.

Eugene and Lane County

In 1970, the numbers of Black people in Lane County more than doubled from ten years prior with 599 of the 743 total residing in Eugene. For Eugene, this was an increase of 466% since 1960 and it also represented a coalescing of the Black community in Eugene rather than in the various smaller towns and rural environments from the previous era. Indeed, fewer Black people were now living outside the Eugene-Springfield area than they had been historically. Black men in the Eugene metro area were primarily employed in education, followed by retail and manufacturing. The smaller number of employed women were weighted towards clerical jobs such as secretaries and typists.[911]

Through the 1970s and 1980s, more African Americans came to reside in Eugene and Lane County. Springfield grew more dramatically as a percentage than Eugene although the number of Black residents there was still very low compared to Eugene. Eugene had two-thirds of the county's Black population in 1980 and the rest of the county's Black residents were dispersed (although there were 22 in Cottage Grove). By 1990, 1.3% of Eugene's population was Black and 91% of Black residents in Lane County were living in the Eugene-Springfield area. Of the area's 1,410 Black residents, 73 lived in dormitories. In the 1990s, the Eugene area continued to add to its Black population with 1,729 Black residents near the end of the era and 374 in Springfield. The dramatic rise in population in Eugene during this era, from 106 in 1960 to approaching 2,000 at the end of the era, is one of the more notable stories of geographic change for Black people in Oregon. While still just a fraction of Portland's African American population, in 2000, Eugene was the second-most populous city in the state for Black residents.[912]

The increase in African American population during this era led to the development of Black community, culture, and advocacy. Firstly, a Eugene/Springfield chapter of the NAACP opened in 1976, focused on reducing discrimination in the local school districts and at the University of Oregon.[913] Second, a Black mother of Eugene schoolchildren, Bahati Ansari, incorporated "Racism-Free Zones" in Eugene public schools in the mid-1980s—an initiative that spread under her leadership throughout the country.[914] Third, while Black people lived where housing was available and affordable

[910] "Welcome to the Lonnie B. Harris Black Cultural Center, *Oregon State University,* https://dce.oregonstate.edu/bcc, accessed February 20, 2024.

[911] All employment information for Eugene is from 1970 US Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 93, page 39-200 (not multiple pages but literally one page called 39-200). https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/population-volume-1/1970a_or-06.pdf

[912] Salem is not counted due to the high numbers of people who were in the prison system.

[913] "NAACP Chief Wants Justice," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, May 18, 1979, 9.

[914] "Local Woman Fights Racism, Carries Torch for Social Causes," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 22, 2003, 44.

(i.e. not in a particular neighborhood), there was a strong sense of identity that engendered a sense of Black community. Black barbers, hairdressers, and churches gave "cohesion to a dispersed population."[915] These specialty businesses serving Black residents were instrumental in building a sense of community. One of the most important businesses in Eugene during this era was the Black Boutique. It opened c. 1970 at the corner of 7th and Willamette and was owned by two sons of C. B. and Annie Mims (featured in the previous era). Black Boutique provided retail goods intended for the Black community, including clothing, jewelry, cosmetics, art, records, and publications. Before it opened, Eugene's Black residents had to travel to Portland for similar products. In addition to retail services, the Boutique also created jobs for Black Eugenians and served as a community and cultural center as well.[916] Lastly, one important Black church that continued serving the community from the last era was Arthur Shankle's Bethel Church. In 1995, he moved the congregation from its home in Glenwood to a larger church at **2170 West 18th Avenue**, where it continues to operate.

The *Skanner* newspaper group, based in Portland and headed by Bernie Foster and wife Bobbie Dore Foster, started radio stations in Eugene and, further south, in Roseburg.[917]

Klamath Falls and Klamath County

During this era, the Black population in Klamath County started to decline despite a slow but steady increase in total population. In 1970, the county's 469 Black residents represented almost 10% of the total number of Black Oregonians not living in Portland. However, in the three subsequent censuses the number in the county never rose above 404. As a percentage of the population, Black people had less of a presence in the county falling from 0.94% at the beginning of the era and ending at 0.63%. Numbers declined slightly in the county seat of Klamath Falls which went from 1.4% of the population at the start of the era to 198 Black residents, 12%, at the end. Altamont's Black population rose 162% in the 1970s, however, when Kingsley Field was assigned to the Oregon Air National Guard and, in 2000, the city had 125 Black residents.

Salem and Marion County

In 1970's census, 349 Black people were enumerated in Salem although the actual number of members of the community was much less due to 206 of them being incarcerated/housed in the capital's institutions: prisons, nursing homes, and shelters. Salem's resident population in 1970 was relatively small for a sizeable city but still made it the eighth-most populous for Black Oregonians. In 1980, the number of Blacks was much higher; officially 1,038 although half might have been in state institutions. Assuming a resident population of 500, Salem had the third highest Black population of any Oregon municipality, only behind Portland and Eugene. In 1990, 1,632 Black people resided in Salem and an additional 500 Black people lived in the rest of Marion County. In total that year, Marion County had 37% of its Black population living in group quarters, which includes prisons but also hospitals, shelters, dormitories, and the like. Multnomah County, by contrast, only had 2.4% of its Black population in group quarters. Even with the large numbers institutionalized, Marion County had about 900 African Americans living in the community, 861 of which were living in Salem households. The number of Black people rose again by 2000.

While the population increases at the beginning of this era allowed for a greater feeling of community amongst Black residents in Salem, there were limitations germane to the fact that they lived in dispersed locations, isolated, and lacking a central meeting place that left no easy way to connect with others. In 1970, a local chapter of the NAACP formed in Salem but it had numerous episodes where it was inactive.[918] With respect to employment, some Black Salemites were

[915] Urban League of Portland, 103-104.

[916] Chuck Beek, "Black Boutique Business is Definitely in the Black," *Oregon Daily Emerald* (Eugene), January 15, 1971, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1971-01-15/ed-1/seq-3/, accessed March 2023.

[917] Architectural Resources Group and Moreland Resource Consulting, *Dr. John D. Marshall Building National Register Nomination*, MP 100009052, 2023, 26.

[918] Revoked for unknown reasons in 1971, it was re-chartered in 1974 and experienced other interruptions thereafter. See Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 173 and 175.

able to work in professional jobs but discrimination and a lack of support were deterrents. This created a constant turnover of the Black population as they sought out locations that were more welcoming, especially Portland, where some commuted from. Additionally, the lack of businesses such as a barbershop or beauty shop that could provide suitable services led many of Salem's Blacks to drive the hour to Portland just for a haircut.[919] They tried to create their own community through organized dinner parties, eventually forming a system of mutual support. Salem's churches were a critical part of that.[920]

Salem Churches

Church services for Black people in Salem was limited at the start of this era. Some traveled from Salem to Portland starting at least in the 1960s to partake in the range of historically Black churches there; a practice which continued through the end of this era.[921] As more Black people chose to live in Salem, however, these individuals would band together in small communities and revive Salem's history of predominantly Black churches.[922] One of these involved Salem resident Gussie Brown who moved there in 1969 and joined a couple of churches looking for one that felt right, including a non-denominational church in nearby Independence. In 1970, there were 33 Black residents in this town of 2,600 people; most were farm workers from Arizona.[923] The church was founded in the late 1960s by Leslie and Marie Buckley and only Black people worshipped there.[924] The congregation originally met in a barn. In 1973, the group obtained a church building in Salem and became the **State Street Church of God (1760 State Street, Salem)**.[925] Gussie Brown would eventually become the pastor of the church.

In 1972, the Pauline Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized by Portland reverends Odell and Nellie Thompson. [926] The group held their first service in Salem at Grant Elementary School, but the next year they moved to a new location at **3593 Sunnyview Road NE** where they constructed a church. In 1976, it burned down in a suspected arson fire. The congregation then met in a room at the Salem First Methodist Church at 600 State Street. In 1981, Pauline Memorial began construction of a new church building at the site of their burned down building. This was completed in 1983 and dedicated a month later.[927]

Reverend Arthur Shankle from Eugene recognized the lack of church options for the growing population of Black residents in Salem and founded the Salem Mission Faith Ministries in 1976.[928] Initially, the congregation worshipped in Salem's YWCA building. They eventually purchased property in 1980 at **4308 Hillrose Street SE**. Larry D. Wilson, introduced in Era 5, was an original member of the church, later becoming a deacon, and helped Shankle to build the new church.[929] The Salem Mission had their first service in the new church in 1981.[930] Shankle commuted from Eugene to lead the Salem Mission, while he continued to pastor the Bethel Church.[931]

[919] Ibid, 187-188.
[920] Ibid, 190-191.
[921] Ibid, 177.
[922] Ibid.
[923] Ibid.
[924] Ibid.
[925] The building was built for the Evangelical Lutheran Christian Church in ca. 1900. It was then bought by the "State Street Baptist Church" in 1962.
[926] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 182.
[927] Ibid, 182-183.
[928] Ibid, 180-181.
[929] "Larry Darnell Wilson," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/213175273/larry-darnell-wilson?_gl=1*vdjq8t*_gcl_au*MTIyMzYxMjE0My4xNzAzMTExNDE3, accessed February 20, 2024.
[930] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 180.
[931] *Lane County Monuments Project,* https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/2d3474dac0534a2c94d107486ae8f53d, accessed February 20, 2024.

First Black Statewide Elected Official

The first Black Oregonian to serve in statewide office lived in Salem. Jim Hill moved to Salem from Georgia in 1974, drawn by Oregon's progressive politics. He was elected to the position of State Treasurer in 1992. Hill had previously served as a state representative from 1983-1987 and as a state senator since 1987.[932]

Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers

Founded in Salem in 1993, the Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers is a nonprofit organization committed to commemorating the culture and heritage of Black people in the development of Oregon and to educate others about that history. The group went inactive in 1996 through the end of this study but was reignited in 2004.[933] One of the people responsible for the revival of Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers was Willie Bell Peay Richardson, 1948-2023.[934] Under her leadership, it has become the leading historical organization for researching and preserving Black history in Oregon. She moved to Salem from South Carolina in 1978 with her husband and three young children. Richardson was elected to the school board in 1987 as the first African American member.[935] She served on several local committees, including the Salem YWCA, Salem Human Rights Commission, Women's Political Caucus, and Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs. In 1993, she opened a retail store in downtown Salem on Ferry Street SE called Willie's Fashion Hats & More, which specialized in apparel for African American women. That evolved into a retail shop for woman's formal wear called A Time for Elegance. She operated the store until after the end of this study, in 2010.[936] [937]

Jackson County

Black people in significant number had come to live in Jackson County once again after nearly abandoning the county in the 1920s. In 1970, there were only 51 Black residents, making the county only 0.05% Black. Ten years later, the African American population nearly quadrupled. The 1980s slowed down the revival but, in 2000, there were 724 African Americans—a representation in the county of 0.40%. That census, most of the county's Black residents lived in Medford and, to a lesser extent, in Ashland. Eagle Point, home of the dozens of members of the Mathews family in Eras 2, 3, and 4, had merely 18.

Malheur County

In 1970, Malheur County (or at least the northeastern section of it) enumerated 97 Black people, comprising 0.42% of the population. That percentage put the county in fifth place for most Black residents per capita in Oregon, behind Multnomah, Klamath, and Umatilla counties, and, a single-decade outlier—Jefferson County. Further increases in the Black population occurred in the 1970s as the county had 118 Black residents enumerated in the 1980 census with the strong majority centered in Ontario. However, the 1980s caused a near-halving of the African-American population. By the 2000 census, the number had risen substantially due to the opening of the Snake River Correctional Institute in 1991, accounting for roughly 300 of the county's 387 Black people enumerated.

La Grande

La Grande's Black population remained steady throughout this era with a decent increase in the 1970s. As a percentage, Black residents consistently comprised around 0.7% of the city's total population through the end of the study.

---

[932] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 212.

[933] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 175.

[934] "Obituary, Willie Bell Richardson," Dignity Memorial, https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/salem-or/willie-richardson-11124520, accessed February 20, 2024.

[935] Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 210.

[936] Capi Lynn, "'An Advocate for Us': Long-time voice for racial equality Willie Richardson dies," *Statesman Journal*, January 27, 2023, https://www.statesmanjournal.com/story/news/local/2023/01/27/salem-oregon-long-time-voice-for-racial-equality-willie-richardson-dies/69847848007/, accessed February 20, 2024.

[937] Saundra Sorenson, "Willie Richardson Long-time Education Activist and Black Historian Dies," January 30, 2023, https://www.theskanner.com/obituaries/34173-willie-richardson-longtime-education-activist-and-black-historian-dies, accessed February 20, 2024.

Discussed in the previous era, the **Boyd Memorial Baptist Church (1320 T Avenue)** continued to be an important Black church in La Grande. However, it was challenged with declining membership. Local residents Field and Lillian Roberson, who became church members in 1968, worked to ensure that it remained open and welcoming to Black Oregonians. A local newspaper article reflecting on the history of the church recounted that Field always ensured that church started on time regardless of how many were there.[938] During this era, it was often just a few people, including Dorothy Tice who had been a member since the 1940s. A revival of the church came with the hiring of a Black female pastor, Carlyn Ashlock. At present, the church is named the **Amazing Grace Fellowship** and has a mixed-race congregation.[939]

Black Vignettes

These vignettes describe the stories of four Black Oregonians who made notable accomplishments in the state during Era 6. With more research, additional stories will certainly be uncovered.

Edwin Coleman (Eugene)

During this era, Edwin "Eddie" Leon Coleman II was a significant figure in Eugene's Black history with an almost thirty-year tenure as a University of Oregon professor. Over the course of his life, Coleman was a musician, writer, civil rights activist, and a community and university organizer and was described as a "Renaissance man." Born into the Jim Crow South, his family moved to California during World War II, drawn there because of the large naval base and expanding economy due to the war effort. Coleman enlisted in the Air Force and, while in the armed forces, he performed musically.[940] As a child, he played the violin but made his professional career playing the bass. He performed with such musicians as Ella Fitzgerald and Peter, Paul, and Mary. (His two children, Callan Coleman, and Edwin Coleman II are musicians, Callan, is a bass player, and Edwin, is a drummer (Krauss 2021). [941]

Reflecting on his early life in the South, he recalled being expected to cede his place in lines and on sidewalks to whites and also experiencing obstacles to political participation being Black. This motivated his civil rights work, and, as an undergraduate student, he was involved with the Congress of Racial Equality, attended sit-ins, fought for equal housing, and eventually met with Dr. Martin Luther King. Graduating from California State University San Francisco with a degree in theater, he subsequently taught theater at both his alma mater and at Cal State Chico. In 1966, he relocated to Eugene, where he earned a doctorate in theater from the University of Oregon. In 1971, Professor Coleman joined the university's English Department as an assistant professor where he played an important role in diversifying the department's curriculum by promoting literature by African Americans and other minorities. In addition to teaching, he worked as a student advisor for the Black Student Union and Cultural Center. In 2019, a mural was created at the Dr. Edwin Coleman Jr Center (previously Westmoreland Community Center) to celebrate his fifty years of accomplishments in Eugene.

Dan O'Brien (Klamath Falls)

Daniel "Dan" Dion O'Brien (born 1966) is a former decathlete and Olympic gold medalist. O'Brien was born in Portland to an African American father and Finnish American mother but was raised in Klamath Falls by a multi-ethnic

[938] "Amazing Grace Fellowship Perseveres," *The Observer,* January 24, 2009, https://www.lagrandeobserver.com/archive/dni/amazing-grace-fellowship-perseveres/article_a529fdf9-e478-58f0-b264-830225df28e6.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

[939] Ibid.

[940] "Campus Mourns Loss of Retired English Professor Ed Coleman," *Around the O,* January 25, 2017, https://around.uoregon.edu/content/campus-mourns-loss-retired-english-professor-ed-coleman, accessed March 3, 2023.

[941] "Dr. Edwin Leon Coleman II 1932-2017," https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/registerguard/name/edwin-coleman-obituary?id=17894493, accessed January 4, 2023.

adoptive family.[942] Athletic from a young age, O'Brien attended the University of Idaho on a sports scholarship, starting around 1985. He shined on the track and field team but struggled to stay motivated in the classroom. Becoming depressed and abusing substances, he eventually dropped out of college and had some legal troubles. Following a brief stint doing odd jobs, O'Brien regrouped and, with the help of his University of Idaho coach, enrolled in community college, brought his grades back up, and finally returned to the university and its track team.[943]

The next several years saw O'Brien go from one spectacular achievement to the next. In 1991, he won the decathlon gold medal at the World Championships in Athletics, setting the event record. He infamously failed to qualify for the 1992 Olympics (generating much negative publicity), but later that year he set the decathlon world record at the Décastar competition in France, redeeming his reputation. He returned to win the World Championships in 1993 and in 1995 and won the gold medal at the 1996 Olympics.[944] These achievements have earned him the title of the world's greatest athlete in the 1990s.[945] A series of injuries around the turn of the millennium prevented him from returning to compete in subsequent Olympic games, but he has remained involved as an Olympic ambassador. He also works as a coach, personal trainer, and motivational speaker. Celebrated in his hometown of Klamath Falls, the city named a street after him in 1996.[946] He is considered one of the greatest athletes in human history and was inducted into the Oregon Sports Hall of Fame,[947] the USA Track & Field Hall of Fame, the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame, and the World Athletics Hall of Fame.[948]

Ronald Lee (Eugene)

Ronald "Ronnie" Henry Lee (born 1952) is a former professional basketball player. Born and raised in Boston, Lee excelled in sports from a young age. In high school, he was captain of the basketball team, broke the New England javelin throw record, and earned MVP honors as goalkeeper of the soccer team. These achievements drew the attention of University of Oregon head coach at the time, Dick Harter, who recruited Lee for the basketball team. Known as the 'Kamikaze Kids' for their aggressive play style, Lee was instrumental in the team's reputation (and successes) while he was there.[949] With his participation, the team made it to the National Invitation Tournament twice in the 1970s, and packed **McArthur Court (1601 University Street, Eugene)** with record breaking crowds. He is the only University of Oregon player to ever score 2,000 or more points and was a three-time All-America selection.[950] After collegiate athletics, he played professionally in the NBA for six years, earning several accolades and setting at least one record. He subsequently played in Italy for three years, before moving to Sweden, where he lived for almost 20 years, playing professionally, coaching, doing odd jobs, and raising a family.[951] In 1992, he was inducted into the University of Oregon's Hall of Fame.[952] Lee moved back to Eugene in 2017 and remains here as of this report.[953]

---

[942] John M. Cooper, "Looking Back On One of Our Favorites, Dan O'Brien, Olympic Gold Medalist," *Basin Life*, September 4, 2020, https://www.basinlife.com/2020/09/04/looking-back-on-one-of-our-favorites-dan-obrien-olympic-gold-medalist/, accessed March 14, 2023.

[943] Jim Murray, "He Had a Thirst, Just Like Thorpe," *Eugene Register-Guard*, April 29, 1992.

[944] "Dan O'Brien, 2006 Hall of Fame Inductee," *USA Track & Field*, n.d, https://www.usatf.org/athlete-bios/dan-o-brien, accessed March 14, 2023.

[945] John Blanchette, "World record gives Dan glory, peace of mind," *The Spokesman-Review*, September 9, 1992.

[946] "Klamath Falls rolls red carpet for O'Brien," *Eugene Register-Guard*, September 14, 1993.

[947] "Dan O'Brien – Track & Field." Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, n.d., http://oregonsportshall.org/timeline/dan-obrien-track-field/, accessed March 14, 2023.

[948] Cooper, "Looking Back On One of Our Favorites."

[949] Kerry Eggers, "Relentless Ronnie Lee Embodied Kamikaze Kids," *Portland Tribune*, March 5, 2023, https://www.portlandtribune.com/sports/relentless-ronnie-lee-embodied-kamikaze-kids/article_49cfaf97-b9d3-5b57-81ad-9ce514135396.html, accessed March 14, 2023.

[950] "Ron Lee," University of Oregon Hall of Fame, 2023, https://goducks.com/honors/hall-of-fame/ron-lee/132, accessed March 14, 2023.

[951] Eggers, "Relentless Ronnie Lee."

[952] "Ron Lee," University of Oregon Hall of Fame.

[953] Eggers, "Relentless Ronnie Lee."

Ernie Kent (Eugene)

Ernie Kent (born 1955) is a college basketball coach and the University of Oregon's first African American head coach. Born and raised in Illinois, Kent was named All-American twice and All-State once while in high school. In 1973, he enrolled at the University of Oregon, where he played on the basketball team. Known as the Kamikaze Kids for their aggressive play style, Kent was instrumental to the team's reputation and success.[954] A contemporary of Ronnie Lee, the two—together with the rest of the Kamikaze Kids—made **McArthur Court** (**1601 University Street**) a popular sports venue in Eugene. Kent began his coaching career during his last year in college, as the freshman coach under Dick Harter.[955] He graduated with a degree in community service and public affairs in 1977, and soon took a position as a professional basketball coach in Saudi Arabia. He spent seven years there, before returning to the United States in 1987, after which he was an assistant coach for Colorado State University and Stanford University, and a head coach for St. Mary's College.[956]

In 1997, Kent was hired as the University of Oregon head coach, making him the first African American to hold that position. During his time in Eugene, the basketball team had its most victories in one season since the 1940s and their first back-to-back appearances at the NCAA Tournament in over 20 years. They won their first outright league title since the late 1930s and advanced to the Elite Eight for the first time since 1960.[957] He has won accolades from the NABC, USBWA, and Basketball Times, and is considered the university's best head coach in the second half of the 20th century.[958] Besides his numerous sports achievements (the above being only a small selection), he is also known for his commitment to community service (specifically in the Eugene-Springfield area), for which he was awarded the Oregon Chapter of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society's annual Hope Award, in 2004.[959]

[954] Peter Hockaday, "All his Ducks in a row," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20090412142624/http://media.www.dailyemerald.com/media/storage/paper859/news/2002/01/10/UndefinedSection/All-His.Ducks.In.A.Row-1975778.shtml, accessed March 15, 2023.

[955] "Ernie Kent," University of Oregon Athletics, 2013, http://web.archive.org/web/20130817132651/http://www.goducks.com/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=500&ATCLID=2230, accessed March 15, 2023.

[956] Jonah Schrogin, "Kent discusses players, coaching style in lecture," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, May 15, 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20090412142643/http://media.www.dailyemerald.com/media/storage/paper859/news/2003/05/15/News/Kent-Discusses.Players.Coaching.Style.In.Lecture-1981169.shtml, accessed March 15, 2023.

[957] "Ernie Kent," University of Oregon Athletics.

[958] Hockaday, "All his Ducks in a row."

[959] "Ernie Kent," University of Oregon Athletics.

F. Associated Property Types
(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

Introduction

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Black history in Oregon related to the contexts of this MPD. A wide range of property types, as well as some specific properties, have been identified, discussed, or referenced in the historic contexts in Section E of this document.

The property types associated with Black history in Oregon during the time spanning 1788 through 2002 include buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts. These properties encompass above-ground resources as well as archaeological sites. Specific types of buildings that have commonly been identified when surveying Black historic resources include single-family homes, apartment buildings, commercial buildings, churches, social and meeting halls, schools, libraries, and other public buildings. In addition, structures (such as mining structures and bridges), sites (including cemeteries, architectural ruins, or places of significant events), and objects (sculptures or monuments) are representative of some aspect of Black history in Oregon. Lastly, districts containing multiple, contiguous features related to a particular context or period of Black history are included in the list of properties that may be significantly associated with Oregon's Black history. Examples include, but are not limited to, Black residential neighborhoods and commercial areas.

Any property nominated under this MPD must reflect or be representative of the historical Black experience in Oregon. Further, properties may be reflective of either positive or negative events or historical trends as it relates to Black History. For instance, a site related to a significant civil rights violation that had a noteworthy impact on Black History could be eligible under this MPD just as much as a significant civil rights victory.

It should be noted that historic resources associated with Black history typically do not have specific physical characteristics that make them readily identifiable as Black historic resources.

Significance

All properties nominated under this MPD will be eligible under **Criterion A** for Ethnic Heritage (subcategory "Black"). Events associated with a particular property must contribute to and have had a noteworthy impact on the larger story or notable trends in Oregon's Black history, either positive or negative. Under Criterion A, properties may demonstrate significance in other areas such as Agriculture, Architecture, Archaeology, Commerce, Community Development, Education, Government, Industry, Politics, or Religion. Other criteria, in addition to Criterion A, may also be applicable.

A property that is associated with a person or persons of demonstrated significance to Black history in Oregon may qualify under **Criterion B**. Nominations of properties under this criterion must provide clear justification that the individual's contribution to Black history is both significant and directly tied to the property. These individuals can be of any race.

Criterion C may also apply to properties designed, engineered, or constructed by a Black architect, engineer, designer, planner or builder when the property is the "work of a master," possesses high artistic value, or embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction.

Certain properties may be eligible under **Criterion D** for their potential to yield important information related to the study and/or understanding of Black history in Oregon. These properties will generally be archaeological in nature, but can also include buildings, structures, or objects. The property must have the potential to yield information that may not

be readily available through other sources. This can include but is not limited to 1) that which aids in the understanding of early exploration of Oregon; 2) daily life of Black residents; 3) education; 4) industries in which Black Oregonians were particularly involved; or 5) other aspects of life in Oregon's historic Black communities.

Current archaeological research within Oregon has not identified a general pattern of site characteristics or artifact assemblages that clearly demonstrate association with Black Oregonians. Therefore, nomination under Criterion D must demonstrate that cultural materials found in archaeological sites have clear spatial and temporal association with Black history that is supported by written records or oral traditions.

The following are research questions to consider for nominations that relate to archaeology sites associated with Black history in Oregon. This is not an exhaustive list.

- How is the experience of African Americans living in Oregon demonstrated in the archaeological record?
- Are there significant differences in the lifeways of Black Oregonians with that of Euro Americans and other ethnic groups? Does the archaeological record support what is known in the historical record?
- Are there material or property types most commonly associated with African American families, business, or communities?
- How does the archaeological record demonstrate the impacts of African Americans on the environment, culture and economy of Oregon?
- Is there archaeological evidence at the site that indicates a continuation of cultural traditions from the American South, Northeast, the West Indies, or other locations that historically had sizeable African diaspora populations?
- Do properties associated with the lives of black individuals, families, or communities contain extant archaeological deposits?
- Is there archaeological evidence of African American individuals interacting with other racial/ethnic groups?
- Are there archaeological indicators at African diaspora sites that illustrate shifts in socio-economic opportunities over time and in different regions of Oregon?
- Is there evidence of the development of a regionally distinct identity (i.e., ethnogenesis) among Oregon's Black population?

Archaeological sites nominated under this MPD must have demonstrable association(s) with Black history in Oregon in any of the identified areas of significance identified by the National Register, and thus meet at least one of the National Register Criteria (A, B, C, or D). Archaeological sites must be associated by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Properties may be eligible for more than one National Register Criterion. As an example, the home of a significant Black pioneer could be nominated under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage regarding the association of early settlement and Criterion B for its association with the individual's significant contributions.

National Register Criteria Considerations

While any of the National Register Criteria Considerations may be relevant to properties representing Black history in Oregon, those most likely to be applicable include the Considerations addressing religious properties, moved buildings or structures, birthplaces or graves, and properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years.

Level of Significance

All properties nominated to the National Register are described as having a level of significance (depending on their ability to reflect historical contexts) at the local, state, or national level. A property's level of significance is determined by its significance within its historical context, not according to its geographic location. The majority of properties nominated under this MPD will be significant at the local level (city, county, or region). However, given the scale of certain historical contexts (e.g. pioneer-era settlement), some properties may be significant at the state or national level.

Period of Significance

The temporal boundaries, or period of significance, for this MPD are 1788 to 2002. The opening date corresponds with Markus Lopius, a crew member of the Lady Washington, who is the earliest confirmed Black person to have set foot in Oregon. The closing year is 2002—the date a state constitutional amendment was approved (called Measure 14), removing all references to race from the state constitution, which was significant because they were vestiges of earlier exclusionary and racist laws. When nominating a property under this MPD, the individual property's significant association within Oregon's Black history will be what determines the period of significance for that property as long as it is between 1788 and 2002.

Comparative Analysis

Any individual property nominated under this MPD must provide comparative analysis based within the historic context of Section E to help determine significance and related integrity standards. This includes the following:

- Contributions of individuals must be compared to contributions of others who were active, successful, or influential in the same field. Additionally, each property associated with someone considered to be historically important must be compared with other properties known to be associated with that individual to establish whether the subject property best represents the individual's significant contributions or accomplishments.
- A property's importance to the Black community and to the history of the locality, state, and/or nation, and the length of time of that importance during the property's identified period of significance, must be compared to other properties with similar association and significance in order to establish the subject property's importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- When comparing a nominated property to other similar properties, the level of integrity of each comparative property along with the established character-defining features must be considered when assessing the ability of a property to convey its significance.

In cases where no comparable property exists—for example, the property being evaluated is the sole resource associated with a prominent individual or is a singular extant example of an important property type—this should be stated explicitly in the National Register nomination.

For historic districts, comparative analysis must be provided as appropriate. See district registration requirements for further discussion.

Integrity

For a property to qualify for listing in the National Register it must possess both historical significance and historic integrity. While a property's historical significance is related to its association with one or more historic contexts (provided in Section E), integrity refers to the property's ability to convey its significance through its physical features and attributes. Assessing integrity requires an understanding of a property's "character-defining features," which are the physical features that define a property's appearance and support its significance during the identified period of that significance. Depending on the National Register Criterion under which a property is nominated, certain aspects of integrity may be weighted differently, or may be more or less applicable than others. Properties nominated under Criterion A or B may not require the same level of historical integrity of design, materials, or workmanship in order to meet National Register standards. Conversely, those being nominated under Criterion C for their design merit will need to retain a higher level of integrity in those areas.

For archaeological sites nominated under Criteria A and D, the research questions and context will determine the important integrity aspects. Minimally, these would include location, materials, and association. Further, it is recognized that properties that date to early in the state's history, may have very little of their original setting intact. Due to their age and rarity, they can still be eligible under this MPD even when the integrity of setting is low or absent.

For historic districts, determining district integrity entails assessing the integrity of the district as a whole, as well as the individual integrity of the district's contributing elements. Specifically, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity. Also, the relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance. A district is not eligible if it contains so many alterations or new intrusions outside of the period of significance that it no longer conveys the sense of a historic environment.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

General Registration Requirements: All Property Types

The following registration requirements apply to all property types:

1. Properties must have a significant association with Oregon's Black history.
2. The property's significance must have occurred within the period of significance for this MPD (1788-2002).
3. The property must be located within the boundaries of the State of Oregon.
4. A property must possess sufficient physical integrity to effectively convey its appearance during its identified period of significance. It does not need to retain its original function.

In addition to meeting the above General Registration Requirements, properties nominated under this MPD must meet more specific property category requirements as described below. An individual property being nominated to the National Register under this MPD need only meet the registration requirements for one property category. As an example, a pioneer-era Black church could be applicable under Property Type #3, "Patterns of Black Migration to Oregon;" however, a segregated pioneer-era church that became integrated could be applicable under the civil rights-related category (Property Type #6). In general, the category that is most central or relevant to the property's significance is the one that should be chosen.

Historic districts have their own specific registration requirements, which are discussed in the last section of Section F.

Registration Requirements for Specific Property Categories

The predominant property types associated with the historic contexts in Section E are:

1. Properties Associated with Prominent Individuals in Oregon's Black History
2. Properties Associated with Exploration, Expeditions, and Fur Trade
3. Properties Associated with Patterns of Black Migration to Oregon
4. Properties Associated with Community Formation and Upbuilding
5. Properties Associated with Wage-Earning, Professional Careers, Business Enterprise, Commerce, Industry, Trades, or Black Patronage
6. Properties Associated with Civil Rights Laws and Violations, Politics, and Activism
7. Properties Associated with Government, Public Institutions, and the Military
8. Properties Associated with Arts, Culture, Entertainment, and Sports
9. Historic Districts

1. Properties Associated with Prominent Individuals in Oregon's Black History

Description

Properties associated with prominent Black/African-American individuals in Oregon are common to all contexts identified in Section E and may include buildings, structures, sites, and/or objects. These historic properties may include, but are not limited to, residential, commercial, institutional, educational, religious, industrial, agricultural, and professional resources. They can be found statewide with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, styles, and details vary widely and are generally based on their function, association, date or period of construction, and location.

Significance

Properties associated with prominent persons in Black history in Oregon may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local, state, or national level. The significant individual must be able to fit into one of the historic contexts outlined in Section E. Additionally, a property must be directly associated with the productive life of that significant individual who resided and/or worked in Oregon. In most cases, these individuals will be Black, but people of other races who made a significant contribution to Black history may be eligible under this MPD. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance as listed in National Register Bulletin 16A. Significant individuals may include explorers, settlers, civic leaders, activists, business owners, educators, labor or civil rights organizers, religious leaders, lawyers, doctors or other health care providers, actors or entertainers, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, and artists. The associated historic context narratives identify some persons in Oregon's Black history whose associated properties may still exist, which, through careful evaluation using the following registration requirements, may be found to be significant. Future research will likely identify additional properties associated with prominent individuals in Oregon's Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What can the archaeological record tell us about lifeways of prominent individuals and their families?
- What can the materials remain of properties associated with prominent Black individuals tell us about the general population of African American s living in Oregon?
- In what ways have prominent Black individuals shaped Oregon's history, geography, culture, and economy?

For more detailed discussion on how to apply National Register Criterion B, see *National Register Bulletin 32: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons*.

Registration Requirements
In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to properties associated with prominent individuals in Oregon's Black history:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant Black individual(s) or, less commonly, people of other races who made significant contributions to Black history in Oregon.
- Individual(s) must be documented to have made an important contribution to one or more context identified in Section E as it relates to Black history in Oregon.
- When no properties exist that are associated with a person's productive life's work, a birthplace or gravesite may be eligible. However, Criteria Consideration C must be applied, which states that the person must be a "historical figure of outstanding importance" and no other appropriate site or building exists that is directly associated with the person's productive life.
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to contributions of others who were active, successful, or influential in the same field.
- Each property associated with someone considered to be historically important must be compared with other properties known to be associated with that same individual to establish whether the subject property best represents the individual's significant contributions or accomplishments.
- For commercial properties, the room, apartment, office, or meeting space occupied or used by the person must retain discernible integrity from the period of significance.
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons may be eligible if the person's active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution from a historical perspective.
- The property must retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance during the period of significance identified for the property.

2. Properties Associated with Exploration, Expeditions, and Fur Trade

Description
Properties associated with Black/African-American participation in exploration, expeditions, and the fur trade may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects. Examples include archaeological remains of camp sites, trails, temporary outposts, early houses, conflict locations, funerary resources, and historic vessels/shipwrecks resources. Such resources are concentrated near the Oregon coast and major waterways. However, they can be present in other parts of the state, generally in geographic areas of initial expeditions and exploration.

Significance
Properties associated with Black/African-American participation in exploration, expeditions, and the fur trade during the period of approximately 1788 to 1843 may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, properties may reflect a wide range of areas of significance including Exploration/Settlement, Maritime History, Military, Politics/Government, Social History, or Transportation.

Criterion C is intentionally omitted for this property type as no buildings are known to exist from this early period in the state's history that were designed or constructed by persons associated with Black history in Oregon. If one was found and determined to be eligible under Criterion C, this MPD would need to be amended.

Regarding Criterion D, since there are no known extant properties related to Exploration, Expeditions, and Fur Trade, eligible properties will be archaeological. Archaeological sites must be associated with the property category by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older, be within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces), and be linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What role did African Americans play during the period of exploration in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
- How are the material remains of African Americans represented in Shipwrecks found in Oregon's coastline and rivers?
- How were African Americans involved in the fur trade in Oregon? Are there prominent individuals who made their livelihoods in the fur trade?
- Where sites consist of worker housing, company towns, or work camps, is there evidence that these communities were racially segregated? If so, are there socio-economic or ethnic indicators in the material record that express the daily lives of the residents of these communities?

Examples of resources that have significance to Black history under this property category include the *Lady Washington*/Robert Gray landing site, the Fort Astoria Site, the Fort Clatsop National Memorial, and the Jedediah Smith Massacre Site. As described in Section E, these are all sites known to have had Black people participating in exploration, expedition, and/or fur trade activities occurring at these places historically.

Registration Requirements

In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements noted above, the following more specific Registration Requirements apply to properties associated with exploration, expedition and fur trade:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with events or trends related to Black Oregonians' participation in exploration, expeditions, or early settlement of Oregon primarily during the period 1788 to approximately 1843.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance during the specific period of significance identified for the property. These very early and rare resources can still be eligible for listing under this MPD even when their integrity of setting is low or absent.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological properties should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding African American participation in the exploration of Oregon.

3. Properties Associated with Patterns of Black Migration to Oregon

Description

Properties associated with African Americans moving to and settling in Oregon during notable patterns of migration may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects. These properties will be associated with the movement of Black people in four different periods:

- Migration to Oregon as a part of the initial settlement of Oregon between 1843 and the 1860s. These can include, but are not limited to, dwellings, agricultural buildings, churches, cemeteries, and schools associated with pioneer settlers who came to Oregon via the Oregon Trail or via ship.
- Migration to Oregon during the 1880s related to railroad expansion. These can include, but are not limited to, railroad-related buildings, bunkhouses, boarding houses, and other similar properties where railroad workers would have lived or worked.
- Migration to Oregon associated with wartime work during World War II. These can include, but are not limited to, military bases, housing developments, and businesses that drew Black people to Oregon for work related to wartime production.
- Migration to Oregon associated with increasing numbers of African immigrants seeking refuge beginning in the 1970s. These can include, but are not limited to, single- and multiple-family dwellings, businesses, nonprofit offices, schools, churches, and other centers of African culture.

For all four of these periods (but primarily the first two), trails, roads, or other transportation networks associated with the movement of Black people to Oregon could be eligible.

Properties related to this category can be found statewide, with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of initial settlement and in the areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, styles, and details vary widely and are generally based on their function, association, date or period of construction, and location.

Significance

Under this category, the property's significance may be for direct association with a specific event or trend, or with numerous events that cumulatively were important to Oregon's history as it relates to Blacks coming to the state. However, mere association (i.e., a house in which a Black individual or family lived) is not sufficient for National Register eligibility unless rarity or last-of-its-kind arguments can be made. In many cases, these arguments can be made for resources associated with African Americans during the initial settlement period (1843-c.1860) given their rarity in Oregon. While rarity may be applicable in the other periods, it will be less common in the later periods. It will also be important for the nomination to describe how a property relates to the Black historic context of its place and time period, and the nomination must demonstrate the significance within that historic context.

Properties associated with Black/African-American migration to Oregon during the period of significance for this MPD may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, properties may reflect a wide range of areas of significance including Agriculture, Architecture, Community Planning and Development, Education, Exploration/ Settlement, Health/Medicine, Law, Maritime History, Military, Politics/Government, Social History, or Transportation.

Criterion C may also apply to properties designed, engineered, or constructed by a Black architect, engineer, designer, planner or builder when the property is the "work of a master," possesses high artistic value, or embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. The property must be distinctively associated with the

Patterns of Black Migration property category and retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its historical appearance.

Archaeological sites must be associated with this property type by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with patterns of Black migration to Oregon.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What trails, routes, or passages were most used by Black immigrants to Oregon?
- What were traveling conditions like for African Americans? Were there demonstratable differences between the conditions experienced African Americans compared with by Euro Americans and other ethnic groups?
- What time periods are most notable for black migration to Oregon? Are there intense periods of Black migration to Oregon demonstrated in the archaeological record?
- How are properties associated with Black migration to Oregon distributed throughout the State of Oregon? Are there regional trends of migration?
- What was the presence of enslaved and formally enslaved African Americans like in Oregon during the periods of migration in the ninetieth century?
- What was the geographical distribution of African American settlers in what is now Oregon prior to and during the early years of the period of significance?

Examples of resources that have significance to Black history under the *Patterns of Black Migration* property type include the Cora Anne Cox House (Brownsville), as Cora Cox was an enslaved woman who came to Oregon with her enslavers in 1853 and was one of only four documented African Americans to own property in Oregon before the Emancipation Proclamation of 1865. The Daniel and Melinda Waldo House (Salem) is another example. Although Daniel and Melinda were Euro-Americans, their home is significant as several of the state's first African American residents (free and enslaved) worked in this house. The Mathews Cemetery (Eagle Point) is an example of a pioneer-era cemetery that is applicable under the *Patterns of Black Migration* property type. It is the final resting place of many members of the Mathews family who were significant to the early settlement of Eagle Point.

Registration Requirements

In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to properties associated with patterns of migration to Oregon:

- The property must be directly associated with events or trends related to patterns of migration and settling of Black people in Oregon.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance during the specific period of significance identified for the property. Older properties (for example, those that pre-date 1890) that are sufficiently rare need not have a high level of integrity of setting to be eligible.
- Those resources nominated under Criterion C for architectural or design merit should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the retention of a majority of the character features from its identified period of significance that illustrate its architectural or engineering or design distinction.
- Linear resources such as roads or trails can only be nominated as a defined/limited segment and the length or portion of the segment must be justified in the nomination. In addition to being tied to patterns of Black

migration, the segment must have a meaningful association with a specific place to which Black people were arriving or passing through as part of their migration journey. Further, the road, trail, or other linear resource must be established as being significant to the history of Black migration in Oregon. It cannot be nominated just because African Americans used it to get to Oregon without further historical context and comparative analysis to establish significance.

- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological resources should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding the Black community in Oregon.

4. Properties Associated with Community Formation and Upbuilding

Description

Properties associated with Black/African-American community formation and upbuilding in Oregon may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects. Districts will also commonly relate to this property category; however, districts are their own property type under this MPD and thus have separate registration requirements at the end of Section F. Properties include but are not limited to single- and multiple-family dwellings, schools, including those founded by Black residents when their children were excluded from public schools, churches, businesses that were vital to community-building (such as those that provided gathering places), fraternal organizations and clubs, places where charitable activities occurred, parks, and cemeteries. Such properties can be found statewide, with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of migration and initial settlement, and in the areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, styles, and details vary widely and are generally based on their function, association, date or period of construction, and location.

Significance

Community formation and upbuilding are among the most important and overarching themes for Black history in Oregon and there are many properties that have the potential to be significant. The significance may be for direct association with a specific event or trend, or with numerous events that cumulatively were and/or are important to Black history in Oregon. Mere association with community formation is not sufficient for National Register eligibility unless rarity or last-of-its-kind arguments can be made or the person or people were particularly significant and no other properties associated with their important activities remain. A nomination must describe how a property relates to the Black historic context of its place and time period and must demonstrate the significance of the Black community to that location. For example, a house where a Black family lived would not be significant unless it can be shown that the house is the last remaining place associated with a Black/African American family in a specific locality where, historically, a substantial Black community existed.

Properties associated with Black/African-American community formation and upbuilding in Oregon during the period of significance for this MPD will most likely be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A or Criterion D at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, properties may reflect a wide range of areas of significance including Agriculture, Architecture, Community Planning and Development, Education, Exploration/Settlement, Health/Medicine, Law, Maritime History, Military, Politics/Government, Social History, or Transportation.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What types of activities were carried out at African American residences and neighborhoods during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?
- How do African American communities differ based on the region of Oregon they are in? Are there significant environmental and cultural factors associated with these differences?
- What material types are most commonly associated with African American Communities?
- What characteristics are useful in distinguishing African American communities from other ethnic majority communities?

Examples of resources that have applicability to Black history under the *Community Formation and Upbuilding* property category include numerous churches like the Boyd Memorial Baptist Church (La Grande), the St. Mark Christian Methodist Church (Eugene), and the Union Gospel Mission (Klamath Falls). Churches are a particularly important resource under this property type as they were often the primary gathering place for the Black community. The Sybil Harber House (Lakeview) is an example of a property associated with a business that provided critical services to the community (midwifery and baby nursery). The Mims Houses (Eugene) is a residential property that provided a safe haven and acted as a hotel for Black people in a time when they could not get overnight accommodations in Eugene.

Registration Requirements

In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to resources associated with the formation and upbuilding of Black communities in Oregon:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with events or trends related to community formation and upbuilding of Black communities in Oregon.
- The resource should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance during the specific period of significance identified for the property.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological resources should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding the Black community in Oregon.

5. Properties Associated with Wage-Earning, Professional Careers, Business Enterprise, Commerce, Industry, Trades, or Black Patronage

Description

Economic-type properties associated with Black/African-American wage-earning, professional careers, business enterprises, commerce, industry, trades, and/or Black patronage in Oregon may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects. These may include (but are not limited to) home-based businesses in residential properties; residential rental properties including lodging houses and hotels; commercial and mixed-use properties including those with restaurants, barbershops, beauty parlors, medical uses, etc.; and other retail or office-based businesses. This category also includes industrial properties; resource extraction properties such as those associated with logging and mining; farms and ranches including those associated with migrant farmworkers; railroad-related properties including those associated with porters; and other transportation-related resources associated with the movement of goods and/or people for economic purposes. Properties associated with Black people achieving professional careers are associated with this category in the same way that those associated with non-professional wager-earners can be applicable when those wage-earners were part of a

trend of employment that embodies the history of Blacks in the state. In some cases, businesses will have been owned by people of other races but were especially notable for their welcoming of Black customers or hiring of Black workers.

Such properties can be found statewide with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) and in places where natural resource extraction was taking place as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural or engineering types, styles, and details vary widely and are generally based on their function, association, date or period of construction, and location.

Significance

Under this category, a property must be directly associated with the significant event or trend that was important to Oregon's Black history or the economic and/or professional advancement of Black Oregonians. Mere association with an economic-type property (e.g. the location—office, building, structure, or site—where a Black individual engaged in work or practiced a trade) is not sufficient for National Register eligibility unless rarity of the work or the property, or last-of-its-kind arguments can be made, or the person or people and their activities were particularly significant and no other properties associated with their important activities remain.

Properties associated with Black/African-American wage-earning, professional careers, business enterprise, commerce, industry, trades, and Black patronage in Oregon during the period of significance for this MPD may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, areas of significance may include but not be limited to Agriculture, Commerce, Economics, Health/Medicine, Industry, or Invention.

Criterion C may also apply to properties designed, engineered, or constructed by a Black architect, engineer, designer, planner, or builder when the property is the "work of a master," possesses high artistic value, or embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. The property must be distinctively associated with this property category and retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its historical appearance. This criterion will most likely apply paired with an argument under Criterion A.

Archaeological sites must be associated with this category by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What can be learned about Oregon's African American businesses and their customers that is not documented in the historic record?
- How are the economic and social status of African Americans represented in their materials remains?
- What trades or business are most commonly represented in African American Communities?
- When compared to Euro Americans and other ethnic groups, what does the material culture indicate about access to goods and services?

The Section E historic context identifies some businesses, commercial endeavors, trades, industries, and businesspeople significant in Black history whose associated properties may be evaluated under this category. More may be identified with additional research. Examples of resources that have association with this economic-type property category include the Badger Chicken Dinner Inn restaurant (Gearhart), which was a popular Black-owned restaurant along Highway 101, operated by William and Emma Badger and the Beaver Hill Mine (Coo County), which was a highly productive coal mine in the 1890s that employed hundreds of Black miners.

Registration Requirements

In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to economic-type properties associated with Black wage-earning, professional careers, business enterprise, commerce, industry, trades, and Black patronage in Oregon:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with events or trends related to particular business enterprises, commerce, industry, trade, wage earning, professional careers, or business patronage that Black Oregonians engaged in, held, or by those whose actions significantly impacted or contributed to the economic lives of Oregon's Black residents during the period of significance.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance and/or function during the specific period of significance identified for the property.
- Those resources nominated under Criterion C for architectural, engineering, or design merit should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the retention of a majority of the features from its identified period of significance that illustrate its architectural or design distinction.
- Resources known to have been designed or constructed by Black architects, engineers, or builders may be significant under Criteria A, B, or C if they retain sufficient integrity and their associations to events or trends, significant people, or architectural/design merit can be clearly demonstrated as indicated in National Register Bulletins 15, 16a, 32, and others.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological properties should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding Black history in Oregon.

6. Properties Associated with Civil Rights Laws and Violations, Politics, and Activism

Description

Properties associated with civil rights laws and violations, politics, and activism as they relate to Black/African American experiences in Oregon may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects. Examples include but are not limited to NAACP or other advocacy nonprofit offices or gathering places; places associated with Black political leaders; sites of civil rights violations, racially-motivated crimes, or racially-related events including those perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan; sites of laws passed effecting civil rights whether positive or negative; sites of protest or activism including as it relates to segregated schools, churches, businesses, or cemeteries; places associated with newspapers or other publications that furthered civil rights activism; and places associated with politicians who were instrumental in passing laws or making policies that affected civil rights whether negatively or positively. These may include (but are not limited to) residential, commercial, institutional, educational, religious, industrial, agricultural, governmental, and professional resources. Such resources can be found statewide, with greater concentrations in the geographic areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, style, and details vary widely based on age, location, and function.

Significance

Properties associated with civil rights laws and violations, politics, and activism as they relate to Black history in Oregon may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. Areas of significance may include, but not be limited to Ethnic Heritage, Law, Politics/Government, and Social History. A

property must be directly associated with the significant event or trend that was important to the aspects of Oregon's Black history identified in this property category.

Properties associated with this category may also be eligible under Criterion B if the individual's primary work or achievements fall within civil rights, politics, law/justice, or activism and that work is considered significant, noteworthy, or particularly impactful to the community, region, or state. Such a property must be directly associated with the significant person during the time of their noteworthy activities.

Archaeological sites must be associated with this category by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What are the significant places associated with the civil rights movement in Oregon?
- How are social and political movements represented through material objects?
- Are there properties or places closely associated with black politicians, activists, or prominent civil servants?

The associated historic context narratives identify some of the buildings, structures, and sites that may be significant in Oregon's Black history that are associated with civil rights laws and violations, politics, and activism, and more may be identified with additional research. One example is the Black Student Union at the University of Oregon (Eugene). Formed in 1966, its original purpose was to foster activism regarding issues of racial discrimination on campus. Another example is the Nellie L. Franklin Residence (Eugene), which is where the University of Oregon's first female African American graduate was housed as a result of the campus' racially exclusive housing policy.

Registration Requirements
In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements as noted above, the following more specific Registration Requirements apply to properties associated with this category:

- The property must be directly associated with consequential activities related to civil rights laws and violations, politics, or activism significant to the Black experience in Oregon's history during the period of significance.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance and/or function during the specific period of significance identified for the property.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological properties should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding Black history in Oregon.

7. Properties Associated with Government, Public Institutions, and the Military

Description

Properties associated with government, public institutions, and the military in Oregon's Black history may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects and may include, but are not limited to, civic/governmental, educational, military, institutional, recreational, and cultural sites. Examples include state and local government buildings; buildings associated with government programs such as the WPA, CCC, Job Corps, Upward Bound, and VISTA; public libraries, public cemeteries, grade schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities, and military bases and their associated housing. Such properties can be found statewide, with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, styles, and details vary widely based largely on function, location, and age.

Significance

A property must be directly associated with a significant event or trend that was notable to Oregon's Black history as it relates to government, public institutions, or the military.

Properties may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, other areas of significance may include, but are not limited to, Law, Politics/Government, Education, and Social History.

Properties associated with this category may also be eligible under Criterion B if the individual's primary work or achievements fall within the area of government, public institutions, or the military, and that work is considered significant, noteworthy, or particularly impactful to the community, region, or state.

Archaeological sites must be associated with this category by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What is the experience like for African American students studying in Oregon schools and universities? What was access like for black students to attend school in Oregon?
- How are black Oregonians represented in the military before and after Oregon statehood? How has the presence in the military changed through major conflicts during the period of significance?
- Are the effects of government policies or practices represented in the material culture or sites of black communities of Oregon?
- What types of civil and social services were available to historically black communities of Oregon? How did these services vary through the period of significance? What types of material culture might be reflective of?

The associated historic context narratives identify some locations and people significant in the category of government, public institutions, and the military, and more may be identified with additional research. Examples include Pendleton Airbase where the all-Black paratrooper company "The Triple Nickles" was stationed and Camp Adair (Corvallis) where large numbers of African American soldiers were trained for World War II. The Job Corps Training Center at Tongue Point (Astoria) is another property that would be associated with this category as it was a federally-funded job training center that had a large percentage of Black participants.

Registration Requirements
In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements as noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with events or trends related to government, public institutions, or the military engaged in by Blacks or affected by Black people in significant ways during the period of significance.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance and/or function during the specific period of significance identified for the property.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological properties should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding Black history in Oregon.

A Special Note About Federally-Owned Properties:

Properties owned by the federal government are not covered by this document. Any federally-owned property proposed for nomination under this MPD will have to include the review and approval of the Multiple Property Submission cover document at the time of nomination.

8. Properties Associated with Arts, Culture, Entertainment, and Sports

Description
Properties associated with arts, culture, entertainment, and sports in Oregon's Black history may include buildings, structures, sites, or objects, and may include, but are not limited to, residential, commercial, educational, religious, institutional, recreational, and cultural sites. Examples include theaters, galleries, auditoriums, churches, private homes where events took place, bars and clubs, schools, parks, and sports venues such as stadiums and tracks. Such properties can be found statewide, with generally greater concentrations in the geographic areas of higher population density (either historically, presently, or both) as discussed in the context narratives. Resource types, architectural types, styles, and details vary widely based largely on function, location, and age.

Significance
A property must be directly associated with a significant event or trend that was notable to Oregon's Black history in the realm of arts, culture, entertainment, or sports beyond being a multi-use venue or property that hosted a wide variety of people and events in addition to Black entertainers or athletes. Association with a single event or occasional performances by Black/African American entertainers or athletes (e.g. the venue where a famous Black musician played or where an outstanding Black athlete competed) is not sufficient for National Register eligibility unless the venue was used primarily or specifically—and consistently over a period of time—by or for Black entertainment or Black sporting events; was owned and/or operated by a Black proprietor for such events; or if rarity (of the events or performances, or the property) or last-of-its-kind arguments can be made related to a particular significance; or if the person or people and their activities were particularly significant and no other properties associated with their activities remain. For example, while sports venues such as Eugene's McArthur Court or Pendleton's Pendleton Roundup Stadium have hosted events in which Black athletes have competed or performed, they are better-known for having hosted numerous athletes of multiple ethnicities, as well as a variety of events over a period of multiple decades. The involvement of

Black entertainers or athletes is one important facet of their storied histories, but that involvement alone is likely insufficient for National Register eligibility.

Properties associated with Black/African-American contributions to arts, culture, entertainment, or sports in Oregon during the period of significance may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, areas of significance may include, but are not limited to Art, Entertainment/Recreation, or Social History.

Archaeological sites must be associated with this category by physical remains that are at least 50 years old or older that are within an archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) and are linked to Black history through written records and/or oral histories or have site components that demonstrate an association with Black history.

Research (archaeological or otherwise) into the physical nature of these properties may provide answers to relevant research questions including, but not limited to:

- What factors influence the development of artists and athletes living in Oregon? Are there regional differences?
- How is the environment and culture of Oregon represented in the work of artists and entertainers?

The associated historic context narratives identify some locations and people significant in the category of arts, culture, entertainment or sporting achievements, and more may be identified with additional research. While not believed to be extant, Stella's Place—a Black night club in Klamath Falls—is an example of a property that would be associated with this category if it was still standing. As another example, the Alfred Carpenter & Helen Bundy Carpenter House (Central Point) was the home of a white Medford-era philanthropist couple who hosted dinner parties for African American soldiers stationed at Camp White. If these dinner parties were demonstrated to have particular significance to Black history as it relates to war-time entertainment, this home could be associated with this property category.

Registration Requirements
In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements as noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to properties associated with arts, culture, entertainment, and sports:

- The property or resource must be directly associated with events or trends related to arts, culture, entertainment, or sports engaged in by Black people during the period of significance for this MPD.
- The property should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance and/or function during the specific period of significance identified for the property.
- The property's importance to the Black community and the length of time of that importance must be compared to other similar properties in order to establish its importance relative to other resources of similar type, function, age, and association.
- Archaeological properties should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding Black history in Oregon.

9. Historic Districts

Description

When multiple adjacent or nearby buildings are eligible that also share a common theme or context, listing as a historic district should be considered. More often than not, districts will be residential or commercial in nature, but there may be instances of mixed residential-commercial districts or groupings of functionally-related buildings such as a ranch or a job training center. Particularly when it comes to residential areas, these properties are more likely to qualify as district contributors than individually-listed buildings.

A district may be significant for its association with one or more of the contexts in Section E and may include multiple property types identified here in Section F. There may also be historic districts with archaeological significance. While no eligible districts were identified in the survey that accompanied this MPD, future survey work may uncover eligible districts, especially in cities such as La Grande, Pendleton, Hermiston, Klamath Falls, Astoria, and Eugene.

Significance

Like an individual property, a district must be significant under one or more of National Register eligibility Criteria A, B, C, and D. While a district's significance comes from the shared history of its contributing resources, those resources can include a variety of property types. Furthermore, a district can include both contributing and noncontributing properties. In order to determine the potential eligibility of a historic district, it is critical to identify clear character-defining features of the historic district and to evaluate the district's integrity as it relates to this MPD.

A historic district nominated under the auspices of this MPD will be eligible under Criterion A for its significant association with patterns of events that have made a significant contribution to the African American experience in Oregon. While most will be eligible at the local level, state or national significance is possible. In addition to Ethnic Heritage, areas of significance may include Community Planning and Development and/or Social History.

Current research and the established context of this MPD throughout Section E does not suggest eligible districts under Criterion B, however, it is recommended to update this Criterion discussion of the MPD if properties forming a district are eligible under Criterion B that are identified in the future.

A district may also be eligible under Criterion C if district contributors, through their design or physical character, demonstrate significant aspects of the African American experience. Contributing buildings should be distinguishable in their architectural character but may lack individual distinction necessary for individual listing. An example of a district nominated under Criterion C might embody or reflect a distinct pattern of alterations that occurred within the period of significance that are illustrative of the African American community's adaptation to discriminatory housing practices. Additionally, a district may be eligible if it represents the work of a prominent African American architect, designer, or builder.

Lastly, a district may be eligible under Criterion D if it either has, or is demonstrably likely to yield, important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Oregon during the period of significance.

Registration Requirements

In addition to meeting the General Registration Requirements as noted above, the following, more specific Registration Requirements apply to historic districts:

- A district nomination must describe how the proposed district relates to one or more of the Black historic contexts described in Section E and must demonstrate the significance of the location of the proposed district to Black history at the local, state, and/or national level.

- The district should, at a minimum, retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its appearance and/or function during the specific period of significance identified for the district.
- A district nominated under Criterion C for architectural or design merit should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the retention of a majority of the character features from the identified period of significance that illustrate its architectural or design distinction.
- A district nominated under Criterion D should retain integrity of location, materials, and association, especially as they relate to deposition, disturbance, and the ability to distinguish artifacts that are associated with one or more historic contexts identified in Section E.
- The district must establish a period of significance that fits within the period of significance for this MPD.
- The district must have a boundary that is justified relative to the historic significance of the district, the period of significance, and the location of the contributing resources.
- Comparative analysis must be provided as appropriate. For instance, in a city that had multiple neighborhoods with a noteworthy Black population, the district nomination must establish the reasons why the nominated neighborhood is uniquely significant relative to the others.
- Archaeological districts should possess sufficient archaeological context(s) (e.g. spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of features, artifacts, ecofacts, and use surfaces) to inform research questions important to understanding Black history in Oregon.

G. Geographical Data

The geographical area encompasses the boundaries of the State of Oregon in its entirety.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

This Multiple Property Documentation Form was developed in order to analyze the broad context of African American/Black history in Oregon and the various resources remaining from that period. The property types represented in this MPD include historic properties such as dwellings, agricultural buildings, commercial buildings, industrial buildings and sites, town sites, churches, fraternal halls and meeting places, cemeteries, archaeological sites, which encompass the years between 1788 through 2002.

Previous Surveys

Outside of the city of Portland, prior to this project, no concerted, comprehensive effort to locate and document the resources specifically associated with Oregon's African American/Black history had been undertaken. Past historic resource surveys (not necessarily targeting sites specific to Black history) had been, and continue to be periodically undertaken by individual cities and counties, with some associated properties being identified in the course of broader neighborhood, city or county-wide surveys.

In development of this MPD existing data related to this history was first reviewed. This included, reviewing the existing records within the Oregon Historic Sites Database (OHSD) and Oregon Archaeological Records Remote Access (OARRA), and reaching out to and requesting information from various organizations, groups, and individuals, who previously studied and documented historic properties and contexts associated with this study. The information resulting from this research resulted in the compilation of a list of over 50 known buildings and sites.

MPD Research Methodology

Contextual research included both primary and secondary source material. Primary source materials included government documents such as General Land Office maps and survey notes, historic photographs, diaries, letters, newspapers, interviews, and other resources from the period. Various archives were utilized, particularly the materials held by the Oregon Black Pioneers, Oregon Historical Society, and the University of Oregon Special Collections. Secondary sources included National Register documentation (from Oregon and various other states), existing county and statewide context statements, previous survey data, unpublished academic studies and papers, and published books and articles.

Development of Property Types

Following review of previous survey and after initial contextual research a reconnaissance-level survey (RLS) of 70 properties reflective of resources across the state and that represented different thematic, temporal, and geographic themes occurred. This data informed the integrity requirements found throughout Section F. Of the historic properties surveyed during the RLS, six of them were selected for an intensive level survey (ILS) that included some preliminary historical research and preliminary evaluations for potential National Register eligibility. This also included updating eight existing archaeological site records that were found to have an associated context. The SHPO received all the new survey data and uploaded the data into their databases.

Based on the information gathered through archival and field research, property types potentially associated with the various contextual themes listed above were identified and select properties were prioritized for the survey. General registration requirements were developed to apply to all associated resources, as well as more specific registration requirements for individual property types. The standards for integrity correspond to the National Register standards for assessing historical integrity.

Sources

Information for the preparation of the historic context includes the following sources:

- Oregon Black Pioneers Archives;
- Local and statewide newspapers;

- State of Oregon Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) online databases: Oregon Archaeological Records Remote Access (OARRA) and Oregon Historic Sites Database (OHSD);
- National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms;
- Archival records from local, county, and State of Oregon libraries and historical societies;
- University archives;
- Publications, online history sources, unpublished documents such as doctoral dissertations, theses, student research projects, and government-funded documents; and
- Online sources such as the Oregon Encyclopedia and the Oregon Secretary of State Black History in Oregon 1840-1870 online exhibit.

I. Major Bibliographical References

(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)

"$100 Damages Awarded Wm. Timms Today," *The Evening Herald*, June 25, 1927, 1.

"'Jesse Stahl.' Rodeo Hall of Fame." *National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum*. https://nationalcowboymuseum.org/.

"2 Oregon Job Corps Sites 'Out'," *Oregon Journal*, April 10, 1969, 23.

"2 Oregon Job Corps Sites 'Out'," *Oregon Journal*, April 10, 1969, 23.

"A Child Poisoned," *East Oregonian*, November 28, 1904, 8.

"A. A. McCleary," *Corvallis Gazette*, November 11, 1902, 3.

"A. M. E. Church Meets," *Oregonian*, October 16, 1919, 6.

"Act to Prohibit the Intermarriage of Races, 1866," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/act-to-prohibit-the-intermarriage-of-races-1866/, accessed February 20, 2024

"African American Office Holders During and Following the Reconstruction Era," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_officeholders_during_and_following_the_Reconstruction_era#cite_note-1, accessed January 16, 2024.

"African Church in Conference Here," *East Oregonian*, October 30, 1912, 8.

"After 25 Years," *Oregon Journal*, January 12, 1973, 14.

"Ahmad Rashad – Football," Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, 2018, http://oregonsportshall.org/timeline/ahmad-rashad-football/, accessed March 14, 2023.

"Ahmad Rashad," University of Oregon Hall of Fame, 2023, https://goducks.com/honors/hall-of-fame/ahmad-rashad/165, accessed March 14, 2023.

"All Klamath Falls Churches Extend a Cordial Invitation To Come To Church," *The Evening Herald*, November 23, 1935, 5, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/92443132

"Amanda Johnson, 94, Famed Pioneer, Dies," *Albany Democrat-Herald*, March 28, 1927, 1.

"Amazing Grace Fellowship Perseveres," *The Observer* (La Grande), January 24, 2009, last modified September 10, 2019, https://www.lagrandeobserver.com/archive/dni/amazing-grace-fellowship-perseveres/article_a529fdf9-e478-58f0-b264-830225df28e6.html.

"Amazing Grace Fellowship Perseveres," *The Observer,* January 24, 2009, https://www.lagrandeobserver.com/archive/dni/amazing-grace-fellowship-perseveres/article_a529fdf9-e478-58f0-b264-830225df28e6.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

"An Act to Increase the Revenue of the State," *Oregon Argus*, November 1, 1862, 2.

"At the Churches. Zion Chapel," *The Evening Herald*, June 30, 1934, 4, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/94806412/.

"Back to 'Ole Virginny,'" *Morning Astorian*, January 9, 1895, 1.

"Badger's Chicken Dinner," *Statesman Journal*, June 15, 1924, 18.

"Barbeque Brings Nearly $500," *East Oregonian*, June 3, 1918, 2.

"Barbeque Opposed. Building Violates Zoning Ordinance, Report," *The Oregon Statesman*, February 28, 1928, 8, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1928-02-21/ed-1/seq-8/

"Bill Giving Negroes Equal Rights Loses," *Morning Oregonian*, February 21, 1919, 7.

"Bishop Organizes Sunday School Here," *East Oregonian*, August 26, 1920, 6.

"Bishop Organizes Sunday School Here," *East Oregonian*, August 26, 1920, 6.

"Black Panther Party," *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party/Legacy, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Black Pioneers and Settlers," *End of the Oregon Trail*, April 2, 2019, https://historicoregoncity.org/2019/04/02/black-pioneers-and-settlers/, accessed March 2023.

"Black Pioneers and Settlers," https://historicoregoncity.org/2019/04/02/black-pioneers-and-settlers/, accessed February 27, 2024.

"Bond Vote Was Legal Wiley Says," *The Evening Herald*, September 18, 1929, 1, 8.

"Booker T. Washington," *The Oregon Daily Journal*, March 16, 1913.

"Bring Negroes to Oregon," *Oregonian*, March 21, 1908, 4.

"Brownsville Hit Hard Saturday by Fire Which Takes 3 Entire Blocks," *Albany Daily Democrat*, July 14, 1919, 1.

"Brownsville Items," *Albany State Rights Democrat*, February 1, 1884, 2.

"Building Permits," *La Grande Observer*, February 13, 1953, 2.

"Camp Blair (sic) Name Given Army Cantonment at Corvallis, War's Largest," *The Oregon Statesman*, March 28, 1942, 1.

"Campus Mourns Loss of Retired English Professor Ed Coleman," *Around the O,* January 25, 2017, https://around.uoregon.edu/content/campus-mourns-loss-retired-english-professor-ed-coleman, accessed March 3, 2023.

"Canby Round-Up Thrills," *Morning Oregonian*, August 29, 1922, 13

"Church for Colored Residents is Urged," *East Oregonian*, October 29, 1919, 1.

"Church of God in Christ" *Vernonia Eagle*, June 28, 1956, 7.

"Civil Rights Groups Pack Anti-Racialism Hearing," *Oregon Statesman*, February 20, 1953, 1.

"Civilian Conservation Corps," *Oregon Public Broadcasting* (Portland), November 2, 2009, https://www.opb.org/television/programs/oregon-experience/article/civilian-conservation-corps-/, accessed February 16, 2024.

"Co-Ed and Negro Apply for License." *Albany Democrat-Herald*. Albany, OR, July 6, 1951.

"Colored Chapel Services Start," *The Evening Herald*, May 2, 1934, 5, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn99063812/1934-05-02/ed-1/seq-5.

"Colored Feminine Help Will Be Made Available for Homes." *Corvallis Gazette-Times*. Corvallis, OR, July 30, 1943.

"Colored Girl Will Vote," *The Hood River Glacier*, February 10, 1916, 9.

"Colored Troops Spend Pleasant Evening at 'Topsides' Ranch," *Medford News*, August 7, 1942

"Colored Who Are Idle in Oregon 3500," *Oregon Statesman*, April 16, 1921, 1.

"Controversy on Name," *Oregon Statesmen*, March 28, 1951, 43.

"Council Move Is Waited By North Salem," *The Capital Journal*, March 21, 1930, 16, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn90066132/1930-03-21/ed-1/seq-16.

"Council Sworn In," *Eugene Register-Guard*, January 15, 1939, 9.

"Couple Test Oregon's Civil Rights Law," *Statesman Journal*, January 25, 1964, 5.

"Cross Burning: A Smell of Hate," *Oregonian*, June 18, 1996, 1.

"Cut Four Times with a Razor," *East Oregonian*, November 18, 1904.

"Da Motta's Tonsorial Establishment," *Roseburg Review*, February 27, 1885, 3.

"Dan O'Brien – Track & Field." Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, n.d., http://oregonsportshall.org/timeline/dan-obrien-track-field/, accessed March 14, 2023.

"Dan O'Brien, 2006 Hall of Fame Inductee," *USA Track & Field*, n.d, https://www.usatf.org/athlete-bios/dan-o-brien, accessed March 14, 2023.

"Daniel G. Hill, 83, Dies," *Washington Post*, October 24, 1979, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1979/10/24/daniel-g-hill-83-dies/91d2194f-c597-47a7-b813-1a09c3c56319/, accessed March 2023.

"Day to Acknowledge Racism Grows Into Year of Awareness," *Oregonian*, April 23, 2000, C06.

"Does Oregon Need NAACP?," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 1951, 2.

"Dr. Edwin Leon Coleman II 1932-2017," https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/registerguard/name/edwin-coleman-obituary?id=17894493, accessed January 4, 2023.

"Duncan Denies Change of Venue," *The Bulletin* [Bend], February 15, 1964, 2.

"Ellender Penelope 'Nellie' Mathews (1799-1882)." *Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon*. https://sos.oregon.gov/.

"Ernie Kent," University of Oregon Athletics, 2013, http://web.archive.org/web/20130817132651/http://www.goducks.com/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=500&ATCLID=2230, accessed March 15, 2023.

"Escape from Blackfeet," The Walters Art Museum. *https://art.thewalters.org/detail/21918/escape-from-blackfeet/, accessed* December 15, 2023.

"Eugene Citizens Begin to Seek Means of Helping Negroes," *Oregonian*, February 11, 1952, 12.

"Eugene Group Takes Steps for Race Relations Council," *Oregonian*, February 14, 1952, 9.

"Expression of Appreciation," *Vernonia Early*, September 27, 1927, 2.

"Facilities for 500 Provided," *Oregon Journal*, November 9, 1964, 1.

"Facing Hate," *Just Out*, January 19, 1996, 13.

"Fair Employment Measure Passes House by 53-4 Vote," *The Bend Bulletin*, March 19, 1949, 1.

"Fair Housing in Oregon Study," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/fair-housing-in-oregon-study/, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Family Visits for Job Corps Girls Proposed," *Oregon Journal*, October 11, 1967, 15, 18.

"FBI, Police Arrest Two in Gresham Cross-Burning," *Oregonian*, July 26, 1996, 1.

"Ferguson May Aid Police in Vice Round Up," *The Evening Herald*, September 19, 1929, 3.

"Forest Service Official Describes Purpose of Youth Camp in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, October 15, 1964, 6.

"Fort Rock Campsite Oregon," https://www.nps.gov/places/rock-fort-campsite-oregon.htm.

"Frank Gorman and Salem's Tiger Fire Engine Company" Willamette Heritage Center, January 27, 2021, https://www.willametteheritage.org/frank-gorman-and-salems-tiger-fire-engine-company/, accessed March 9, 2023.

"General Notices," *The Herald and News*, June 16, 1950, 13, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/94953535/.

"George Washington (1817-1905)." *Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon*. https://sos.oregon.gov/.

"Goerkes Agree to Rent Negro Pair Apartment," *The Bulletin* [Bend], April 18, 1964, 2.

"Harney County Group Pursues Grave Markers for Black Pioneers," OBP, August 24, 2020, https://oregonblackpioneers.org/harney-county-group-pursues-grave-marker-for-black-pioneers/, accessed February 19, 2024.

"Harry Jerome - Track & Field." Oregon Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, December 11, 2018, www.oregonsportshall.org/timeline/harry-jerome-track-field, accessed March 13, 2023.

"Hate Crimes Fall, But Only on Paper," *Oregonian*, October 4, 1998, section D, page 1.

"Hawkins Rites Due on Saturday," *The Bulletin*, March 1, 1956, 5.

"He Knows What," *Camp Adair Sentry*, July 30, 1942, 2.

"Here and There," *Roseburg Review*, March 13, 1885, 3.

"Hermiston, Oregon," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermiston,_Oregon, accessed February 20, 2024.

"History of Bilal Masjid," https://www.bilalmasjid.com/AboutUs/History.aspx, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Homeless and Helpless," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1895, 7.

"Hooray for Principle," *Tillamook Headlight*, November 30, 1916, 2.

"Immigration Society," *Oregonian*, July 23, 1879, 3.

"In Oregon Climate, Skinheads Sprout," *Oregonian*, March 23, 1989, section E, page 8

"Indians Consider Negro Slave Accompanying Lewis & Clark Expedition 'Big Medicine,'" *Oregonian*, April 7, 1963, 42.

"Ione," *Heppner Gazette-Times*, March 23, 1933, 4.

"It's a Place Where You Can Come and Help Yourself in the Future," *The Print*, November 12, 1980, 6.

"Jacksonville," *Oregonian*, July 3, 1852, 3.

"Job Corps Center Not Poverty Cure," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, June 30, 1966, 8.

"Job Corps Goes Coed; Oregon Center First," *Oregon Journal*, January 10, 1975, 27.

"Job Corps Holds Open House," *Portland Observer*, August 18, 1977, 7.

"Job Corps Popular," *Oregon Journal*, August 28, 1965, 14.

"Joesph Lane Advertisement," *East Oregonian*, July 12,1879, 3.

"John Livingstone to Be Buried Today," *Morning Enterprise*, August 11, 1912, 1.

"Johnson's Washington and Oregon Map, 1862," https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cb/1862_Johnson_Map_of_Washington_and_Oregon_w-Idaho_-_Geographicus_-_WAOR-johnson-1862.jpg, accessed January 15, 2024

"Klamath Falls rolls red carpet for O'Brien," *Eugene Register-Guard*, September 14, 1993.

"Klamath Falls, 1941," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/klamath-falls-1941/, accessed February 16, 2024.

"Larry Darnell Wilson," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/213175273/larry-darnell-wilson?_gl=1*vdjq8t*_gcl_au*MTIyMzYxMjE0My4xNzAzMTExNDE3, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Leaders Join Forces to Fight Hate Crimes," *Oregonian*, July 22, 1993, section F, page 2.

"Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)." *Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon*. https://sos.oregon.gov/.

"Letitia Carson Legacy Project," Oregon State University, https://letitiacarson.oregonstate.edu/, accessed September 6, 2023.

"Letter to the Editor," *Medford Mail Tribune*, February 26, 1940.

"Local Brevities," *Roseburg Review*, August 12, 1882, 3.

"Local Briefs," *Morning Enterprise*, July 16, 1912, 3.

"Local Committee on Relief Will Meet Wednesday," *La Grande Evening Observer*, July 12, 1932, 1.

"Local Items," *Roseburg Review*, March 27, 1885, 3.

"Local Lore," *Weekly Gazette-Times*, April 7, 1897, 3.

"Local Lore," *Weekly Gazette-Times*, December 11, 1895, 3.

"Local News Briefs. Venison Barbecue Held," *The Oregon Statesman*, October 2, 1928, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1928-10-02/ed-1/seq-3/

"Local News Items," *Oregon City Courier-Herald*, September 13, 1901, 5.

"Local Woman Fights Racism, Carries Torch for Social Causes," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 22, 2003, 44.

"Long-Term Waldport Resident Dies Here," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, December 3, 1951, 8.

"Lucy Rose Mallory: Publisher, Feminist, and Spiritualist," Salem Breakfast on Bikes, June 18, 2020, www.breakfastonbikes.blogspot.com/2020/06/lucy-rose-mallory-publisher-feminist-spiritualist.html, accessed March 10, 2023.

"Lumber Parley to Be Resumed," *Eugene Register-Guard*, March 23, 1945, 3

"Many Astoria Residents Wary of Antipoverty Training Camp," *Oregon Journal*, December 14, 1964, 2.

"Many Changes Made at Tongue Point," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 1966, 1.

"Marian Anderson Concert Enjoyed," *C.P. American*, March 7, 1940.

"Marian Anderson Delights Large Audience at Holly," *Medford News*, March 3, 1940

"Marshfield in Cartoon," *Coos Bay Times*, September 29, 1909, 3.

"Marshfield Negroes Appeal to Governor," *Roseburg News-Review*, July 14, 1924, 6

"Marshfield," *Capital Journal*, December 3, 1895, 2.

"Mathews, Ellender." *Oregon Secretary of State Archives Division: Early Oregonian Person Profile*. https://secure.sos.state.or.us/prs/profile.do?ancRecordNumber=25756.

"Meeting Today Features Speech on Race Problem," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, February 13, 1952, 1.

"Migrant Labor Families in the 1960s: Portraits from the Valley Migrant League Photographs," *Oregon Historical Society,"* https://www.ohs.org/museum/exhibits/migrant-labor-families-1960s-valley-migrant-

league.cfm?fbclid=IwAR1fkuhWd4WJZWtCAuf3vCmh5c_6DSn2WEiiLW6Rq1LZmtk7IXtaJNNHM5c, accessed February 19, 2024.

"Mill Worker Is Taken Yesterday After Sickness," *The Oregon Statesman* (Salem), April 25, 1930, 12, www.universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/79474067/.

"Ministers Deplore 'Racial Prejudice,'" *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 13, 1960, 1.

"Minor Jackson," *Albany Daily Democrat*, August 15, 1919, 2.

"Move to End Discrimination Before Oregon Legislature," *The Bend Bulletin*, February 21, 1953, 4.

"Murder Investigation Requested by Governor," *Oregon Journal*, July 15, 1924, 2.

"NAACP Chief Wants Justice," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, May 18, 1979, 9.

"NAACP Dinner Meeting," *Herald and News*, August 29, 1963, 4.

"NAREB Code of Ethics," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/nareb-code-of-ethics/, accessed February 16, 2024.

"Native American Peoples of Oregon," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Native_American_peoples_of_Oregon#cite_ref-Carey1-47_1-0, accessed January 30, 2024.

"Negro Center," *Herald and News*, May 25, 1944, 1.

"Negro Coal Miners Stop Work," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 8, 1895, 2.

"Negro Quartet Coming Again," *The Evening Herald*, May 21, 1934, 8.

"Negro Soldiers to Weekend in City of Portland," *Herald and News*, November 5, 1942, 14.

"Negro Who Once Ran Streetcar System of Eugene, OR., Expires," *Oregon Daily Journal*, June 29, 1913, 9.

"Negroes Aids Red Cross," *Sunday Oregonian*, June 24, 1917, 19.

"Negroes Likely to Win Salem Apartment Row," *Oregonian*, September 18, 1963, 18.

"News Items," *Hood River Glacier*, January 5, 1895, 2.

"Northwest Brevities," *St. Helens Mist*, January 1, 1897, 1.

"Notes on Black Churches in the 19th and early 20th Century, September 3, 2022, https://breakfastonbikes.blogspot.com/2022/09/notes-on-black-churches-in-19th-and-early-20th-century.html, accessed March 20, 2023.

"Notice," *The Morning Astorian*, February 10, 1885, 3.

"Oakland Modified Its Ban on 'Tag Days,'" *San Francisco Examiner*, June 29, 1916, 1.

"Obed Dickinson and the Negro Question in Salem," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1991, 4-40.

"Obituary, Willie Bell Richardson," Dignity Memorial, https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/salem-or/willie-richardson-11124520, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Olympic Pride, American Prejudice," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympic_Pride,_American_Prejudice, accessed February 19, 2024.

"One Killing Drew the Skinheads to Portland," *Oregonian*, November 12, 1989, 1.

"Only Negro Buys Bond," *Sunday Oregonian*, October 28, 1917, 4.

"Only One at Colored School," *The Coos Bay Times*, September 21, 1909. Electronic resource: www.oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85033159/1909-09-21/ed-1/seq-1, accessed March 10, 2023.

"Oregon City," *The Advocate*, June 16, 1923, 4.

"Oregon Gets Civil Rights Law," *Portland Challenger*, April 17, 1953, 1.

"Oregon Negroes Seek to Break Pattern of Segregated Housing," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 17, 1963, 5.

"Oregon News," *Heppner Weekly Gazette*, July 31, 1890, 4.

"Oregon One of 9 States Without Elected Negro," *Oregonian*, June 26, 1969, 24.

"Oregon's Civil Rights Laws Are Among Nation's Strongest," *The Bulletin* (Bend), December 13, 1963, 5.

"Otis Davis - 2004 Hall of Fame Inductee," The National Track & Field Hall of Fame, https://www.usatf.org/athlete-bios/otis-davis, accessed March 13, 2023.

"Otis Davis, BS '60," UO Alumni, University of Oregon, November 6, 2015, https://www.uoalumni.com/s/1540/21/interior.aspx?sid=1540&gid=3&pgid=5008, accessed March 13, 2023.

"Pacific Northwest," *St. Helens Mist*, November 1, 1895, 1.

"Pendleton Gets Slogan," *Morning Oregonian*, April 14, 1921, 5.

"Permit for Shed Issued," *East Oregonian*, May 26, 1919, 3.

"Peter Ranne of the Jedediah Strong Smith Park," *One Nevada Encyclopedia*, http://www.onv-dev.duffion.com/articles/peter-ranne-jedediah-strong-smith-party, accessed January 30, 2024.

"Philip Da Motta Barbershop," https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:US_Signal_Service_Office_over_Philip_Da_Motta%27s_Barber_Shop_-_Roseburg,_Oregon.jpg

"Pioneer Brownsville Barber Is Called by Death in Los Angeles," *Albany Democrat-Herald*, October 24, 1925, 1.

"Portland-Area Hate Crimes Rise After Murder of Ethiopian Man," *Oregonian*, August 1, 1989, section B, page 4

"Problems Hamper Progress of Job Corps in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, August 16, 1965, 2.

"Prof Describes Foreign Student Discrimination," Oregon Daily Emerald, March 28, 1957, 1.

"Project Upward Bound Proves Deprived You Can Make the Grade," *Oregonian*, June 5, 1966, 26.

"Prominent Oregon Architect Dies at 71." *Albany Democrat-Herald*. Albany, OR, November 10, 2000.

"Pullman Porters.," https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/pullman-porters, accessed January 20, 2024.

"R. Crawford, Veteran Shipbuilder, Helped Build the Monitor," *Oregon Daily Journal*, April 10, 1918, 7.

"Race Ban Lifted," *Oregon Statesman*, April 13, 1951, 1.

"Race Feeling Arose Very Early in Oregon," *Oregon Daily Journal*, January 6, 1920, 6.

"Race Prejudice in Oregon," *The New Age*, December 2, 1899, 4.

"Racial Problem Strikes Eugene," *Oregonian*, February 10, 1952, 1 and 24.

"Racing to Change: Oregon's Civil Rights Years," *Oregon Black Pioneers,* https://oregonblackpioneers.org/exhibit/racing-to-change/, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Resources Abound in Rogue Country, Subheading of Negro Character Esteemed." *Morning Oregonian*, December 13, 1912, 18.

"Reuben Shipley (1811–1872)," Find a Grave, March 19, 2008, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/25387752/reuben-shipley.

"Rev. Tolliver Visits Here," *The Advocate*, July 28, 1928, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1928-07-28/ed-1/seq-3/.

"Revival Meetings," *La Grande Evening Observer*, January 26, 1931, 5.

"Richardson's Confectionery and Fountain Lunch," advertisement, *The Advocate*, May 4, 1929, 3. https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1929-05-04/ed-1/seq-3/.

"Ron Lee," University of Oregon Hall of Fame, 2023, https://goducks.com/honors/hall-of-fame/ron-lee/132, accessed March 14, 2023.

"Roseberg's Favorite Barber," *Roseburg Review*, March 17, 1883.

"Roseburg's Fire," *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, August 22, 1884, 3.

"Round Up" Albany Daily Democrat, July 5, 1917, 1.

"Salem Negro Family Lives in Fear," *Oregonian*, May 14, 1968, 15.

"School in Log House in '50", *The Oregon Statesman*, March 28, 1931, www.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1931-03-28/ed-1/seq-20, accessed March 10, 2023.

"Seaside Notes," *Oregon Daily Journal*, August 3, 1907, 14.

"Senate Defeats Civil Rights Bill 24 to 6 as Full Galleries Listen to Proponents' Pleas," *The Oregon Statesman*, February 8, 1945, 2.

"Services Announced," *La Grande Observer*, June 3, 1938, 3.

"Settlement Ends Race Law Test," *Oregon Journal*, April 18, 1964, 1.

"Settlement-era Dwellings, Barns and Farm Groups of the Willamette Valley [Oregon]," Multiple Property Documentation Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2015, E-8.

"Sheriff's Sale," *Lincoln County Leader*, January 29, 1904, 6.

"Shines Go Up Too," *Toveri*, October 19, 1917, 3.

"Site Information: Egbert House," Salem: SHPO, last accessed September 7, 2023, https://heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic/index.cfm?do=v.dsp_siteSummary&resultDisplay=650029.

"Situation Reassuring at Tongue Point," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 13, 1966, 6.

"Slavery Days Recalled," *Morning Oregonian*, January 2, 1911, 11.

"Small Church To Be Aided By Concert," *Eugene Register Guard*, December 12, 1949, 8, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/140777147/

"Smoki Whitfield (1918-1967)." *Internet Movie Database*. Last modified 2021. https://www.imdb.com/.

"Some Want Oregon to Formally Mark Racial Bias in Past," *Oregonian*, February 16, 1999, 1.

"Sparrow Flew to Sea," *Daily Morning Astorian*, February 25, 1890, 3.

"St. Mark's CME," *Eugene Register-Guard*, December 3, 1949, 3, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/140776843/.

"Start Colored School," *The Coos Bay Times*, October 5, 1909, www.oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85033159/1909-10-05/ed-1/seq-3, accessed March 10, 2023.

"State Faces Up to the Racism of its Past," *Oregonian*, April 23, 1999, 1.

"State News," *Gazette-Times* (Heppner), March 25, 1920, 10.

"State of Oregon: State Archives." https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/pages/default.aspx.

"Statehood: Constitutional Exclusions and the Civil War," https://openoregon.pressbooks.pub/oregonhistory/chapter/chapter-5-statehood-constitutional-exclusions-and-the-civil-war/, accessed November 2023.

"Students Form NAACP Chapter," *Herald and News*, February 15, 1952, 6.

"Students Hear Negro Quartet," *The Evening Herald*, May 11, 1934, 10.

"Sunrise Project," https://oregonremembrance.org/sunrise-project/, accessed February 16, 2024.

"Surprised His Friends," *The Plaindealer*, December 15, 1904, 3.

"Survey Reports Negro Students," *Oregonian*, November 16, 1949, 12.

"Swamp Adair, Camp Adair." Online Exhibition. *Benton County Historical Society*. Last modified 2021. bentoncountymuseum.org.

"Take a 'Hunch' from William Timms," *The Evening Herald*, May 18, 1921, 6.

"Testing Yields New Evidence of Human Occupation 18,000 Years Ago in Oregon, https://www.blm.gov/press-release/testing-yields-new-evidence-human-occupation-18000-years-ago-oregon, accessed January 30, 2024.

"The Great Migration (1910-1970)," African American Heritage, National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration, accessed September 10, 2023.

"The Only Slave Ever Sold in Oregon," *The Morning Astorian* 18 Nov 1884, 1.

"The Scab Sheet: An Underground Newspaper Exposing OSU's Dark Past," *OMA and OSQA Blog,* https://blogs.oregonstate.edu/oregonmulticulturalarchives/2012/02/24/scab-sheet/, accessed February 20, 2024.

"The Wall of Faces," https://www.vvmf.org/Wall-of-Faces/, accessed February 20, 2024.

"The Weather Man," *Medford Mail Tribune*, November 13, 1960, 17.

"There's a Choice to Be Made," *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 13, 1960, 4.

"Third Man Sentenced in Slaying," *Oregonian*, November 30, 1989, section G, page 10.

"Threats Cause 2 Colored Men to Flee City," *The Evening Herald*, October 23, 1923, 1.

"Three Churches Incorporated," *The Capitol Journal*, December 2, 1922, 2, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn90066132/1922-12-02/ed-1/seq-2/.

"Three VISTA Volunteers Complete First Year of Service for VML," *Opportunity News*, April 29, 1966, 1,3.

"To Provide Equal Privileges," *Weekly Coast Mail*, October 3, 1903, 4.

"Told by the Negro," *Oregonian*, January 27, 1895, 3.

"Tongue Point Job Corps Center Celebrates 45 Years," *The Daily Astorian*, January 31, 1910, https://www.dailyastorian.com/news/tongue-point-job-corps-center-celebrates-45-years/article_1cb17157-3b33-5b13-a53b-563e2350d399.html

"Tongue Point to Become Women's Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 6, 1967, 1 and 7.

"Trip To Vernonia An Interesting One," *The Advocate*, October 10, 1925, 1, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1925-10-10/ed-1/seq-1/.

"Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Oregonian*, March 2, 1952, 98-99.

"U.S. Interested in Lynching Episode," *Oregon Journal*, July 9, 1923, 2

"U.S.O. News," *The Central Point American*, August 6, 1942, 4.

"Umatilla Chemical Depot," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umatilla_Chemical_Depot, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Undaunted," *Just Out*, July 5, 1996, 11.

"Understanding the Immigrant Experience in Oregon," Research, Analysis, and Recommendations from University of Oregon Scholars, Robert Bussel editor, 27.

"Union History," A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum, 2022, www.aprpullmanportermuseum.org/about-museum/union-history/3, accessed March 9, 2023.

"University Only School Still Operating Job Corps Center," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 21, 1872, 11.

"Unthank Family Celebrates New Dormitory at UO." *Albany Democrat-Herald*. Albany, OR, July 13, 2017.

"Up the Columbia," *The Weekly Enterprise*," September 11, 1869, 1.

"Valley Migrant League," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/valley_migrant_league/, accessed February 20, 2024.

"Vernonia News," *The Advocate*, March 5, 1927, 4, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn98062568/1927-03-05/ed-1/seq-4/.

"Video LINK: George Fletcher: 1890-1973." *Oregon Black Pioneers*. Last modified 2016. Accessed November 18, 2021. https://oregonblackpioneers.org/.

"VISTA Volunteers and VML," *Opportunity News*, March 25, 1968, 3.

"VISTA Volunteers to Graduate," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, December 3, 1965, 8.

"Waldport Gets New Hotel," *Sunday Oregonian*, March 15, 1914, 58.

"Waldport Items," *Lincoln County Leader*, May 1, 1908, 1.

"Was 'Mayor Badger' First Negro Mayor in Oregon," *Oregon Journal*, October 9, 1967, 2.

"Welcome to the Lonnie B. Harris Black Cultural Center, *Oregon State University,* https://dce.oregonstate.edu/bcc, accessed February 20, 2024.

"White Co-Ed Marries U of O Colored Senior." *The Capital Journal*. Salem, OR, July 9, 1951.

"William T. Shorey, Veteran Mariner, Dies," *Oakland Tribune*, April 15, 1919, 3.

"William Thomas Shorey," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5980/william_thomas_shorey, accessed March 1, 2024.

"Wolf Creek Job Corps Camp's Chief Ready for Quick Start," *Oregon Journal*, December 11, 1964, 23.

"Your Vote on Measure 14 Can Unite, Divide," *Oregonian*, October 30, 2002, B02.

1910 Jackson, Douglas and Josephine County Polk Directories.

Abbott, Carl. "Vanport," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vanport/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Allen, Cain. "Oregon and California Railroad," *Oregon History Project*, 2003. www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/oregon-and-california-railroad, accessed March 8, 2023.

Anderson (Tommy), Jaja. "Short History of Black Panther Eugene, Oregon Chapter," *It's About Time: Black Panther Legacy*, http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Chapter_History/Eugene_Oregon_Chapter.html, accessed March 10, 2023.

Anderson, Martha. *Black Pioneers of the Northwest: 1800-1918* (Portland: s.n., 1980), 51.

Architectural Resources Group and Moreland Resource Consulting, *Dr. John D. Marshall Building National Register Nomination*, MP 100009052, 2023, 26.

Ashley Conklin, "Celebrating high school track phenom Margaret Johnson Bailes," *World Athletics*, February 1, 2022, https://worldathletics.org/news/feature/celebrating-high-school-track-phenom-margaret-johnson-bailes, accessed February 20, 2024.

Atwood, Kay and Dennis J. Gray. "As Long as the World Goes On: The Land and People of Southwest Oregon, *Oregon History Project,* 2003, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/as-long-as-the-world-goes-on-the-land-and-people-of-southwest-oregon/new-names-on-the-land/jacksonville-the-first-town/, accessed March 2023.

Atwood, Kay, Dennis Gray, and Ward Tonsfeldt, *"The Best Year I Spent in My Entire Life: the Civilian Conservation Corps at Camp Rand (F-75), Josephine County, Oregon,"* Ashland: Cascade Research, LLC, 2004, 44-45.

Baldwin, Peggy. "A Legacy Beyond Generations," Oregon Secretary of State: *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870*: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/southworth.aspx, accessed September 1, 2023.

Baldwin, Peggy. "Louis Southworth (1829-1917)." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, February 9, 2021. http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org.

Barbour, Barton. "Jedediah Strong Smith (1799-1831)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 25, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/smith_jedediah/.

Beckham, Stephen Dow. "Fort Astoria," State of Oregon Inventory of Historic Sites and Buildings, 1974.

Beckham, Stephen Dow. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form: The Oregon Trail, Oregon, 1840 to 1880," (Washington, DC: DOI, NPS, 2012).

Beckham, Stephen Dow. "State of Oregon Inventory Historic Sites and Buildings: Huddleston (James) House [Mims Hotel]." State Historic Preservation Office, 1976. http://www.heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic.

Beckner, Chrisanne. "Cultural Demolition: What Was Lost When Eugene Razed Its First Black Neighborhood?" Master's thesis, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 2009, electronic document accessed on Oregon SHPO GIS database September 30, 2022.

Beek, Chuck. "Black Boutique Business is Definitely in the Black," *Oregon Daily Emerald* (Eugene), January 15, 1971, 3, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1971-01-15/ed-1/seq-3/, accessed March 2023.

Bell, Susan. "Salem's Colored School and Little Central," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, September 8, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/salem_s_colored_school_and_little_central/, accessed March 3, 2023.

Benett, Brad. "'Remember Mulugeta': 30 years after SPLC lawsuit, life and legacy of man killed by hate group memorialized," October 25, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/news/2020/10/25/remember-mulugeta-30-years-after-splc-lawsuit-life-and-legacy-man-killed-hate-group, accessed January 6, 2023.

Benton County Historical Society, "Reuben and Mary Jane Shipley House," Catalog Number H10140-005, Oregon State University Horner Museum Collection.

Blanchette, John. "World record gives Dan glory, peace of mind," *The Spokesman-Review*, September 9, 1992.

Borth, Holly. "Cora Cox House," September 21, 2012, https://historicholly.wordpress.com/2012/09/21/cora-ann-cox-house/, accessed on March 10, 2023.

Brame, Herman L. *A Forgotten Woman of Oregon (Mabel Byrd's Life of Protest)*. Eugene, Oregon: Herman L. Brame, 2014.

———. *DeNorval Unthank, Jr.: Pioneering Oregon Architect*. Herman L. Brame, 2015.

———. *Dr. William S. Savage: The University of Oregon's First African American Graduate*. Herman L. Brame, 2014.

———. *Maxine's Struggle (The Sotry of Maxine Maxwell and the University of Oregon)*. Herman L. Brame, 2014.

———. *Oregon's Ace Fighter Pilot*. Herman L. Brame, 2014.

———. *Robert "Smokey" Whitfield: Oregon's Gift to Hollywood*. Herman L. Brame, 2014.

———. *The Long Ebony Line: African American Athletes in Oregon, Circa 1860-1979*. Revised and Expanded. Portland, OR, 2017.

———. *Thomas D. Rutherford: A Son of Oregon Pioneers*. Herman L. Brame, 2015.

———. *University of Oregon Trailblazers*. Herman L. Brame, 2006.

Bristol Jr., Douglas Walter. *Knights of the Razor: Black Barbers in Slavery and Freedom*, Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins Press, 2009, 2. See also Ellen Terrell, "Honoring African Americans: Barbering," Library of Congress Blog (2022). https://blogs.loc.gov/inside_adams/2022/02/african-americans-barbering/#:~:text=African%2DAmerican%20men's%20barbering%20has,slaves%20and%20affluent%20white%20men, accessed March 8, 2023.

Brooks, James. "James Brooks Oral History Interview," interview by Michael Grice, May 8, 1983, audio recording and transcript, Oregon State University, Oregon African American Railroad Porters Oral History Preservation Project, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/oh29/brooks/audio-brooks.html, accessed March 9, 2023.

Brubaker, Cheri. "Louis Southworth, slave who bought his freedom and homesteaded near Oregon coast, chosen as namesake of new park," *Oregonian*, August 29, 2021,: https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2021/08/louis-southworth-slave-who-bought-his-freedom-and-homesteaded-near-oregon-coast-chosen-as-namesake-of-new-park.htm, accessed September 1, 2023.

Bruce, Ben. "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon During the 1920s," Voces Novae: Vol. 11, Article 2, 2019.

Bryson, Christopher, Shayla Harris, and Stacey Holman, *The Black Church: This Is Our Story, This Is Our Song. Episode 1*, Washington, DC: McGee Media, Inkwell Films and WETA, 2021, https://www.pbs.org/video/the-black-church-episode1/, accessed September 12, 2023.

Buce, Susan. "The Dalles," *Oregon Encyclopedia, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/the_dalles/,* accessed December 15, 2023.

Burell III, Raymond. "Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church." *Oregon Encyclopedia*, May 21, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/.

Bussel, Robert, and Daniel J. Tichenor. "Trouble in Paradise: A Historical Perspective on Immigration in Oregon." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 118, no. No. 4. Oregon Migrations (2017): 460–487.

Bywater, Sharon. "Courage Has No Color! The Lasting Legacy of the U.S. Army's First All-Black Paratroopers: Oregon 'Triple Nickles,'" *Southern Oregon Historical Society Quarterly: Making History Together,* Winter 2020-2021, 1-2.

Card, Douglas P. "Little House on the Millrace, Eugene's Pioneer Black Homeowner" *Lane County Historian*, Eugene Oregon: Lane County Historical Society, 3-7.

Carey, Charles Henry. *History of Oregon*, Chicago, Illinois: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1922), 520.

Carter, Liz and Chris Ruiz. "Hannah and Eliza Gorman House" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2015, 23-26.

Carter, Liz. "Intensive Level Survey (ILS) site form: Brooks, Mansfield and Carrie, House," Salem, OR: Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, 2002.

Carter, Liz. "Intensive Level Survey (ILS) site form: Waldo, Daniel and Melinda, House," (Salem, OR: Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, 2002).

Casey, Helen. *Portland's Compromise: The Colored School, 1867-1872*. Public Information Department, Portland Public Schools, 1980.

Casteel, David. Linkville Pioneer Cemetery National Register Nomination, 11.

Catlin, J. et. al. "State of Oregon Inventory Historic Sites and Buildings: Mims House II [Mims Hotel]." *Oregon Cultural Resource Inventory, City of Eugene*. Last modified 1994. heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic.

Chance, David and John Fagan. "Site form for 35HA22 (Juniper Lake Site)," Eugene: University of Oregon, Museum of Natural History, 1968, on file at the Oregon SHPO.

Chase, Rebecca. Bisbee Hotel National Register Nomination.

City of Beaverton, "Our Cities, Our Stories," https://www.beavertonoregon.gov/1114/Our-City-Our-Stories-An-Expanded-History, accessed January 2, 2024.

City of Portland, Portland Bureau of Planning. *Portland: The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)*. Portland Bureau of Planning, 1993.

Clackamas County Historical Society, "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841-1864," June 19, 2021, http://clackamashistory.org/from-the-pages-of-history-cchs-blog/2021/3/27/black-americans-in-early-oregon-city-1840-1900, accessed January 16, 2024.

Clark Jr., Malcom. *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981, 169.

Cole, Olen. *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999, 13-14.

Coleman, Kenneth R. "Cockstock Incident," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/cockstock-incident/

———. *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2017.

———. "James D. Saules (1806?-1850s)." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, March 18, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/saules-james-d/, accessed March 2023.

———. "White Man's Territory: The Exclusionary Intent behind the 1850 Donation Land Act." *Oregon Humanities*. Last modified April 27, 2018. https://www.oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/owe-spring-2018/white-mans-territory-kenneth-r-coleman/.

Cooper, John M. "Looking Back On One of Our Favorites, Dan O'Brien, Olympic Gold Medalist," *Basin Life*, September 4, 2020, https://www.basinlife.com/2020/09/04/looking-back-on-one-of-our-favorites-dan-obrien-olympic-gold-medalist/, accessed March 14, 2023.

Corbet, Mark. "The Death of PFC Malvin L. Brown: 'In the Interest of Public Welfare,'" *Smokejumper Magazine,* July 2006.

Corning, Howard M., ed. *Dictionary of Oregon History*, 2nd ed., Portland: Binford & Mort Publishing, 1989, 129.

Crystal Lake Cemetery National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, certified June 16, 2004.

Culp, Edwin D. *Stations West: The Story of the Oregon Railways*, Random House, 1978, 43-44.

Cummings, John, and Joseph Adna Hill. *Negro Population 1790-1915*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1918.

Curry-Stevens, Anne and the Coalition of Communities of Color. *The African Immigrant and Refugee Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile*, Portland: Portland State University, 2013, 2-3, https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1080&context=socwork_fac, accessed February 20, 2024.

Dahlberg, John and Lorene Dahlberg, "National Register of Historic Places Form: Delaney-Edwards House," Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, NPS, 2004.

Damian Foley and Riley Ovall, "Second to None: The Legend and Legacy of Mack Robinson," University of Oregon, n.d., https://around.uoregon.edu/mackrobinson, accessed March 14, 2023.

Darby, Melissa. *Thunder Go North: The Hunt for Sir Francis Drake's Fair and Good Bay*. University of Utah Press, 2019.

Davis, Lenwood G. "Sources for History of Blacks in Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol.73. Number 3*,* September 1972, 206.

De Bruin, Tabitha. "Harry Jerome," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 24, 2008. Electronic resource: https://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/harry-jerome, accessed March 13, 2023.

DeBerry, Clyde E., Joseph Fashing, and Calvin Harris. "Black Power and Black Population: A Dilemma." *Journal of Negro Education* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1969): 14–21.

Denson, Bryan. "1998 story: Legacy of a hate crime: Mulugeta Seraw's death a decade ago avenged," *Oregonian,* November 12, 2014, https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/11/1998_story_legacy_of_a_hate_cr.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

Dilg, Janice. National Register nomination 02001485, Oregon-American Lumber Corporation Mill Office, 2002, 15.

Djedje, Jaqueline Cogdell. "The (Mis) Representation of African American Music: The Role of the Fiddler," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 10 1 (2016): 1-32.

Donation Land Act of 1850, Section 4. https://uslaw.link/citation/stat/9/496, accessed March 2023.

Donnel, Alexander and Sika Stanton. "An Oregon Canyon," Oregon Humanities, 2017, http://oregonhumanities.org/this-land/stories/an-oregon-canyon-feature/, accessed January 4, 2023.

Douglas County Pioneer. Vol. 28, Issue 3. Roseburg, Oregon(?): Genealogical Society of Douglas County, Inc., 2014.

Douthit, Nathan. *A Guide to Oregon South Coast History: Traveling the Jedediah Smith Trail* (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1999), 168.

Doyle, Susan Badger. "Pendleton Field," Oregon Encyclopedia entry, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and the Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/pendleton_field/#.ZAD_RbTMIqw, accessed February 20, 2024.

Dressel, Serena. "'Living Day by Day' Refugees of Color Navigate Gentrification and Racism in Portland, Oregon: a Sense of Place" (2018). University Honors Theses. Paper 541, 24.

Eckert, Tiffany. "Historic Black church building in Glenwood becomes sanctuary for Lane County's homeless," *KLCC Radio*, October 6, 222, https://www.klcc.org/2022-10-06/historic-black-church-building-in-glenwood-becomes-sanctuary-for-lane-countys-homeless, accessed February 20, 2024.

Eduardo Montes-Bradley, "A Fresh Look into Black Fiddlers," *Heritage Film Project* (blog), June 25, 2021, https://www.heritagefilmproject.com/post/a-fresh-look-into-black-fiddlers, accessed March 28, 2023.

Eggers, Kerry. "Relentless Ronnie Lee Embodied Kamikaze Kids," *Portland Tribune*, March 5, 2023, https://www.portlandtribune.com/sports/relentless-ronnie-lee-embodied-kamikaze-kids/article_49cfaf97-b9d3-5b57-81ad-9ce514135396.html, accessed March 14, 2023.

Engeman, Richard. "Adair Village." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, December 11, 2019. www.oregonencyclopedia.org.

———. *Jacksonville Story* (2nd Edition), Medford: Oregon, Southern Oregon Historical Society, 1990.

———. "Springtime in Waldport, Redux," September 19, 2014, https://oregonrediviva.com/2014/09/19/springtime-in-waldport-redux/.

———. *The Oregon Companion: An Historical Gazetteer of the Useful, the Curious, and the Arcane*. Timber Press, 2009.

Filbert, Pamela A. "Beaver Hill Mine",," *Deep Roots* 11 (April 2021).2022): 1-2, https://oregontic.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/42063-Deep-Roots-2022-r4-220406-ONLINE.pdf.

Fogel, Steph Littlebird, "This IS Kalapuyan Land," Five Oaks Museum, Online Exhibit, 2020, https://fiveoaksmuseum.org/exhibit/this-is-kalapuyan-land/, accessed March 9, 2023; Robert Boyd, *The Coming*

of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999).

Foley, Joseph. "Ed Coleman: African American Professor at the University of Oregon." *Untold Stories: The Hidden History of the University of Oregon*, 2017. https://hiddenhistory.uoregon.edu/.

Fong, Dominique. "Beaverton notes: Touring the Bilal Mosque Association with Shahriar Ahmed," *Oregonian*, https://www.oregonlive.com/beaverton/2011/05/beaverton_notes_touring_the_bilal_mosque.html, accessed February 20, 2024

Fonseca, Stan. "Black Cowboys in Oregon." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, February 11, 2021. Accessed November 18, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/.

———. "Golden West Hotel," Oregon Encyclopedia, last modified June 5, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/golden_west_hotel/.

Galbraith, Catherine, and Caitlyn Ewers, Kerrie Franey, Matthew Davis, and Brandon Spencer-Hartle. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1865 to 1973." National Park Service, 2019.

Gash, Alison. "Gladys McCoy (1928-1993)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, a project of the Oregon Historical Society, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/mccoy-gladys/, accessed February 20, 2024.

General Land Office (GLO) Records, "Rachel Ann Brooks, 2/10/1883," DOI, Bureau of Land Management (BLM), last accessed September 6, 2023, https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=OROCAA%20007486&docClass=SER&sid=lzrk2e0q.syi.

Gibson, Campbell, and Kay Jung. "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States." *Washington DC: US Census Bureau* (2005).

Glenn, Oakley. *Untitled Report [The Oakley Glenn Report]*. Eugene, OR: Lane County Fellowship for Civic Unity, 1985. Where can this be accessed?

GLO Records, "Letitia Carson, 10/1/1869," DOI, BLM, last accessed September 6, 2023, https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=ORRAA%20%20008939&docClass=SER&sid=miomjxgf.gsj.

Goodman, Howard. "Racism in Oregon: Surprising Tradition Lingers." *Statesman Journal*. Salem, OR, February 8, 1981.

Grice, Michael. "Black Families and the Railroad in Oregon and the Northwest: An Oral History," no other source information.

Hagen, Delia. *Black Montana's Heritage Places MPD*, October 17, 2022, 63.

Halvorson, Gary. "America Waldo Bogle and Richard Arthur Bogle," Oregon Secretary of State: *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870*: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/southworth.aspx, accessed December 2, 2022.

———. "Ellender Penelope "Nellie" Mathews (1799–1882)," Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon: 1840-1870: https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/mathews-ellender.aspx, accessed January 3, 2023.

———. "Letitia Carson (circa 1815-1888)," Oregon Secretary of State: Black in Oregon: 1840-1870, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/carson-letitia.aspx, accessed March 6, 2023.

———. "Rachel Belden Brooks," *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870 Online Exhibit*, Oregon Secretary of State, last accessed September 6, 2023, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/brooks.aspx.

———. "Rose and John Jackson," *Black in Oregon: 1840-1870 Online Exhibit*, Oregon Secretary of State, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/jackson-rose.aspx, accessed September 7, 2023.

Hanable, William S. "Columbia River, giving her name to Peacock Spit, on July 18, 1841," HistoryLink, December 12, 2003, https://www.historylink.org/File/5624.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole. "African immigrants help shape Portland's small black community," *Oregonian*, January 19, 2009, https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2009/01/african_immigrants_help_shape.html, accessed February 20, 2024.

Harrison, James. "Richard 'Dick' Bogle (1930- 2010)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/bogle_dick_1930_2010/, accessed February 19, 2024.

Hegne, Barbara. *Saga of the Mask Plantation, North Carolina, Slaves Journey to Oregon*. Barbara Hegne, June 2014.

Hering, Hasso. "An Oregon Story: A Man and His Mountain," https://hh-today.com/an-oregon-story-a-man-and-his-mountain/, accessed January 16, 2024.

Hill, Daniel G Jr. "The Negro as a Political and Social Issue in the Oregon Country," The Journal of Negro History, April 1948, Vol. 33, No. 2, 142.

———. "The Negro In Oregon, A Survey." Masters Thesis, University of Oregon Graduate School. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, June 1932.

Hill, Jobie. "Cora Cox House," draft National Register Nomination Form, 2012, 9. Prepared in partial completion of University of Oregon Historic Preservation class AAAP 531, 2012.

———. "Cora Cox House," Society of Architectural Historians Archipedia, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/OR-01-043-0001, accessed March 9, 2023.

Hill, William. *The Oregon Trail: Yesterday and Today*. Caxton Press, 1987.

Hockaday, Peter. "All his Ducks in a row," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, January 10, 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20090412142624/http://media.www.dailyemerald.com/media/storage/paper859/news/2002/01/10/UndefinedSection/All-His.Ducks.In.A.Row-1975778.shtml, accessed March 15, 2023.

Hogg, Thomas C. "Black Man in White Town." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (1972): 14–21.

———. "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," *Phylon*, 3rd Qtr., 1969, Vol. 30, No. 3, 277.

Hogue, Teresa. "Palmer Patton recognized as earliest identified African American graduate, faculty member at Oregon State," Oregon State University website, https://today.oregonstate.edu/story/palmer-patton-recognized-earliest-identified-african-american-graduate-faculty-member-oregon, accessed February 19, 2024.

Hollister, Merle. "Lions Club Party Hears Colored Singers." *Corvallis Gazette-Times*. Corvallis, OR, August 1, 1942, sec. The Realm of Women.

Horner, John. "How Negro Won Freedom to Become Landowner is Told by Professor," Oregonian, July 11, 1915, 12, https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn83045782/1915-07-11/ed-1/seq-68/#words=Reuben+Shipley, accessed December 31, 2023.

Horowitz, David. "The Cross of Culture: La Grande, Oregon, in the 1920s," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 93, No. 2, Summer 1992.

Horton, Kami. "A century ago, the Ku Klux Klan terrorized Southern Oregon," February 21, 2022, "A https://www.opb.org/article/2022/02/21/a-century-ago-the-ku-klux-klan-terrorized-southern-oregon/, accessed February 16, 2024.

Hume, Susan E. and Susan W. Hardwick. "African, Russian, and Ukrainian Refugee Resettlement in Portland, Oregon," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 95, Issue 2, April 2005, 9.

Hutcherson, Lori Lakin. "Learn About Mack Robinson, Olympic Silver Medalist, Community Activist, and Jackie's Older Brother," *Good Black News*, April 16, 2022, www.goodblacknews.org/2022/04/16/learn-about-mack-robinson-olympic-silver-medalist-community-activist-and-jackies-older-brother-listen, accessed March 14, 2023.

Hutchinson, Brittany. "The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," Chicago History Museum, n.d, https://www.chicagohistory.org/brotherhood-sleeping-car-porters/, accessed March 9, 2023.

Jette, Melinda. "French Prairie," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/french_prairie/#.ZAIvcrTMIqw, accessed March 28, 2023.

———. "The Cockstock Incident," *Oregon History Project*, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/the-cockstock-incident/, accessed December 15, 2023.

Johnson, Brian W. "America Waldo Bogle: Her Early Life and the Question of her Ancestry," February 14, 2022, http://www.oregonpioneers.com/AmericaWaldoBogle.htm, accessed March 2023.

Johnson, Violet Showers. "When Blackness Stings: African and Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, Race, and Racism in Late Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Fall 2016), 47, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.36.1.0031, accessed February 20, 2024.

Kamholz, Edward. "Oregon Railway & Navigation Company," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_railroad_and_navigation_company, accessed March 8, 2023.

Karsmizki, Kenneth W. *Rock Fort Site: Report of Research* (The Dalles: Wasco County Historical Museum, 2008), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 22091. See also, "Fort Rock Campsite Oregon," https://www.nps.gov/places/rock-fort-campsite-oregon.htm.

Kaufmann, Miranda. *The Black Tudors*. LaVergne: One World Publications, 2017, 131.

Kelley, Robin D. G. and Earl Lewis. *A History of African Americans from 1880*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

King, Jr., Martin Luther. "Dr. Martin Luther King on the Emancipation Proclamation," National Park Service, https://home.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/mlk-ep.htm, accessed December 15, 2023.

King, Ruth. "KF Evangelist Candidate For 'Mother of The Year'," *The Herald and News*, February 23, 1960, 3, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/97310147/, accessed February 20, 2024.

———. "New Klamath Falls Church Dedication Ceremony Held," *The Herald and News*, December 13, 1956, 2, https://universityoforegon.newspapers.com/image/103924268/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Klein, Christopher. "When Japan Launched Killer Balloons in World War II," May 5, 2015, History.com, https://www.history.com/news/japans-killer-wwii-balloons, accessed March 10, 2023.

Kliever, Heather. "Museum Rediscovers a Black Pioneer of Lane County," Eugene Weekly, February 16, 2017, https://eugeneweekly.com/2017/02/16/museum-rediscovers-a-black-pioneer-of-lane-county/, accessed March 2023.

Kohlenberg, Kaitlyn. "Vernonia," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vernonia/, accessed December 13, 2023.

Kohnen, Patricia. "Oregon Trail Timeline 1831-1840." *Oregon.Com*. https://www.oregon.com/attractions/oregon-trail-timeline-1831-1840.

Kramer, George. "Camp White," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/camp_white/, accessed February 20, 2024.

———. "Carpenter, A.S.V. & Helen Bundy, House/ 'Topsides,' National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2005.

Krauss, Louis. "Friendly Neighborhood Celebrates Finished Murals for Dr. Edwin Coleman Jr." *The Register-Guard*. Eugene, OR, August 9, 2021. www.registerguard.com.

Labbe, Jim M. "The Colored Brother's Few Defenders: Oregon Abolitionists and their Followers," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 120, no. 4 (Winter 2019), 440-467, https://doi.org/10.1353/ohq.2019.0019.

LaLande, Jeff. "Applegate Trail," Oregon Encyclopedia, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/applegate_trail/, accessed December 14, 2023.

Lane County Monuments Project, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/2d3474dac0534a2c94d107486ae8f53d, accessed February 20, 2024.

Lane County. "Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) Timeline of Lane County, Oregon," 2020.

Lang, William L. "Fort George (Fort Astoria)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified August 30, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/fort_george/.

Langer, Elinor. "Mulugeta Seraw (1960-1988)," Oregon Encyclopedia, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/seraw-mulugeta/#.ZADtjT3MJPY, accessed March 1, 2023.

Lansing, William. *Camps and Calluses: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Southwestern Oregon*, North Bend: self-published, 2014, 40-41.

Lee, Marie. "Celebrating Black History Month: Remembering Sybil and Bert Harber," *Lake County Examiner*, February 7, 2022.

Lewis, David. "Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/confederated_tribes_of_grand_ronde/, accessed January 30, 2024.

Lewis, James. "Black Hawk War," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2013), www.britannica.com/topic/black-hawk-war, accessed January 5, 2023.

Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*, New York: The New Press, 2018, 74-76.

Lynn, Capi. "'An Advocate for Us': Long-time voice for racial equality Willie Richardson dies," *Statesman Journal*, January 27, 2023, https://www.statesmanjournal.com/story/news/local/2023/01/27/salem-oregon-long-time-voice-for-racial-equality-willie-richardson-dies/69847848007/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Maben, Scott. "Far From the Cotton Fields." *The Register-Guard*. Eugene, OR, February 11, 2000. Section/page? www.registerguard.com.

Mangun, Kimberley. *A Force for Change: Beatrice Morrow Cannady and the Struggle for Civil Rights, 1912-1936*. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2010.

———. "The Advocate," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, 2022, www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/advocate, accessed March 10, 2023.

Mark, Stephen R. "George Edward Foreman (1949--) in Oregon", *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/foreman-george/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Mars, Shaun Michael. "Jacob Dodson (1825-?)," BlackPast, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american- history/dodson-jacob-1825/, accessed January 5, 2024.

Marsh, Pearl A. *But Not Jim Crow: Family Memories of African American Loggers in Maxville*. African American Loggers Project, 2019.

———. "Growing Up African American in Wallowa County." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 119, no. No. 4 (2018): 486–507.

McArthur, Lewis A. *Oregon Geographic Names*. 6th ed. Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1992.

McArthur, Lewis A., and Lewis L. McArthur. *Oregon Geographic Names*. 7th ed. Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2003.

McIntyre, Jerilyn S. "The Structure of Communication in an Emerging Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Oregon, 1852-56." Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1973.

McLagan, Elizabeth. *Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940*. Portland, Oregon: Georgian Press, 1980.

———. *Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940*. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2022.

Millner, Darrell and Carl Abbott and Cathy Galbraith. *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History*. Revised & Expanded 1997. Portland, Oregon: Bosco-Milligan Foundation, 1995.

Millner, Darrell. "Blacks in Oregon." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Last modified January 20, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/blacks_in_oregon/#.YZblktDMLcs.

———. "The Death of Markus Lopius: Fact or Fantasy? First Documented Presence of a Black Man in Oregon August 16, 1788," *Trotter Review* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1991) 19-23.

———. National Register nomination for Maxville, 2015.

Moreland, Kimberly S. et al, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)," City of Portland Bureau of Planning, February 1993.

Moreland, Kimberly. "The Christian Church in the Black Community." *Oregon Humanities*, Summer 1994.

Morris, Aldon D. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. City? Free Press, 1986.

Morris, Larry. "Astor Expedition (1810-1813)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 24, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/astor_expedition_1810_1812/.

Moseley, Bob and Zach Lawson, "But First There Was Otis," Hayward Field, University of Oregon, n.d., https://hayward.uoregon.edu/otis-davis, accessed March 13, 2023.

Mosgrove, J. L. "The Malheur National Forest, An Ethnographic History," USDA Forest Service, 1980.

Mosley, Joe. "Family's Home Was Haven for Blacks." *The Register-Guard*. Eugene, OR, February 11, 2000. www.registerguard.com.

Mullaly, Alice. "The Man Who Named Eagle Point…," *Southern Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, Winter 2020-2021, 9.

Munro, Sarah. "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Oregon New Deal Resources from the PWA and WPA, 1933-1943," Washington, DC: DOI, NPS, 2021, 9.

Murray, Jim. "He Had a Thirst, Just Like Thorpe," *Eugene Register-Guard*, April 29, 1992.

Nagae, Peggy. "Dealing With Race," in *Eugene 1945-2000: Decisions That Made a Community*, edited by Kathleen Holt and Cheri Brooks. Eugene, Oregon: City Club of Eugene, 2000.

National Park Service, "Language of Slavery," January 28, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/language-of-slavery.htm, accessed March 20, 2023.

National Register nomination 02001485, Oregon-American Lumber Corporation Mill Office, 2002.

Neary, Andrew. "Bridging the River: A History of Housing Discrimination in Eugene, Oregon." Environmental History, University of Oregon, 2006. Thesis? Unpublished manuscript? Where can it be accessed?

Nokes, Greg. "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon." *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University and The Oregon Historical Society, July 6, 2020. Accessed November 18, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/.

———. "Black Harris—Northwest Mountain Main of Mystery," April 3, 2017, https://gregnokes.com/2017/04/03/black-harris-northwest-mountain-man-of-mystery/, accessed December 15, 2023.

———. "Holmes v. Ford," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, October 17, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/holmes_v._ford/#.ZAp4uXbMJhE, accessed March 9, 2023.

Nokes, R. Gregory. *Breaking Chains: Slavery on Trial in the Oregon Territory*. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2013.

O'Neal, Jennifer. "Untold Stories: Black History at the University of Oregon." *Unbound*, February 4, 2015. Accessed October 27, 2021. https://blogs.uoregon.edu/scua/2015/02/04/untoldstoriesblackhistoryattheuniversityoforegon/.

Oregon Black Pioneers, *George Fletcher: 1890-1973*, https://oregonblackpioneers.org/george-fletcher-pendleton-oregon/, accessed March 2023.

———. "History Map." *Oregon Black Pioneers*. Accessed November 18, 2021. https://oregonblackpioneers.org.

———. Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/OregonBlackPioneers/photos/a.631219480317478/4474834519289269/?paipv=0&eav=AfYGe9ZBVN0GT-UsjlaGIBcqTjE3g9NTKHZ77OgBTykqZhLQ3tAYvYb9H_LftOa1_l0&_rdr, accessed January 16, 2024.

———. "Oregon Black History Snapshot #4," https://www.facebook.com/groups/1613284028939529?hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen&multi_permalinks=3143595552575028, accessed February 19, 2024.

Oregon Department of Veterans Affairs, "ODVA Black History Month 2023: The Triple Nickles," https://oregondva.com/2023/02/09/odva-black-history-month-2023-the-triple-nickles/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers. *Perseverance: A History of African Americans in Oregon's Marion and Polk Counties*. Salem, OR: Oregon Northwest Black Pioneers, 2011.

Oregon Secretary of State, "Oregon and the Roaring Twenties," https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww1/Pages/oregon-roaring-twenties.aspx, accessed February 16, 2024.

Pearson, Rudy. "'A Menace to the Neighborhood': Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 102, no. No. 2 (2001): 158–179.

Peterson del Mar, David. "15th Amendment," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/15th_amendment/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Pettit, Daniel Jr. *Post-Fire Survey of 64 Acres in the Pine Grove Unit of White River Wildlife Area*, Salem: Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, 2020, 11. On file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 32289.

Pfeifer, Michael J. "'Midnight Justice': Lynching and Law in the Pacific Northwest." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 94, no. No. 2 (2003): 83–92.

Philbrick, Nathan. "Learn More About the U.S. Exploring Expedition: The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition," Smithsonian Libraries, January 2004, https://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/usexex/learn/philbrick.htm, accessed November 10, 2023.

Pine, Kylie. "St. Paul's A.M.E. Church, Salem, Oregon," Willamette Heritage Center, https://www.willametteheritage.org/st-pauls-a-m-e-church-salem-oregon/, accessed March 10, 2023.

Polk's Salem City and Marion County (Oregon) Directory, 1924, Portland: R. L. Polk & Co., 1924, 209.

Polk's Salem City and Marion County (Oregon) Directory, 1928-29 (Portland: R. L. Polk & Co., 1928), 279, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2469/images/15588841

Polk's Salem Directory, 1930-31, 237, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2469/images/15781577.

Potter, Elizabeth Walton. "Salem Pioneer Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2013.

Prengaman, Peter. "Oregon's Racist Language Faces Vote," *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, September 26, 2002, https://www.theintelligencer.com/news/article/Oregon-s-Racist-Language-Faces-Vote-10487849.php, accessed February 20, 2024.

Ramsey, Jarold. "John A. Brown (1830?-1903)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Portland, Oregon: Portland State University and the Oregon Historical Society, 2020, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/brown_john_a/#.Y7NkKHbMJhE.

Rea, Dean. "Business Beat." *Albany Democrat-Herald*, January 25, 1961

Reed, Jim. "Rand National Historic Site: CCC Camp Rand - Galice OR," Living New Deal, November 15, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/sites/rand-national-historic-site-ccc-camp-rand-galice-or/.

Reeve, Marian. "Sue Shopper Says." *Corvallis Gazette-Times*. Corvallis, OR, October 27, 1949.

Rees, Judith and Martha Filer. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form: East Skinner Butte Historic District [Incl. Mims Hotel]." *Oregon Historic Site Record*.

Reiniche, Angela. "Robin and Polly Holmes," https://www.nps.gov/people/robin-and-polly-holmes.htm, accessed March 9, 2023.

Richard, K. Keith. "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 84, no. No. 1 (1983): 29–55.

Richards Jr., Thomas. "Farewell to America," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 1, February 2017, 114-152.

Robbins, William G. "Fred Milton (1948-2011), *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/milton_fred/, accessed February 20, 2024.

———. "Oregon Donation Land Act," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_donation_land_act/, accessed January 2, 2024.

———. "Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon," *The Oregon History Project,* 2002, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/political-and-economic-culture-1870-1920/railroads-race-and-the-transformation-of-oregon/, accessed January 25, 2024.

———. "This Land, Oregon," *Oregon History* Project, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/the-first-peoples/the-first-peoples/, accessed January 30, 2024.

———. "African American and Women Workers in World War II," *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/oregon-in-depression-and-war-1925-1945/african-american-and-women-workers-in-world-war-ii/, accessed February 20, 2024.

Rose, Chelsea. "Lonely Men, Loose Women: Rethinking the Demographics of a Multiethnic Mining Camp, Kanaka Flat, Oregon." *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 3 (n.d.): 23–35.

Rosenthal, Elden. "White Supremacy and Hatred in the Streets of Portland: The Murder of Mulugeta Seraw," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 120, no. 4, (2019): 588-605

Rourke, Paul and Donald DeBats. *Washington County: Politics and Community in Antebellum America*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995, 63.

Saalfeld, Lawrence J. *Forces of Prejudice in Oregon 1920-1925*, Portland: Archdiocesan Historical Commission, 1984.

Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Maps of Salem, Oregon, Volume One," 1950 ed., New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1926, 135. https://digitalsanbornmaps.proquest.com/browse_maps/38/7429/36297/38035/508962?accountid=14698.

Sanborn Map Company, "Vernonia, Columbia County, Ore.," New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1928, 10, https://digitalsanbornmaps.proquest.com/browse_maps/38/7456/36381/38120/509476?accountid=14698.

Sargent, Alice Applegate. "A Sketch of the Rogue River Valley and Southern Oregon History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 1, March 1921, 5.

Satern, Stella B. *Nehalem River Valley: Settling the Big Timberland*, Portland: Binford & Mort, 2005.

Schrogin, Jonah. "Kent discusses players, coaching style in lecture," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, May 15, 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20090412142643/http://media.www.dailyemerald.com/media/storage/paper859/news/2003/05/15/News/Kent-Discusses.Players.Coaching.Style.In.Lecture-1981169.shtml, accessed March 15, 2023.

Schwantes, Carlos A. *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Sheppke, Jim. "Obed Dickinson," *Oregon Encyclopedia,* https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/dickinson-obed/, accessed January 16, 2024.

Shine, Gregory P. "Fort Vancouver," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/fort_vancouver, accessed March 25, 2023.

———. "Moses Williams (1845-1899)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/williams_moses/#.Y7Sf3XbMJhE, accessed March 2023.

Sinclair, Donna and Richard McClure, eds., *"No Goldbricking Here: Oral Histories of the CCC in the Columbia National Forest, 1933-1942,"*(Vancouver, WA and Portland: Heritage Program, Gifford Pinchot National Forest and History Department, Portland State University), 2003, 6, https://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/fseprd895558.pdf.

Sleeth, Peter. "New Historic Plaque," *Oregonian*, https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2022/04/new-historic-plaque-honors-legacy-of-former-slaves-who-helped-found-benton-county.html, accessed December 31, 2023.

Sloan, James. "The Untold History of Black Pioneers in 19th Century Jacksonville," *Rogue Valley Times,* https://www.rv-times.com/localstate/the-untold-history-of-black-pioneers-in-19th-century-jacksonville/article_bdac48e0-7057-11ee-bce6-cb96e41b436f.html, accessed January 20, 2024.

Smith, Craig and Deanne Yoder Smith. "Rachel Belden Delany Brooks: Black Pioneer of 1843 Part of 3-From Slave to Pioneer," Willamette Valley Genealogical Society, *Beaver Briefs*, Volume 51, Number 2, Spring 2019, 11.

Smith, Stacey L. "Oregon's Civil War: The Troubled Legacy of Emancipation in the Pacific Northwest." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 115, no. No. 2 (2014): 154–173.

Sorenson, Saundra. "Willie Richardson Long-time Education Activist and Black Historian Dies," January 30, 2023, https://www.theskanner.com/obituaries/34173-willie-richardson-longtime-education-activist-and-black-historian-dies, accessed February 20, 2024.

Southern Oregon Historical Society, "Southern Oregon History, Revised," https://truwe.sohs.org/files/waldo.html, accessed July 19, 2024.

Southern Poverty Law Center, "Berhanu v. Metzger: What Aryan Resistance/Skinheads Case, https://www.splcenter.org/seeking-justice/case-docket/berhanu-v-metzger, accessed January 6, 2023.

State Immigration Data Profiles, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/OR, accessed February 20, 2024.

Steeves, Sarah Hunt. *Book of Remembrances of Marion County, Oregon, Pioneers, 1840-1860*, Portland, Oregon: Berncliff Press, 1927.

Stephen Dow Beckham, "Historical Landscape Overview of the Upper Klamath River Canyon of Oregon and California," Klamath Falls, Oregon: Bureau of Land Management, Klamath Falls Resource Area, 2006.

Stephenie Flora, "Emigrants to Oregon in 1844," Oregon Pioneers, http://www.oregonpioneers.com/1844.htm, accessed March 2023.

Stewart, Taylor. "*Repair. How do we reconcile lynching?"* Oregon Remembrance Project website, 2019, https://www.oregonremembrance.org/the-story, accessed March 2023.

Stocks, Zachary. "Oregon Black Pioneers," *Portland Audubon* (blog), February 1, 2021, https://audubonportland.org/blog/oregon-black-pioneers/

Stocks, Zachery. "Ben Johnson (1834-1901)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/johnson-ben/, accessed February 16, 2024.

Stratton, Edward. "Early African-Americans Charted Course in Clatsop," *The Daily Astorian*, February 24, 2016, https://www.dailyastorian.com/early-african-americans-charted-course-in-clatsop/article_a4c8779f-86e9-509b-943f-5261b162114c.html, accessed February 19, 2024

Strom, Danielle. "Rachel Belden Brooks and Family," Willamette Heritage Center, April 24, 2016, https://www.willametteheritage.org/rachel-belden-brooks-family/

Swackhamer, Barry. "Captain Robert Gray Historical Marker," The Historical Marker Database, last modified July 21, 2021 https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=113549.

Tate, Cassandra. *Unsettled Ground: The Whitman Massacre and its Shifting Legacy in The American West*. Seattle, Washington: Sasquatch Books, 2020.

Taylor, Quintard. "Slaves and Free Men: Blacks in the Oregon Country, 1840-1860," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Summer 1982, Vol. 83, No. 2, 153-170.

———. "The Emergence of Black Communities in The Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Autumn, 1979), 342-354.

———. "The Great Migration: The Afro-American Communities of Seattle and Portland during the 1940s," *Arizona and the* West, vol 23, no. 2, Summer 1981Oregon Secretary of State, "A Matter of Color: African Americans Face

Discrimination," n.d. Oregon Secretary of State, Exhibits, World War II, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/life-race.aspx, accessed March 9, 2023.

———. *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990*. 1st ed. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998.

The City Club of Eugene. *Eugene 1945-2000: Decisions That Made a Community*. Eugene, Oregon(?): Xlibris Corporation, 2000.

The Inflation Calculator website, www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi?money=500&first=1861&final=2022, accessed September 7, 2023.

Thompson, Carmen P. "Expectation and Exclusion: An Introduction to Whiteness, White Supremacy, and Resistance in Oregon History." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 120, no. No. 4. White Supremacy & Resistance (2019): 358–367.

Trice, Gwen. "Maxville," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 18, 2023, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/maxville/, accessed February 16, 2024.

———. "Maxville Heritage Interpretive Center: Telling the Story of African Americans in Wallowa, Oregon." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 113, no. No. 2 (2012): 241–244.

Tucker, Kathy. "Portland Chapter NAACP 50th Anniversary," *Oregon History Project*, the Oregon Historical Society, 2002, www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/portland-chapter-naacp-50th-anniversary, accessed March 10, 2023.

Tveskov, Mark Axel et al. *Maxville National Register Nomination*, April 30, 2023, 21.

U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 2, Black or African American Population for the United States, Regions, and States, and for Puerto Rico:1990 and 2000, The Black Population," *U.S. Census 2000 Brief*, August 2001, 4. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/2000/briefs/c2kbr01-05.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *1930 Census*. Volume 3. Population, Reports by States. Chapters. Oregon and Pennsylvania. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1930/population-volume-3/10612982v3p2ch06.pdf (accessed via: https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1932/dec/1930a-vol-03-population.html)

U.S. Census Bureau. *1940 Census of Population*. Volume 2. Characteristics of the Population. Sex, Age, Race, Nativity, Citizenship, Country of Birth of Foreign-born White, School Attendance, Years of School Completed, Employment Status, Class of Worker, Major Occupation Group, and Industry Group. Part 5. Oregon. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1940/population-volume-2/33973538v2p5ch9.pdf (accessed via https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1943/dec/population-vol-2.html)

U.S. Census Bureau. *1950 Census of Population*. Volume 2. Characteristics of the Population. Part 37. Oregon. General Characteristics. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/population-volume-2/26434445v2p37ch2.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *1960 Census: Population*, Volume 1. Characteristics of the Population. Part 39. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/population-volume-1/37749197v1p39ch3.pdf (accessed via: https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1961/dec/population-vol-01.html)

U.S. Census Bureau. *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population*. June 1973. Chapter 3. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/population-volume-1/1970a_or-03.pdf (accessed via: https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1973/dec/population-volume-1.html#par_list_45)

U.S. Census Bureau. *1980 Census of Population*. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Characteristics of the Population. General Social and Economic Characteristics. Oregon. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1980/volume-1/oregon/1980a_orabc-05.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *1990 Census of Population. General Population Characteristics. Oregon.* https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1990/cp-1/cp-1-39.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Bulletin. Population: Oregon. Composition and Characteristics of the Population.* https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1920/bulletins/demographics/population-or-composition-and-characteristics.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *Population of the United States in 1860*. Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eight Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent of Census, Washington: Government Printing Office. 1864, pages 400-405, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435070003405?urlappend=%3Bseq=5%3Bownerid=13510798903764248-9 (accessed via https://www.archives.gov/research/census/1860)

U.S. Census Bureau. *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics. 2000 Census of Population and Housing. Oregon*. May 2001. https://www2.census.gov/census_2000/datasets/demographic_profile/Oregon/2kh41.pdf (accessed via: https://www2.census.gov/census_2000/datasets/demographic_profile/)

U.S. Census Bureau. *Sex, General Nativity, and Color.* Eleventh Census, Volume 1. Report on Population of the United States. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau. *Sex, General Nativity, and Color*. Section 9 of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Census Reports Volume I – Population Part I https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/33405927v1ch09.pdf (accessed via https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/33405927v1_TOC.pdf)

U.S. Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 – Population*, Volume III, the Labor Force, 986, www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1940/population-volume-3/33973538v3p4ch06.pdf, accessed March 8, 2023.

U.S. Census Bureau. *Statistics for Oregon. Containing Statistics of Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Mining for the State, Counties, Cities, and Other Divisions.* Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census. E. Dana Durand, Director. Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Washington Government Printing Office, 1913. Chapter 2. Composition and Characteristics of the Population. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/abstract/supplement-or.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *Statistics of Territories, Census of 1850*, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-48.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Embracing the Tables of Race, Nationality, Sex, Selected Ages, and Occupations. To which are Added the Statistics of School Attendance and Illiteracy, of Schools, Libraries, Newspapers and Periodicals, Churches, Pauperism and Crime, and of Areas, Families, and Dwellings.* Compiled, from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census, (June 1, 1870,) Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of Census, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, ---specifically pulled info from Table III, State of Oregon on pages 241-243, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435070003447?urlappend=%3Bseq=5%3Bownerid=13510798903765062-9 (accessed via https://www.archives.gov/research/census/1870)

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, "Rachel Ann Brooks," Patent Details, https://glorecords.blm.gov/, accessed March 2023.

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, "Jackson Berry." https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=ORRAA%20%20005904&docClass=SER&sid=jh5mg5h3.svj, accessed March 2023.

United States Air Force, 173rd Fighter Wing, "The History of Kingsley Field and Its Namesake," https://www.173fw.ang.af.mil/About-Us/History/, accessed March 2023.

Urban League of Portland, "The State of Black Oregon," 2015, https://ulpdx.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/State-Of-Black-Oregon-2015.pdf, 5-6.

Vaughn, Chelsea and Leah Chen, "Roscoe Lee Dixon," other source details unknown.

Walling, A. G. *History of Southern Oregon Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties,* Portland, Oregon: A. G. Walling, 1884.

Wang, Hansi Lo. "Black U.S. Olympians Won In Nazi Germany Only To Be Overlooked At Home," *National Public Radio,* August 13, 2016, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetorch/2016/08/13/489773389/black-u-s-olympians-won-in-nazi-germany-only-to-be-overlooked-at-home, accessed February 19, 2024.

Waterman, Hazel. "Twice Under the Cloud of Slavery," *Sunday Oregonian Magazine*, March 2, 1952, 17.

Watkins, Tom. *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1993, 219-220.

Wayne L. Knauf, "Site form for 35DO1013 (Jedediah Smith Massacre Site)," Lodi, CA: Jedediah Smith Society, 2005, on file at Oregon State Historic Preservation Office.

Weber, Mary Kathryn, Kathy Schutt, and May Dasch, "Benton County Cultural Resources Survey II 1984-1986: Reuben and Mary Jane Shipley Cabin Site" Salem: SHPO, 1986.

Wells, Gail. "The Oregon Coast—Forists and Green Verdent Launs" [sic], *Oregon History Project,* https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/the-oregon-coastforists-and-green-verdent-launs/unions-and-hard-times/the-great-depression-2/, accessed February 16, 2024.

West, Elliot. *Continental Reckoning: The American West in the Age of Expansion*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023, 276.

Wilson, Douglas C. *Emporium of the West: Archaeological Testing of Fort Astoria/Fort George, Astoria, Clatsop County, Oregon* (Astoria: NPS, 2020), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 30839.

Wilson, Douglas C. *Searching for Lewis & Clark at Fort Clatsop* (Vancouver, WA: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, 2006), on file at the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), report no. 22072.

Wilts, Julie J. and Bill Roulette, *Results of an Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Roseburg Resource Company's Beaver Hill Project Area, Coos County, Oregon* (Portland: Applied Archaeological Research, Inc., 2007), on file at the Oregon SHPO, report no. 21283.

Woods III, Warren Dawson. "Matthew Mackenzie "Mack" Robinson (1912[sic]-2000)," *Blackpast*, April 15, 2010, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/mack-robinson-1912-2000, accessed March 14, 2023.

Zybach, Bob. "Letitia Carson (ca.1814-1888)," Black Past.org, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/carson-letitia-ca-1814-1888/, accessed January 4, 2023.

———. "The Search for Letitia Carson in Douglas County," *The Umpqua Trapper* 50, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 15, http://www.nwmapsco.com/ZybachB/Articles/Magazines/DCHS_Umpqua_Trapper/20141200_Letitia_Carson/Zybach_20141200.pdf