

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

New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

- I. Settlement Patterns
- II. Business and Employment
- III. Journalism
- IV. Entertainment and Recreation
- V. Benevolent and Fraternal Societies
- VI. Religion and Worship
- VII. Civil Rights

C. Form Prepared by

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city or town Portland state OR zip code 97201

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 the listing of 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.

(See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

05/22/20

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

National Register of Historic Places
Date Listed 7-1-2020
NRIS No. MC100005332
Oregon SHPO

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

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.

	Page Numbers
E. Statement of Historic Contexts	E-1
(if more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)	
Introduction	E-1
Historical Background: African Americans in Early Oregon	E-3
Context I: Settlement Patterns	E-12
Context II: Business and Employment	E-41
Context III: Journalism	E-67
Context IV: Entertainment and Recreation	E-82
Context V: Benevolent and Fraternal Societies	E-97
Context VI: Religion and Worship	E-109
Context VII: Civil Rights	E-119
F. Associated Property Types	F-139
(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)	
Residences	F-149
Commercial and Professional Buildings	F-152
Entertainment Venues	F-155
Religious Facilities	F-157
Civic and Social Organization Buildings	F-161
Sites (Non-Archaeological)	F-163
Sites (Archaeological)	F-164
Objects	F-166
Historic Districts	F-167
G. Geographical Data	G-170
H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods	H-171
(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)	
I. Major Bibliographical References	I-174
(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.)	
Additional Documentation	AD-189
(Figures, Maps, Appendices, and other materials. Please include a list of all included additional materials)	
Residential Architectural Styles	AD-189
Map of 2019 city limits of Portland, Oregon	AD-191

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503

**African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973**

Name of Multiple Property Listing

OregonState

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

(if more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

INTRODUCTION

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD), **African American Resources in Portland, Oregon**, is organized around properties associated with the African American experience in Portland from 1851, which marks the incorporation of the city of Portland, through 1973, the termination of urban renewal programs in Inner North and Northeast Portland.¹

The first African Americans to settle in Portland arrived during the initial settlement phase of the Willamette Valley, during the early- and mid-nineteenth century. At the time of the 1850 census, less than a year prior to the city's incorporation and the beginning of the period of significance, Portland had 821 residents; only four were identified as African American. Exclusionary policies enacted in the years leading up to Oregon's 1859 admission to the Union had discouraged African American in-migration during the initial settlement period and for decades thereafter, resulting in Portland's overwhelmingly White population at the beginning of the period of significance.² Portland's Black population grew only slowly through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, spiking briefly after the development of the First Transcontinental Railroad and capping at approximately 2,000 people by the time of the 1940 census. The small community, concentrated in Northwest Portland until the early twentieth century and in Inner North and Northeast Portland thereafter, developed a variety of social structures, industries, and institutions that paralleled those established and controlled by the city's majority-White population.

World War II marked a significant inflection point in the history of Portland and its African American community in particular. The Emergency Shipbuilding Program attracted thousands of people to the wartime shipyards in Portland and surrounding communities, and the city's African American population increased tenfold in fewer than five years, topping 20,000 by 1944. Despite an active effort by the city's dominant White power structure to limit African American employment and homeownership, about half this number remained in Portland following the termination of defense industry positions at the end of the war. Portland's racist land use and real estate practices largely constrained this increased African American population to remnant wartime housing projects and less-desirable neighborhoods in Inner North and Northeast Portland. The parallel industries and institutions that the Black community had developed were also concentrated in this limited geographical area.³

¹ For the purposes of this document, the terms "African American," "Black," and "of African descent," are used largely interchangeably, except when the individual(s) referenced are from a country other than the United States, in which case the term "African American" is not used. The terms "person of color" and "people of color" are used broadly to describe non-White individuals and populations. Dated and derogatory terminology appears only sparingly, in the names of historic-period businesses and organizations as well as in quotations from period newspapers, court cases, or other relevant primary source material.

² See the Historical Background, later in this section, for more information on these exclusionary policies and their impacts on the African American experience in early Oregon.

³ Darrell Millner, "Blacks in Oregon," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 10, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/blacks_in_oregon/#.WqLv4ujwaUk; Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

As a result of the rapid expansion of Portland's African American population during World War II, legal precedents and entrenched, racist social norms were meaningfully challenged in the postwar years. The 1950s and 1960s saw landmark civil rights victories that permanently impacted race relations at the local, state, and national level, including the Public Accommodations Act (1953) and Fair Housing Act (1957) in Oregon and the Civil Rights Act (1964) and Voting Rights Act (1965) nationally. At the same time, midcentury urban renewal programs had their own impact on Portland's demographic landscape. These development programs, many of which concentrated their efforts in Inner North and Northeast Portland, disproportionately impacted the city's African American community and displaced hundreds from their homes.⁴ The Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project, the last of the major urban renewal programs in Inner North and Northeast Portland, had a particularly devastating impact on the African American community in the years before its termination in 1973. With the changing social and physical landscape that followed the urban renewal period, 1973 is therefore an appropriate end date for the historic contexts provided in this document.

Overview of the Document

Section E, *Statement of Historic Contexts*, describes resources and resource types associated with the African American experience between 1851 and 1973 and located within the 2019 city limits of Portland, Oregon.⁵ Within Section E, this introduction is followed by a brief Historical Background that describes the African American experience in Oregon through the Civil War and into the subsequent Reconstruction era. The Historical Background, which extends slightly beyond the beginning of the period of significance, establishes a foundational history for the historic contexts that follow. These contexts, which comprise the bulk of Section E, cover seven major themes of the African American experience in Portland during the period of significance. The historic contexts address both the public and the private spheres of African American life from 1851 through 1973, reflecting the pervasive reality of segregation and racial prejudice that impacted African American settlement and the development of African American institutions in Portland throughout the city's history.

The narrative's first context, *Settlement Patterns*, describes trends in African American settlement in Portland between 1851, when Oregon's Territorial Governor signed the Act to Incorporate the City of Portland, and 1973, which marks the end of major Urban Renewal programs that displaced many African American Portlanders from their homes in Inner North and Northeast Portland. The legal and social restrictions that historically constrained African American settlement in Portland are also examined in this first context. The second context, *Business and Employment*, details African American employment and entrepreneurialism. The third context, *Journalism*, describes the development of Portland's Black press and examines African American representation in the Portland media throughout the period of significance. The fourth, fifth, and sixth contexts are concerned with African American social life and community gathering spaces, detailing resources associated with *Entertainment and Recreation*, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, and *Religion and Worship*. The seventh and final context, *Civil Rights*, covers a broad range of issues surrounding racial discrimination in Portland, legal reforms, the activities of notable civil rights activists, and advocacy organizations established to challenge *de jure* and *de facto* limitations upon African American rights in Portland and across the country. All seven contexts in Section E include extensive references to properties known to be associated with Portland's African

⁴ Lauren Ackerman, "Albina, Portland, Oregon (1870-)," *Black Past*, March 19, 2016, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/albina-portland-1870/>.

⁵ City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, "City of Portland Urban Services Area," *City of Portland*, accessed November 30, 2019, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/article/51672>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

American community. Where relevant, many extant and non-extant properties are referenced in the text or footnotes; addresses denoted in **bold** were extant as of 2019.

Each of the seven historic contexts in Section E concludes with a short explanation of the property types most likely to possess a significant association with that context. The characteristics of these property types are described in detail in Section F, *Associated Property Types*, which also outlines registration requirements for properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under this MPD. Sections E and F are necessarily interconnected, as Section E provides contextual history and suggests potentially related property types, while Section F describes relevant property types and suggests potentially related contexts. The MPD is designed to allow for a property to be first considered through either Section E or Section F, but both sections must be considered for a National Register nomination to be prepared under the auspices of this MPD.

Both Section E and Section F of this MPD are informed by major efforts of the Bosco-Milligan Foundation, a non-profit organization in Portland, Oregon, that identified and documented African American built resources during the 1990s. The foundation's efforts resulted in two subsequent editions of *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History*, which provide an in-depth history of African American life in Portland through properties associated with residency, employment, professional achievements, social life, entertainment, religious practice, and civil rights.⁶ Additional information concerning the Bosco-Milligan Foundation and the methodology employed in the *Cornerstones of Community* documentation effort can be found in Section H of this MPD.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN EARLY OREGON

Racial segregation has impacted nearly every aspect of the African American experience in Portland from the earliest days of European exploration in the Pacific Northwest. The following section provides a context for understanding the conditions that resulted from deliberate political actions taken during the initial settlement phase of present-day Oregon which sought to limit the presence of African Americans in Oregon before, during, and after this document's 1851-1973 period of significance.

African Americans in the Exploration Era: Through 1812

The origins of the African American experience in Oregon are complex and may date back to the sixteenth century, the age of early European exploration in western North America. The European explorers and trading parties that first encountered indigenous Oregonians were often multiracial and multicultural in composition, and individuals of African descent from various national backgrounds are known to have been included in these diverse traveling groups.⁷ The earliest Black travelers in the Pacific Northwest came as sailors and explorers or as enslaved persons; none are known to have established permanent residences in the region. However, the European expeditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries eventually gave rise to trading posts and other settlements that attracted a small number of permanent Black settlers, some of whom were enslaved by White pioneers and some of whom came of their own volition.

⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History, Revised and Expanded* (Portland, OR: self-published, 1998).

⁷ Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West 1528-1990* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), 27-48.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The first people of African descent may have arrived in present-day Oregon as early as 1579. In that year, English privateer Sir Francis Drake sailed along the Oregon Coast, likely sojourning there during his three-year-long circumnavigation of the globe. At the time of his Pacific coastal voyage, Drake's crew included at least two men and one woman of African origin brought aboard as a result of his raiding activities within the Spanish colonies. Historians continue to debate the extent of the crew's activities in present-day Oregon, but should it be conclusively shown that Drake did visit Oregon, this visit would mark the arrival of the first people of African descent in the region.⁸

In the years following Drake's voyage, other Black sailors likely visited the region as well. People of African descent often worked as members of multi-racial crews and trading parties which frequented the Pacific Northwest prior to permanent non-indigenous settlement. The leaders of these groups were predominantly Caucasian, but the unnamed crewmen who made such expeditions possible were often racially heterogeneous. Local myths and legends of native populations sometimes indicate interactions with people of color. Other evidence appears from written sources, such as a documented 1783 conversation between Spanish explorer Esteban José Martínez and a Russian explorer in Alaska in which Martínez described the racial diversity of his crew.⁹

Because of its remoteness, the Pacific Northwest was the last part of North America to become connected to the geopolitical world. English and Spanish land claims date to the sixteenth century, but it wasn't until the late eighteenth century that the Pacific Northwest excited the attention of European and American traders as a source of sea otter and beaver pelts for world markets. Early traders included Robert Gray, an American sea captain charged by his sponsors in Boston with gathering furs on the Pacific Coast for shipment to China. Before heading toward Cape Horn, the traders stocked up on provisions in Cape Verde off the east coast of the African continent. There they were joined by Marcus Lopus, also known by his anglicized name Markus Lopez, who was brought on as the ship's cabin boy. The party reached a bay near present-day Tillamook on August 14, 1787, making Lopus the first unambiguously documented Black person to reach present-day Oregon.¹⁰

One of the most widely known stories about African Americans in early Oregon is associated with the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-06). The American exploration party brought with them a man named York, a Black man enslaved by William Clark. Clark compelled York to serve on the expedition, and he was instrumental to the success of the enterprise. In addition to hunting for food, transporting

⁸ Kris Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Global Piracy on the High Seas, 1500-1750* (New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 38.

⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 2.

¹⁰ Eric Jay Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), 148-49. Upon arrival, Gray's trading expedition was initially welcomed by the Tillamook people, who exchanged otter skins, crabs, and berries for small weapons and tools with sailors on their ship. After a second cordial exchange with the indigenous people, a small landing party came ashore to visit the Tillamook village to collect more supplies. While Lopus gathered grass for feeding livestock on Gray's vessel, a young man from the tribe absconded with his cutlass, which had been planted in the ground while he was working. Lopus chased the indigenous man into the woods and soon found himself surrounded by several armed Tillamook men. When two of his fellow crew members approached the group in an attempt to rescue him, Lopus was stabbed several times. The ship's journal reported that the Tillamook people then shot Marcus Lopus with several arrows until he collapsed and then began firing at his would-be rescuers, sending them fleeing back to their ship. Lopus's body was never recovered and Gray's crew left days later after being harassed by Tillamook villagers following the confrontation.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

supplies, and participating in scouting missions, York played a significant role in establishing a positive relationship with the Native American tribes that the expedition encountered. When the expedition was facing starvation in 1806, it was York who was entrusted with trading their few remaining valuables for necessary provisions. In return for his contributions, York was granted considerable parity with other members during the expedition. However, he was the lone member who did not receive 320 acres of land and double pay at the journey's conclusion in 1806.¹¹

African Americans Fur Trading Era: 1812-1841

Following the success of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the fur trading potential of the Pacific Northwest attracted an increasing number of explorers, trappers, and traders to present-day Oregon. The pursuit of furs in the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest between 1820 and 1840 opened the way for future wagon train journeys, with Black men playing significant roles in the trapping and trading culture. Some of those African American "mountain men" also explored and later settled in Oregon. One early entrepreneur, John Jacob Astor, attempting to establish his own fur trading enterprise, sent at least two African Americans to Oregon on an overland party between 1810 and 1812.¹² Several years later, a free African American man named Peter Ranne accompanied Jedediah Smith on a scouting expedition through the Southwest, California, and Oregon. Ranne was later killed at what came to be known as the Umpqua Massacre on the South Oregon Coast in 1828.¹³ Another African American fur trapper, Winslow Anderson, accompanied Tennessee trapper Ewing Young into Oregon in the 1830s. Anderson ultimately settled near Oregon City, where he farmed and practiced medicine.¹⁴

Consistent with the multi-national character of the frontier, people of African descent in the fur trading business also came to Oregon territory from other countries. The most prominent example is James "Black" Douglas, who rose to the position of Chief Factor at the British Hudson's Bay post at Fort Vancouver in the 1840s. Douglas's father was a Scottish cotton and sugar merchant in Demerara, a Dutch colony in present-day Guyana, and his mother was a free Black woman who had been born in Barbados. In Hudson's Bay Company records, he is referred to as "a Scotch West Indian." Despite the racial prejudices of his time, Douglas rose to the office of Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, effectively making him the most important British official in the Pacific Northwest during the 1840s. He later became the first governor of Vancouver

¹¹ Darrell Millner, "York (ca. 1770-?)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/york/#.WrQN9YjwaUk>. York remained enslaved by Clark until at least 1811, although the exact date when Clark manumitted York is not recorded. During this post-expedition period, the relationship between Clark and York grew tense and hostile. York felt he should have been given his freedom and compensation similar to the other members of the expedition upon its conclusion. However, Clark refused to grant York his freedom. When Clark assumed the post of Indian Agent for the Western Territories and relocated from Louisville to St. Louis, he brought York with him. York had a wife in Louisville and sought to stay in the area, but Clark refused this request, which further alienated the two. Seeking to break York's will, Clark beat York, jailed him, and leased him out to a harsh "slave breaker." In the 1810s, Clark finally gave York his freedom along with horses and a wagon to start a business. York's business was unsuccessful, in large part due to the racial restrictions and discriminations imposed on free African Americans. Subsequently, York essentially dropped out of the historical record and his ultimate fate is uncertain.

¹² Darrell Millner, "Oregon," in *Black America: A State-by-State Historical Encyclopedia, Volume 1* ed. Alton Hornsby, Jr. (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, Inc., 2011), 685.

¹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 7; "Peter Ranne of the Jedediah Strong Smith Party," *Online Nevada Encyclopedia*, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://www.onlinenevada.org/articles/peter-ranne-jedediah-strong-smith-party>.

¹⁴ Robert Thomas Boyd, *People of The Dalles: The Indians of Wascopam Mission* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 309.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Island and then the first governor of British Columbia.¹⁵

African Americans in Oregon's Settlement Era: 1841-1865

Western Oregon was heavily colonized by White American in-migrants during the 1840s, 1850s, and early 1860s.¹⁶ While many of the first Euro-American settlers came to Oregon from midwestern states where slavery had been outlawed, others came from states like Missouri and Kentucky where slavery was a deeply ingrained institution. The issues and conflicts that wracked the United States in the years leading up to the Civil War inevitably found their way across the trail into the Oregon Territory, where the country's conflicting views on race shaped early attitudes and legislation.

As waves of largely Euro-American settlers arrived in the Pacific Northwest, the Oregon Territory's law and politics were often in flux. The United States' and Great Britain's agreement to "joint occupancy" was dissolving in 1841, as American residents sought to establish a provisional government until jurisdiction could be formally expanded. In 1846, the United States and Great Britain agreed to divide the territory along the 49th parallel, with the United States receiving present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. The size and temperament of each newly-arrived wagon train had a dramatic effect on indigenous and non-indigenous residents, culminating in a demand for formalized government in 1847. Oregon officially became a U.S. Territory in 1848 and was admitted to the Union in February of 1859 with its current boundaries. Until statehood, most of Oregon's laws and their enforcement were determined locally.¹⁷

While the overwhelming majority of participants in the overland migration to the Oregon Territory in the 1840s and 1850s were White, African Americans were involved in the Oregon Trail experience in significant numbers and with significant impact. In the early years of the Oregon Trail period, most African Americans were still enslaved and therefore unable to embark on the journey west. The other major obstacle to large-scale African American participation was the socio-political climate of anti-African American legislation and economic discrimination imposed by the pioneer generation in the Oregon Territory to discourage Black immigration and residence. While early White settlers may have held different positions on the ethics of slavery, most did not want Black residents, free or enslaved, in their state; they preferred to make Oregon a place for White settlement exclusively.¹⁸

On three separate occasions during the 1840s and 1850s, White settlers adopted "exclusion laws" that made it illegal for an African American person to live in the Oregon Territory. The first of these was in reaction to a violent episode in Oregon City involving James Saules, a free African American man, and Cockstock, a Native American of the Wasco tribe, over disputed ownership of a horse. In the wake of the incident, a White settler alleged that Saules had threatened to provoke local Native American tribes to attack him and destroy

¹⁵ Margaret A. Ormsby, "Sir James Douglas," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified June 13, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sir-james-douglas>; Martha Perkins, "How a man of mixed race helped create British Columbia," *Vancouver Courier* (Vancouver, BC), February 14, 2017; L.D. Cross, *High Peaks Engineering: Rocky Mountain Marvels* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House Publishing Company, 2014), 13; Elizabeth McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940* (Portland, OR: Georgian Press Company, 1980), 12-13, 30.

¹⁶ The first substantial wagon train reached Oregon in 1843.

¹⁷ Bev Clarno, "Echoes of Oregon: Oregon Territorial History," in *Oregon State Archives*, accessed September 25, 2019, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/echoes/Pages/history.aspx>.

¹⁸ K. Keith Richard, "Unwelcome Settlers: Black and Mulatto Oregon Pioneers," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 29-31.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

his property. The event escalated to a point that White settlers in Oregon widely regarded free Black settlers as “dangerous subjects” likely to incite a Native American uprising. In June 1844, the Oregon Provisional Government hurriedly passed a bill that prohibited slavery and allowed free African Americans a limited period in which they were to vacate Oregon or be punished with up to thirty-nine lashes on the back. By December 1844, the law had been amended and instead called for the sale of African Americans at public auction for a mandated period of labor, followed by forcible removal from Oregon. The law was repealed entirely the following year, but it had established a precedent that was not quickly erased.¹⁹

These exclusion laws created a reputation for the territory that likely discouraged African American immigration. A free African American in the American East would not likely choose to endure the harsh demands of the Oregon Trail with knowledge of the hostile racial environment waiting at the journey’s conclusion. In addition to the 1844 exclusion law, the Provisional Government denied African Americans already present in Oregon the right to vote or hold public office. The pattern of hostility continued when Oregon became an official U.S. Territory in 1848, with the Territorial Government adopting a renewed Black exclusion law in 1849. The language of this law specifically cited concerns about Black residents colluding with Native American tribes to take revenge on White settlers. The penalty was less severe than that of the 1844 laws, but it still mandated that any African Americans arriving in Oregon after the law’s passage be arrested and ordered to leave. Those who remained and were arrested a second time would face incarceration, fines, and forced removal.²⁰

African Americans were also discouraged from settling in Oregon by the provisions of the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850, which declared that only White settlers and “half-breed Indians” (the children of White Euro-American men and Native American women) were eligible to receive free land from the government.²¹ A primary motivation for most in-migrants to Oregon during the early settlement period was the chance for economic security and advancement that homesteading represented. Denied the opportunity for agricultural enterprise and the promise of self-sufficiency, non-White persons had little incentive to move to Oregon. As a result, Oregon’s African American population remained small during the early settlement period.

Effectively precluded from homesteading, many African Americans arriving in Oregon gravitated to budding urban centers like Portland.²² Unlike the countryside granted to White settlers under the Donation Land Claim Act, urban areas offered a range of employment opportunities accessible to African Americans; however, racist White attitudes and the Black exclusion laws of the 1840s continued to hinder African American settlement.²³ The experience of two Black pioneer merchants, brothers Abner H. and Isaac B. Francis,

¹⁹ Thomas McClintock, “James Saules, Peter Burnett, and the Oregon Black Exclusion Law of June 1844,” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 122-127.

²⁰ McClintock, “James Saules,” 128-29.

²¹ Williams G. Robbins, “Oregon Donation Land Act,” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified February 21, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_donation_land_act/#.XT5l4i2ZPR0. In an effort to promote homestead settlements in the Oregon Territory, the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 granted 320 acres of land to unmarried White men or 640 acres to married White couples who came to Oregon country. The federal Homestead Act of 1862 was much more inclusive and permitted African Americans, immigrants, and women, along with men, to receive 160 acres after five years of “improving” the land. However, Oregon’s Black exclusion laws still prohibited Black settlement, limiting the inclusivity of the Homestead Act.

²² “Portland Historical Timeline: Part One 1843-1901,” *The City of Portland Archives and Records Management*, accessed September 25, 2019, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/archives/article/284518>.

²³ See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for information on African American employment in early Portland.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

demonstrates the challenges that faced even wealthy and successful African Americans in early Portland. The Francis brothers moved to Portland in August 1851, a few months after the city had been incorporated, and established a mercantile business at the corner of SW Front and Washington streets.²⁴ In September 1851, while his brother was away on business, Isaac Francis was arrested under the provisions of Oregon's 1849 Black exclusion law. When Abner came to his brother's defense, both were ordered to leave Oregon within four months. Some of Portland's White citizens campaigned on the Francis brothers' behalf by attesting to their character and disputing their removal; a petition signed by over 200 individuals finally influenced the legislature to table the removal order, and the Francis brothers were permitted to remain in Portland. Their business remained in operation in Portland until 1861, when Abner Francis relocated to Victoria, British Columbia. However, the Black exclusion law remained in effect, and racial animosity would continue to build.²⁵

A similar experience was had by Morris Thomas and his wife, Jane Snowden, a few years later. The African American couple were residents of Portland, and Snowden was employed as a servant in the home of Andrew Skidmore when they were arrested and ordered to remove themselves from Oregon in 1854. Perhaps because of Snowden's connection to the Skidmores, a prominent White family, a petition was signed by 128 Portlanders requesting that the couple be exempted from the exclusion law and allowed to remain in Oregon.²⁶ The experiences of the Francis brothers and of Thomas and Snowden seem to suggest that White intercessions were the primary force preventing the removal of individual Black Oregonians. However, because only one person is known to have been removed from Oregon under the Black exclusion laws—Jacob Vanderpool, a sailor from the West Indies who arrived in Oregon City in 1850 and was expelled a year later on the complaint of a White business rival—this is impossible to confirm.²⁷

In 1854, the Black exclusion law of 1849 was rescinded when Oregon's legislature omitted it from the new territorial code.²⁸ However, this was not the end of exclusionist policies in Oregon. Arguably the strongest expression of the anti-African American mentality in pioneer Oregon occurred in 1857, with the adoption of

²⁴ "Portland Historical Timeline: Part One 1843-1901"; Marta Cieslak, "Abner Hunt Francis (1812?-1872)," *Black Past*, January 28, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/francis-abner-hunt-1872/>.

²⁵ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 27, 88; Kenneth Hawkins, "Abner Hunt 'A.H.' Francis (c. 1812-1872) and Isaac 'I.B.' Francis (1798-1856)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 9, 2020, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/francis-abner-h/#.Xp_GuC85TVo. The brothers relocated their business to a new, two-story brick building at SW Front and Stark streets in late 1854; the A.H. Francis Building, though documented in an 1858 McCormick lithograph panorama, is no longer extant. Isaac Francis died in Portland in 1856. Abner Francis sold his property in Portland at a loss to William S. Ladd in 1864 and lived in Victoria, British Columbia, until his death in 1872.

²⁶ "Morris Thomas and Jane Snowden," *Oregon Secretary of State*, accessed April 25, 2020, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/families/thomas-snowden.aspx>.

²⁷ After being denied a land claim on account of his race, Vanderpool established a saloon, restaurant, and boarding house in Oregon City. Theophilus Magruder, the White proprietor of an Oregon City hostel, brought charges against Vanderpool for illegally residing in the territory. Vanderpool's lawyer, A. Holbrook, argued that the exclusion law, passed in 1849, was unconstitutional and that enactment of the legislation was outside of the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly of Oregon. However, Judge Thomas Nelson found Vanderpool guilty of violating the exclusion law and ordered him to leave the territory within thirty days (R. Gregory Nokes, "Dangerous Subjects: A Look at the History of Oregon's Exclusion Laws," *Oregon Humanities*, last modified August 9, 2013, <https://oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/skin-summer-2013/dangerous-subjects/>; Quintard Taylor, "Slaves and Free Men: Blacks in the Oregon Country, 1840-1860," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 163-65).

²⁸ Nokes, "Dangerous Subjects."

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

the State Constitution. The constitution included an exclusion clause which denied African Americans the right of residence, the ability to use the judicial system, and the means to make legally-binding contracts. Articles also excluded African Americans from certain employment and denied them the right to vote. These provisions were still in place when Oregon was admitted to the Union two years later, and so Oregon became the first and only free state with an exclusion clause in its constitution.²⁹

Oregon During the Civil War: 1861-1865

Oregon played a comparatively minor role in the Civil War, as the state was geographically removed from the main area of conflict. However, Oregonians were hardly indifferent to the causes or outcome of the war. Although Oregon was a Union State, its White residents were not wholly united against the South's "peculiar institution": in 1857, the year of the infamous "Dred Scott decision" by the U.S. Supreme Court, roughly one-third of voters at Oregon's state constitutional convention had voted in favor of a provision permitting slavery in the newly-established state.³⁰ Those who voted against this provision did not necessarily oppose slavery on an ideological or moral basis so much as they feared the political and economic implications of permitting the institution in Oregon.³¹ Asahel Bush, who published the *Oregon Statesman* newspaper out of Salem, wrote that "the wisdom of man has not yet devised a system under which the negro [*sic*] is as well off as he is under that of American slavery," but urged his readers that "our climate, soil, situation, population, &c., render it [...] an impossible institution for Oregon."³² President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which freed all enslaved people in the Confederate states and allowed their enlistment into the Union Army, triggered an outpouring of dissent from Confederate sympathizers in Oregon. Rumors circulated that secret secessionist societies—including the Knights of the Golden Circle, a semi-military secret society active in the Midwestern states—were meeting across the Willamette Valley and planning to foment Native American uprisings in protest.³³ This resistance to emancipation and the Lincoln administration led to the creation of new political organizations in support of the Union. Members of this new Union Party took dozens of state offices during the 1860s, attempting to crush the nascent secessionist movements and equating support of the emancipation policy with support of the Union and the U.S. Constitution. In this way, dissenters and proslavery Oregonians were marked as traitors and enemies of the American Republic.³⁴

²⁹ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 52-60.

³⁰ Stacey L. Smith, "Oregon's Civil War: The Troubled Legacy of Emancipation in the Pacific Northwest," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 161-62. The Dred Scott decision, formally *Dred Scott v. John F.A. Sandford*, was a legal case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that an enslaved person who had resided in a free state or territory was not thereby entitled to freedom; that African Americans were not and could never be citizens of the United States; and that the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had declared free all territories west of Missouri and north of latitude 36°30', was unconstitutional.

³¹ E. Kimbark MacColl with Harry H. Stein, *Merchants, Money, and Power: The Portland Establishment 1843-1914* (Portland, OR: Georgian Press Company, 1988), 91.

³² Malcolm Clark, Jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon, 1818-1862* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981), 290.

³³ Smith, "Oregon's Civil War," 162; David C. Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle: Secret Empire, Southern Secession, Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 2013). The Knights of the Golden Circle were a secret fraternal order that proposed the establishment of military colonies of Americans in Mexico, with the ultimate aim of annexing the "golden circle" of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean to the United States as new slave-holding states. With the election of Abraham Lincoln, however, the society began encouraging secession from the Union. The secrecy surrounding the Knights of the Golden Circle served to heighten fear and confusion surrounding their objectives and methods. John Wilkes Booth, who assassinated Abraham Lincoln in 1865, was an alleged member.

³⁴ Smith, "Oregon's Civil War," 162-64

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

In Oregon, the question of African American emancipation and potential enfranchisement was seen in a broad context of race-based restrictions on civil and political rights. Although few African Americans lived in the state at the time, the population of early Oregon included an otherwise relatively diverse mix of Native Americans, Asians, and Pacific Islands, and so the issue of African American emancipation and enfranchisement raised relevant questions about the relationship between race, political rights, and social and economic opportunity in Oregon.³⁵ Many White Oregonians also balked at the idea of freed Black migrants entering their state in greater numbers after the war, alleging that they would diminish job opportunities for Whites and overwhelm the state's poorhouses and prisons.³⁶ The issue of enfranchisement was of particular concern as the Civil War neared its conclusion: in March 1865, Unionist Henry L. Pittock, the publisher of Portland's *Oregonian* newspaper, opined that African Americans lacked the "capacity for self-government" that was required of fully enfranchised American citizens and cautioned that "this nation of the white race should well ponder the question before it admits the African, the Mongolian, and the Indian to all its privileges."³⁷ These exclusionary, patronizing, and racist sentiments would persist in Oregon into the postbellum period.

African Americans in Oregon During Reconstruction: 1865-1877

On a national level, the African American experience during the period of Reconstruction (1865 through 1877) was characterized by a struggle for social mobility, economic opportunity, and political voice in the grudgingly reunited country. At this time, the majority of African Americans had been recently released from slavery and thrown upon their own meager resources in areas devastated by the recent conflict; they were systematically denied opportunities for economic advancement and enfranchisement despite federal legislation to the contrary.³⁸ Southern legislatures also passed Jim Crow laws that segregated transportation and public facilities, and racial violence including lynchings and race riots increased in frequency.

In the decades following the Civil War, the African American experience in Oregon paralleled national trends in many ways. Namely, African Americans' opportunities for homeownership, employment, and participation in local social and political groups were consistently defined by the state's dominant White power structure. The parameters of these limited opportunities were consistent with several key elements of contemporary White attitudes regarding racial superiority: namely, that non-Whites should not compete with Whites for jobs, housing, or social influences, and that non-Whites should only hold jobs that Whites were unable or unwilling to perform themselves. In Oregon and across the country, African Americans were frequently limited to menial service positions such as shoemakers, domestic

³⁵ Smith, "Oregon's Civil War," 156.

³⁶ MacColl, *Merchants, Money, and Power*, 91.

³⁷ "Radicalism," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 3, 1865.

³⁸ U.S. House of Representatives, *Black Americans in Congress, 1870-2007* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008), 206. While a few political gains were made by African Americans during the first decades of Reconstruction, with several Black politicians elected to local, state, and national offices in the 1870s and 1880s, these were quickly reversed by new requirements for poll taxes, subjective literacy tests, and voter registration rules passed by White legislators in the late nineteenth century. John Mercer Langston, who was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1888, was the first African American from Virginia elected to this office; because of the disenfranchising constitution adopted by Virginia at the turn of the century, he would be the last for nearly a century.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

servants, bootblacks, cooks, waiters, stable hands, and coachmen in the decades immediately following the Civil War.³⁹

In 1868, Congress ratified the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution; this granted citizenship rights and equal protection under the law to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, including recently emancipated African Americans. The Democratic Party in Oregon was strongly opposed to the amendment and challenged or ignored the national movement toward equal citizenship. In general, Oregon's White population was willing to acknowledge legal freedom for African Americans but remained resistant to the inclusion of African Americans on an equal footing in social, economic, and political affairs. The Oregon Legislature ratified the 14th Amendment by a very close margin in 1866, but rescinded its ratification two years later. The 14th Amendment was not re-ratified by the Oregon Legislature until 1973. The 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guaranteed voting rights for all male citizens, was also wildly unpopular in Oregon. Governor Lafayette F. Grover officially voiced his displeasure with the amendment, and it was not ratified by the state legislature until 1959.⁴⁰

In addition to the state's active resistance toward federal legislation granting African Americans equal rights, Oregon subjected its African American citizens to a poll tax in 1862 and excluded them from jury duty service. In 1866, the state legislature adopted a law that prohibited the intermarriage of Whites with other races, punishing offending couples and wedding officiators with stiff fines and prison sentences.⁴¹ A year later, African Americans in Portland won a major victory when they secured a promise for public education for their children; however, the Portland school district was unwilling to immediately integrate and so created a separate "Colored School" at SW 4th Avenue and Columbia street. The extra financial demands to maintain a segregated school eventually proved so onerous that African American children were allowed to attend Portland public schools on an integrated basis beginning in 1872, making Portland the first recorded city in Oregon to formally integrate its public school system.⁴² This was one of a few early victories for the African American community in Portland, which continued to visualize a better social and economic future in Oregon despite the restrictive dictates of White society.

When viewed broadly, the anti-African American actions of Whites in early Oregon were extremely effective in achieving their racist objectives. They discouraged African American in-migration through dubious laws and sometimes open hostility. They generally contained African Americans in urban areas and denied them homesteading rights, thereby removing them from competition for the economic opportunities offered by a largely agrarian society. Finally, they placed African Americans outside of the normal protections and guarantees of American civil and legal institutions, making their place in Oregon life uncertain and vulnerable to the dictates of the dominant White culture. These conditions created an atmosphere of individual and institutional racism that affected the African American experience in Portland during the 1851-1973 period of significance.

³⁹ Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

⁴⁰ Cheryl A. Brooks, "The Politics of Forgetting: How Oregon Forgot to Ratify the Fourteenth Amendment," *Journal of Oregon Humanities* (Fall/Winter 2006): 48-50.

⁴¹ Millner, "Blacks in Oregon."

⁴² Helen Marie Casey, *Portland's Compromise: The Colored School – 1867-1872* (Portland, OR: Portland Public Schools Public Information Department, 1980), 5, 10; MacColl, *Merchants, Money, and Power*, 193-194.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT I: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Summary

Throughout the period of significance, African American settlement patterns in Portland and Oregon were profoundly impacted by the racist policies and social practices of a dominant White power structure. Beginning with the Black exclusion laws of the 1840s, Oregon had established itself as an unwelcoming environment for African American in-migrants. Discriminatory stipulations in the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 and prejudiced application of the federal Homestead Act of 1862 prevented almost all early African American settlers from securing a homestead and pursuing agricultural opportunities in the Oregon Territory.⁴³ Those who did defy the exclusion laws tended to seek employment opportunities in urban centers, of which Portland was the largest and most developed.

Following the completion of the First Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, the Oregon Trail Era began to draw to a close. Portland became increasingly well-connected with the lucrative markets of the midwestern and eastern United States, and the city's economy, geographic extent, and population grew rapidly through the end of the nineteenth century. Portland's small settlement-era African American community was augmented by new Black in-migrants, first from the upper South and Midwest and later from the deep South and Texas.⁴⁴ As a result of the limited employment options afforded to them during the nineteenth century, African American Portlanders generally settled in Northwest Portland near Portland's rail terminal, Union Station, and associated hotels.⁴⁵

In the early twentieth century, the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition of 1905 spurred downtown development and shunted the African American population near Union Station to Lower Albina in Inner North and Northeast Portland. Lower Albina, including portions of the Eliot neighborhood and what is today Memorial Coliseum, had been an area of predominantly White residency until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at which time many of Portland's White residents relocated to newly-developed suburbs in eastern Portland and to homes in the West Hills.⁴⁶ Restrictive covenants, discriminatory real estate sales, and racist zoning practices generally prevented African American Portlanders from following suit, and instead the community was concentrated into Albina neighborhoods for much of the twentieth century.

⁴³ The Homestead Act of 1862, which extended to "freed slaves," was nearly as ineffective in distributing land to African American Oregonians as the Oregon Donation Land Act, which explicitly excluded African Americans and Hawaiians. One of the few African Americans (and the only known African American woman) to receive a land claim in Oregon under the Homestead Act is Letitia Carson, who traveled the Oregon Trail in 1845. Letitia was born enslaved in Kentucky between 1814 and 1818, and by early 1845, lived in Missouri with Irish immigrant David Carson. Whether Letitia was ever enslaved by Carson is unknown, but by the time the two began their journey to Oregon in 1845, she was recognized as a free person. Letitia gave birth to their first child en route, and once in Oregon, the family settled on a 640-acre land claim near Soap Creek Valley in Benton County. This claim was reduced by half in 1850, either because of Letitia's race or because the couple were not legally married. After David's death in 1852, Letitia fought a prolonged and only moderately successful legal battle to secure the rights to his estate. In 1863, while living in Douglas County and working as a midwife, she filed a Homestead Act claim for 160 acres near present-day Myrtle Creek. On October 1, 1869, Letitia's homestead claim was certified, and she lived the rest of her life on a ranch that was legally her own. She died in 1888 and was buried in a pioneer property near her property (Bob Zybach, "Letitia Carson (ca. 1814-1888)," *Black Past*, last modified May 7, 2015, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/carson-letitia-ca-1814-1888/>).

⁴⁴ William Toll, "Black Families and Migration to a Multiracial Society: Portland, Oregon, 1900-1924," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 43-45.

⁴⁵ See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for a detailed discussion of African American employment history in Portland.

⁴⁶ Roy Roos, "Albina area (Portland)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/albina_area_portland_/#.XbkyCC-ZPVp.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

World War II marked a significant inflection point in the history of Portland, and in the history of its African American community in particular. The Pacific Northwest's shipbuilding programs attracted tens of thousands of new residents to the region, including approximately 20,000 African Americans who crowded into Lower Albina neighborhoods and temporary wartime housing projects. Nearly 10,000 African Americans remained in Portland at the time of the 1950 census, a significant decrease from the wartime peak of 22,000 but more than five times what the population had been before the war. In the postwar period, Black Portlanders successfully fought for legislative advances in equitable housing practice and organized community groups that campaigned for neighborhood improvements. However, they continued to face overt racism with regard to their housing options, and their existing neighborhoods in Lower Albina were targeted and devastated by City-led urban renewal programs during the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. The Emanuel Hospital expansion project, the last urban renewal program to significantly impact Lower Albina and its predominantly African American population, concluded in 1973.

Over the course of the century-long period of significance described by this document, African American settlement patterns were largely dictated by the desires of Portland's White majority. African American Portlanders were limited in their housing choices because of institutionalized racism, inadequate economic resources, and—in several instances—open hostility from their White neighbors. Collectively, these factors shaped the physical landscape of the African American community in Portland between 1851 and 1973.

The Emergence of an African American Community in Early Portland: 1851-1870

Year	Oregon Population	Oregon African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Oregon Population	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland Population
1850	12,093	55	0.455%	821	4	0.487%
1860	52,465	128	0.244%	2,874	16	0.557%
1870	90,923	346	0.381%	8,293	149	1.797%

Source: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Table 51; Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

Oregon's Territorial Legislature issued Portland's municipal charter in early 1851, which marks the founding of the City of Portland and the beginning of the period of significance for this MPD. At the time of the 1850 census, around the time of the city's incorporation, Portland was a relatively homogenous community: of 821 residents recorded in the census, more than 75 percent were male and more than 99.5 percent were identified as White.⁴⁷ Only four of those living in Portland in 1850—fewer than 0.5 percent of the city's residents—were identified as African American. The extremely small number of African American residents in early Portland reflects the Oregon Territory's history of exclusionary policies and land allocation practices, as well as the pervasive impacts of slavery in the southeastern United States.

⁴⁷ Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38; Jewel Beck Lansing, *Portland: People, Politics, and Power, 1851-2001* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2005), 27. Note that Oregon's 1850 census allowed respondents to identify their race only as "White," "Black," or "Mulatto," with the result that residents of color were not accurately tabulated (Jesse S. Douglas, "Origins of the Population of Oregon in 1850," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (April 1950): 101.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

African Americans were deterred from settling in early Oregon by legal mechanisms enacted by the Territorial Legislature, but also by widespread social and economic structures devised to restrict the social, economic, and geographic mobility of people of color.

Despite these challenges, early census records indicate that a small number of African Americans were able to take up residence in Oregon and in Portland in the mid-nineteenth century. Some, including pioneer merchant Abner Francis, remained in Portland for a relatively short period of time; a few returned east, and others relocated within Oregon or to other western locales that posed fewer obstacles to African American settlers.⁴⁸ Abner Francis and his wife, Sydna Edmonia Robella (Dandridge) Francis, for example, relocated to Victoria on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, in 1861. Seeking to attract immigrants who would be sympathetic to British interests and protect the Canadian frontier from American annexation, Governor James Douglas of Vancouver Island had reached out to the African American community of San Francisco in 1858, promising all Black immigrants British citizenship after five years of land ownership and full protection of the law in the interim. The Francises had owned residential property in San Francisco and Abner frequently consigned goods on San Francisco-bound ships, and it is likely that the couple learned of the invitation through this connection. They reestablished their mercantile business in Victoria and in 1865, Abner Francis became the first Black person elected to the Victoria City Council.⁴⁹

Other early African American Portlanders remained in the city, however, and became the foundation of a resilient and active community that developed over the ensuing decades. One of these early residents was Allen Ervin Flowers, who came to the city in 1865 as a cabin boy aboard the paddle steamer *Brother Jonathan*.⁵⁰ Flowers jumped ship in Portland and soon found work as a busboy at the Lincoln Hotel; he later worked for the U.S. Customs House and then the Northern Pacific Railroad. Flowers became one of the few African Americans in Portland to own land when he purchased a tract of rural acreage near Mt. Scott in Southeast Portland, where he raised horses and grew raspberries. He also acquired property in the Lower Albina area of Northeast Portland, on NE 1st Avenue between NE Schuyler Street and NE Broadway. Flowers constructed a level road on NE Schuyler Street so that his wife, Louisa Matilda (Thacker) Flowers, could wheel her baby's carriage from this property to what is now Martin Luther King Avenue. Allen and Louisa Flowers remained in Portland for the rest of their lives, raising four sons and maintaining an active role in the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and in various African American civic and social organizations.⁵¹

⁴⁸ For example, census records show that African Americans Peter W. and Anna Casey and Henrietta Lockwood were residents of Portland in 1860 but had relocated to Virginia in 1870.

⁴⁹ Kimberly Moreland and Oregon Black Pioneers, *African Americans of Portland* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2013), 12; Hawkins, "Abner Hunt 'A.H.' Francis (c. 1812-1872) and Isaac 'I.B.' Francis (1798-1856)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*; Ormsby, "Sir James Douglas," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. See the Historical Background and Context VII: *Civil Rights* for additional information on Abner Francis and James Douglas.

⁵⁰ By jumping ship in Portland, Flowers may have saved his own life; *Brother Jonathan* later sank near Crescent City, California (National Register of Historic Places, Brother Jonathan, Crescent City - Offshore, Del Norte County, California, National Register # 02000535, 7-8).

⁵¹ Kimberly Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community: 1805 to the Present* (Portland, OR: City of Portland Planning Bureau, 1993), 9-10.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

African American Settlement Patterns in Late Nineteenth Century Portland: 1870-1900

Year	Oregon Population	Oregon African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Oregon Population	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland Population
1870	90,923	346	0.381%	8,293	149	1.797%
1880	174,768	487	0.279%	17,577	192	1.092%
1890	317,704	1,186	0.373%	46,385	480	1.035%
1900	413,536	1,105	0.267%	90,426	775	0.857%

Source: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Table 51; Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

America's First Transcontinental Railroad was completed in 1869, linking the existing rail hub in Omaha, Nebraska, with Sacramento, California, and eventually with the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco Bay. In the 1870s and early 1880s, Oregon-bound travelers from the eastern and midwestern United States could ride a train to San Francisco and travel up the coast on a steamship, a significantly shorter and less onerous journey than earlier migrants had taken across the Oregon Trail. In 1883, Portland was linked to the national rail network by way of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and in 1887, it became the northern terminus of the Southern Pacific Railroad; passengers could now travel directly from San Francisco to Portland by train, in the span of only a day and a half. The economy and population of the young city surged in the late nineteenth century as a result of its increased connectivity to eastern and midwestern markets and the facilitated migration path offered by these newly-completed railways.

In the thirty-year period between 1870 and 1900, Portland's total population grew tenfold, from 8,293 to 90,426.⁵² The explosion was largely due to in-migration via railroad and steamship, but also to the 1891 annexation of towns surrounding Portland. In reaction to Seattle's strong showing of growth in the 1890 census, Portland leaders persuaded the independent cities of East Portland (covering much of what is now Southeast Portland) and Albina (parts of present-day North and Northeast Portland) to consolidate into one much larger city. Voters in all three towns strongly approved the annexation in 1891, and Portland grew by approximately 18,500 residents and eighteen square miles overnight.⁵³

By the close of the nineteenth century, Portland's population mix included a large number of recent immigrants, most of them from Europe. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, most American immigrants came from Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia, while the 1880s ushered in a thirty-year surge of emigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries. In 1890, 59 percent of Portland's residents were foreign-

⁵² Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38.

⁵³ Will Harper et al., "Historic Resources and the Albina Community Plan" (report, Portland State University Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 1990), 5; Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon* (Chicago, IL: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1922), 779; Mansel G. Blackford, *The Lost Dream: Businessmen and City Planning on the Pacific Coast, 1890-1920* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 24.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

born or had at least one foreign-born parent.⁵⁴ Recent immigrants and their families tended to settle near others of the same ethnic and national background, and so ethnic neighborhoods developed in Goose Hollow (Germans), Slabtown (Irish and later Slavic immigrants), North Portland (Scandinavians, Finns, and Poles), Sabin (German-Russians), and Brooklyn near the Southern Pacific rail yards (Italians).⁵⁵ Outside of these European enclaves, Chinese Americans formed the most distinctive ethnic neighborhood in early Portland. The center of Portland's pre-1900 Chinese American neighborhood was at SW 2nd Avenue and Alder Street, and the district stretched from Ash Street to Salmon Street between the Willamette River and 3rd Avenue.⁵⁶

As Portland continued to grow into Oregon's dominant urban locale, it also became the location of the only sizable African American population within the state: at the turn of the century, more than 70 percent of Black Oregonians lived in Portland.⁵⁷ The railroad industry and associated hotels were the city's primary employer of Black men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and so Portland's African American community developed in close proximity to Union Station (**800 NW 6th Ave.**) and nearby lodging establishments. Beginning in the 1870s and continuing through the early twentieth century, a small yet distinct African American community developed in Old Town, in the area between NW Hoyt and SW Morrison streets.⁵⁸

A few Black Portlanders did find it possible to locate outside of this area, but these cases are exceptions to the prevailing settlement pattern of late nineteenth-century Portland. These individuals and their families moved further "uptown" on the west side of the Willamette River, to present-day Nob Hill or

⁵⁴ William Toll, "Ethnic Diversity in the City," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2014, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/commerce-climate-and-community-a-history-of-portland-and-its-people/the-mature-distribution-center/ethnic-diversity-in-the-city/#.XZuPIW5FxaQ>.

⁵⁵ Carl Abbott, *Settlement Patterns in the Portland Region: A Historical Overview* (Portland, OR: Metro Future Vision Commission, 1994), 40.

⁵⁶ Paul G. Merriam, "The 'Other Portland: A Statistical Note on the Foreign-Born," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (Fall 1979): 266; Douglas Lee, "Chinese Americans in Oregon," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified July 10, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/chinese_americans_in_oregon/#.XZujsW5FxaQ. Many Chinese men came to Oregon to mine gold in the 1860s and to work on the Northern Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad lines in the 1870s and 1880s. As railroad construction jobs dried up, many settled permanently in Portland with their families, increasing the Chinese population in the city to nearly 7,000 by 1900. In late nineteenth-century America, Portland's Chinatown was second in size only to San Francisco's.

⁵⁷ The urban concentration of African American Oregonians in the early twentieth century is almost certainly related to the limited economic opportunities available to people of color in the state's early history (see Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on the history of African American employment in Portland). Besides Portland, several of Oregon's smaller urban centers also attracted significant numbers of African American residents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, African Americans accounted for 40 to 60 of the 400 residents of Maxville, a railroad-logging town in northeastern Oregon, in the early twentieth century (Gwen Trice, "Maxville," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/maxville/#.XojplS-z3Vo>).

⁵⁸ Stuart McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto: African American Housing in Portland, 1910-1960," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 137. The homes of prominent African Americans listed in the 1898-1903 Polk City Directories in Old Town and near Downtown Portland included those of Mrs. St. Clair Smith, who co-managed the Arcadia Club with live-in manager Burr Williams; John Logan, who served as the head waiter of the Portland Hotel for fourteen years; Howard Sproules, a newspaper founder who worked as a porter at Chandler & Ballard; and Lewis Goodwin, a founder of the Enterprise Investment Company who worked as a Portland Hotel waiter. None of these residences are extant.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Goose Hollow, or into the budding middle-class suburbs on the east side of the river.⁵⁹ Although their means for locating outside of Old Town and Inner North and Northeast Portland are unconfirmed, it may be assumed that these African Americans were sufficiently affluent to secure property elsewhere in the city; it may also be the case that these individuals—whether for their occupation, fortune, or social status—were well-regarded by the city’s dominant White power structure and therefore considered “acceptable” by their White neighbors. One notable example is Anita Leona Gilbert-Taylor, a wealthy African American nurse and divorcée who was able to purchase her own home at 133 NE San Rafael St. by 1895.⁶⁰ Gilbert-Taylor was one of the wealthiest members of Portland’s African American community at the time of her death in 1925, and she was a dedicated member of the predominantly White congregation of the Holy Rosary Catholic Church.⁶¹ Her position, affluence, and accepted membership within a White religious community may have contributed to her geographical mobility within the strictly-segregated context of nineteenth century Portland. Gilbert-Taylor was one of a relatively small minority of Black Portlanders who were able to achieve this level of freedom in residential location.⁶²

African American Settlement Patterns in Early Twentieth Century Portland: 1900-1929

Year	Oregon Population	Oregon African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Oregon Population	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland population
1900	413,536	1,105	0.267%	90,426	775	0.857%
1910	672,765	1,492	0.222%	207,214	1,045	0.504%
1920	783,389	2,144	0.274%	258,288	1,556	0.602%
1930	953,786	2,234	0.234%	301,815	1,559	0.517%

Source: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Table 51; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990*,

⁵⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 18; *Polk’s Portland City Directories*. African Americans living in southwest Portland in the early twentieth century include W.H. Bolds, Portland Hotel waiter and *Advocate* newspaper co-founder and vice president, at 1922 SW 10th St.; Charles Ritter, custodian, waiter, and City Agent for *The New Age* newspaper, at 124 SW Hall St.; James Edward Watson, Portland Hotel waiter, at 1420 SW 3rd St. (the Watson family would relocate to Northeast Portland in 1911); and Arthur and Charles Sykes, porters who obtained city contracts to clean the streets, at 1610 SW 1st Ave. and 1824 SW 6th Ave. None of these residences remain extant.

⁶⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 14.

⁶¹ “Pioneer Citizen Passes: Mrs. Anita Leona Gilbert-Taylor Dies as Age of 60 Years—A Portland Pioneer—Leaves Large Estate—Funeral Large and Costly,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 17, 1925. It is unknown how Gilbert-Taylor made her fortune.

⁶² Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 9, 13-14. Others Black Portlanders who were able to located outside of Old Town in the late nineteenth century were Reuben Crawford, an emancipated slave and talented local ship caulker who lived in the Goose Hollow Neighborhood from 1905 until his death in 1918; Allen Ervin Flowers and Louisa (Thatcher) Flowers, who owned a small farm near Mount Scott in southeast Portland; Charles Besseleu, who arrived in Portland in 1870 following a whaling expedition and settled in present-day downtown before relocating to a farm in the Sunnyside neighborhood of southeast Portland; English pioneers William and Emily Hooker, who arrived in Portland from Chicago in 1882 and made their family home in the Woodlawn Neighborhood, near the northern boundary of the city; Robert King Morgan, who had been enslaved when he was brought to Oregon from Kentucky in 1855, and who lived in northeast Portland’s Piedmont Neighborhood with his wife Annie Caesar and their children; and George and Lizzie Koonce Weeks, the latter being Oregon’s first African American probation officer, who settled in Northeast Portland.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

and by *Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

Portland's small African American community grew slowly in the early twentieth century, increasing in number but expanding at a slower rate than the overall population of the city.⁶³ The aura of White hostility evinced in Oregon's Black exclusion laws and the state's reluctance to ratify the 14th and 15th Amendments were likely discouraging to prospective African American residents, as was the resurgence of Oregon's Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.⁶⁴ In this era, African Americans who did move to Portland tended to establish their residences within the small existing Black community near Union Station and in the growing downtown edge on SW 10th, 11th, and 12th Avenues. Many, if not most, African American men who arrived in Portland at this time lived in downtown rooming and boarding houses. A small number settled in South Portland near the banks of the Willamette River, which was also home to a variety of immigrant groups. The emergence of a small African American business community and several African American churches in Inner Northwest Portland provides a strong indicator of community development through the first part of the twentieth century.⁶⁵

The number of African Americans who made their homes on the east side of the Willamette River also increased steadily during the early twentieth century. This was facilitated by Portland's annexation of Albina and East Portland in 1891, and it may be seen as a consequence of development that occurred in relation to the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair of 1905. In hosting the Lewis and Clark Fair, Portland hoped to establish itself as a major West Coast economic center by demonstrating the city's prosperity and modernity. In the years immediately before and after the Fair, Portlanders rebuilt the city's downtown core with modern buildings to accommodate and impress nearly 1.6 million Fair attendees.⁶⁶

The concentrated development that occurred because of the Lewis and Clark Fair drastically altered Portland's public and private infrastructure, which in turn impacted Portland residents. Minority communities who had traditionally made their homes in the downtown area were disproportionately affected: the construction of new hotels and warehouses in the downtown area pushed Portland's Chinese enclave out of the existing Chinatown south of Burnside Street and into a "New Chinatown" in Inner Northwest Portland, subsequently crowding the African American community that had centered itself around Union Station in Northwest Portland.

⁶³ Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Table 51; Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38. Oregon's other minority populations also decreased as a percentage of the state's overall population during the early twentieth century. The state's American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut population went from 4,951 individuals (1.2 percent of the state's population) in 1900 to 4,594 (0.4 percent of the state's population) in 1940; its Asian and Pacific Islander population fell from 12,898 (3.1 percent of the state's population) in 1900 to just 6,794 (0.6 percent of the state's population) in 1940.

⁶⁴ Ben Bruce, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon during the 1920s," *Voces Novae* 11, art. 2 (2019): 1-3. See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for more information on the Ku Klux Klan's activities in Oregon.

⁶⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 19.

⁶⁶ Carl Abbott, "Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2014, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/lewis-and-clark-centennial-and-american-pacific-exposition-and-oriental-fair/#.Xbp1KC-ZPV0>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The east side of the city was also drastically altered around the time of the Lewis and Clark Fair. Newly constructed bridges and expanded electric streetcar lines spanned the Willamette River and better integrated the two halves of Portland. The facilitated commute enabled Portlanders—White, middle-class Portlanders in particular—to live further from their places of employment, in newer houses on larger lots, away from the perceived vice of downtown and the cramped inner ring of late nineteenth century residential neighborhoods. Real estate developers quickly filled in eastside neighborhoods such as Irvington, Alameda, Laurelhurst, and Eastmoreland with tracts of detached residential structures.⁶⁷ Portland's first zoning code, implemented in 1924, designated several of these new neighborhoods as exclusively single-family zones.⁶⁸

The rise of these new middle-class neighborhoods underscored the tension in the city's character: in contrast to the bustling, multi-ethnic city center, the streetcar suburbs were racially homogenous and predominantly residential in character. They were generally unwelcoming to people of color, sometimes denying them the legal right to purchase property in a neighborhood through restrictive covenants, discriminatory real estate and lending practices, and other mechanisms. African American settlement was also restricted by societal constraints on employment opportunity, which limited many to jobs in the railyards of Northwest Portland and other downtown workplaces. Prevented from settling in many of the new developments and crowded out of Northwest Portland by downtown development and the relocation of Chinatown, multiple nodes of African American residency emerged in the few close-in North, Northeast, South, and Southeast neighborhoods that were accessible to them. During the early 1900s, small groups of African American Portlanders moved into single-family homes located in the Lair Hill neighborhood of South Portland; in northern Montavilla between NE Halsey Street and E Burnside Street; on and near SE Tibbetts Street; and into a small enclave roughly bounded by SE Lincoln Street, SE Powell Boulevard, SE 26th Avenue, and SE 30th Avenue later known as "Sugar Hill" in a nod to the Manhattan neighborhood of the same name.⁶⁹

By far the largest node of twentieth century African American settlement emerged in Inner North and Northeast Portland, in what had been the city of Albina before its 1891 annexation by the city of Portland. Lower Albina, as the collection of northeastern neighborhoods near the Willamette River were known, had been predominantly occupied by White Portlanders before the turn of the twentieth century; as these residents were increasingly drawn to the newer streetcar suburbs to the south and east, African American individuals and families purchased and rented the homes they left behind. Housing in Lower Albina was older and comparatively less expensive, allowing widespread homeownership among working-class African American families. The Broadway Bridge (opened 1913) and the same streetcar lines that had drawn White residents into the new streetcar suburbs also facilitated a quick commute between Lower Albina homes and the predominant African American employment centers on the west side of the river.⁷⁰ Within Lower Albina, NE Rodney Avenue was an important center of the nascent community, and many

⁶⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 11.

⁶⁸ Jena Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning: A History of How Planning Segregated Portland* (Portland, OR: Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, 2019), 5-6. In the 1924 zoning code, Portland created fifteen single-family zones. Today, these zones include part or all of Hillsdale, Homestead, the Southwest Hills, Arlington-Heights, Hillside, Arbor Lodge, University Park, Irvington, Alameda, Beaumont-Wilshire, Kenton, Piedmont, Concordia, Sabin, Hosford-Abernathy, Richmond, Laurelhurst, Mt. Tabor, and Eastmoreland.

⁶⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, Appendix A. "Sugar Hill" in Manhattan became a popular neighborhood for relatively affluent African American New Yorkers during the Harlem Renaissance. Residents included Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, Thurgood Marshall, Duke Ellington, and Roy Wilkins.

⁷⁰ McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 137.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

dwellings that were home to African American families in the 1910s and 1920s remain extant in this location as of 2019.⁷¹ Other important nodes of African American residency in Albina include NE Sumner Street, NE 14th Avenue between Mason and Killingsworth streets, and NE 8th Avenue between Failing and Mason streets, where numerous families settled in the years following the Lewis and Clark Fair.⁷² Over the next several decades, the city's African American population would become increasingly concentrated in Lower Albina, building a stable (if small) community in Inner North and Northeast Portland opposite Union Station, the previous center of Portland's African American community.

Restrictive Covenants and Discriminatory Real Estate Practices

The concentration of African American settlement in the Lower Albina district was far from coincidental. Two major forces, both controlled by the White power structure, ensured that Albina became the center of African American residence in early twentieth-century Portland. The first was the racially restrictive real estate covenant, which became a common practice nationwide beginning in the early 1900s. Such covenants were legal clauses written into deeds of home ownership that specifically forbade sale to or occupancy by African Americans and other people of color. These covenants were widely utilized in Portland neighborhoods, particularly in the newly developed suburbs of the early twentieth century.⁷³ A Laurelhurst warranty deed, created by the neighborhood's developers in 1913, reads: ". . . nor shall said premises or any building thereon . . . be in any manner used or occupied by Chinese, Japanese or negroes, except that persons of said races may be employed as servants by residents."⁷⁴

Restrictive covenants were made legally unenforceable in 1948 through action of the U.S. Supreme Court, but subtler actions could still be taken to prevent African Americans from moving into predominantly White neighborhoods. The second method of White control over the location of African American residence was the local real estate industry's practice of preventing licensed real estate agents from selling homes in areas that were uniformly White. In 1919, the Portland Realty Board formally included an article in its Code of Ethics that called for punitive measures against any agent who sold a home to an individual for whom "such sales tended to cause a drop in property values"; this coded language was understood to prohibit the sale of homes in majority-White neighborhoods to African Americans and other minority populations.⁷⁵ Instead, Black homebuyers were to be concentrated in Albina, so that the projected "drop in property values" could be contained within a limited geographic boundary.⁷⁶ As racially restrictive covenants ensured that new suburban developments would be

⁷¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 38, 192; *Polk's Portland City Directories*.

⁷² Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 58.

⁷³ National Register of Historic Places, Laurelhurst Historic District, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #100003462, 30-31. Racially restrictive covenants were written for many suburban developments and have been documented in the following neighborhoods: Mock's Crest, Ladd's Addition, Palatine Hill, Ferncrest, Cedar Hills, Irvington, Piedmont, Lake Oswego, Grant Park, Hillsdale, Raleigh Hills, Alameda Park, Eastmoreland, Westmoreland, and Rose City Park.

⁷⁴ Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning*, 6, 8.

⁷⁵ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 142; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59.

⁷⁶ Karen Gibson, "Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000," *Transforming Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2007): 6.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

inhabited primarily—even exclusively—by White Portlanders, discriminatory real estate practices served to maintain the predominantly White character of existing neighborhoods in other areas of Portland.⁷⁷

A small number of African American Portlanders were, however, able to circumvent these restrictions and purchase homes outside of Albina in the early 1900s. Black homebuyers might work with a White friend who would act as a middleman, purchasing a property in a predominantly White neighborhood and then reselling it without the use of a real estate agent. Or, if individual White homeowners chose not to use a licensed real estate agent, they were free to sell to whomever they wished. In other cases, a member of the African American community whose outward appearance was regarded as “White” could make a home purchase for themselves or for another member of the community; one example, Walter Greene, described as a “White-passing” African American real estate broker, quietly bought homes for other African Americans from the 1910s onward.⁷⁸

In addition to the legal and institutional measures limiting their housing options, African American homeowners often had to endure overt forms of discouragement to reside in White neighborhoods. Windows would be broken at night, cars vandalized, and confrontations occurred with belligerent White neighbors. The latter was experienced by Dr. DeNorval Unthank, a prominent African American medical doctor, and his wife, Thelma, who moved into a house at **2106 SE Knapp St.** in 1931. In a highly publicized incident, the house was vandalized after neighbors demanded the Unthinks to leave. Thelma Unthank was later tried in municipal court on a charge of threatening to kill a neighbor who, according to others, had committed the vandalism.⁷⁹ Similarly, in 1932, African American widow Ida Tindall, who lived at **2124 SE Ivon St.**, was sued by her neighbors to have her “removed” from the White neighborhood, claiming that the property’s previous owner had not consented to the contract of sale.⁸⁰ It could be dangerous for African Americans to challenge the geographic boundaries that Portland’s White power structure had drawn for them.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning*, 9; Terry Gross, “A ‘Forgotten History’ of How the U.S. Government Segregated America,” *National Public Radio*, May 3, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america>.

⁷⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59; Melissa Cornelius Lang, “‘A place under the sun’: African American Resistance to Housing Exclusion,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 369. Greene lived in Portland from 1899 until his death in 1954, and his last residence, an apartment at **3820 NE Mallory St.**, still stands.

⁷⁹ “Community Row Settled,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 18, 1931.

⁸⁰ “Sue to Oust Negro Owner: White Do Not Want Colored in District; Go to Court to Disposess [*sic*] Mrs. Tindall,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 16, 1932; McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 143. Ida Tindall was the widow of James Tindall, who had owned a shoeshine business in the Pittock Building.

⁸¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59-60.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portland's African American Community During the Great Depression: 1929-1941

Year	Oregon Population	Oregon African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Oregon Population	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland population
1930	953,786	2,234	0.234%	301,815	1,559	0.517%
1940	1,089,684	2,565	0.235%	305,394	1,931	0.632%

Source: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Table 51; Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

In cities across America, including Portland, thousands of workers found themselves suddenly homeless and unemployed during the Great Depression. Many Portlanders ended up in one of the “Hoovervilles” of homemade shanties and tents that packed unused land, such as Sullivan’s Gulch along the route of the Union Pacific Railroad. The impacts of the Great Depression on Portland’s African American community were particularly acute, as many service industry positions that had historically been held by African Americans were given instead to unemployed Whites.⁸² The African American community continued to concentrate itself in Inner North and Northeast Portland, and by the time the country began to recover from the Depression in the late 1930s, more than half of the city’s nearly 2,000 African American residents lived in Lower Albina. The remaining half were largely scattered across North Portland and Southeast Portland.

Home ownership remained a constant pursuit of the African American community in Portland throughout the Depression, although this dream continued to be stymied by restrictive covenants, discriminatory real estate practices, and employment opportunities that offered only limited remuneration.⁸³ Also during the 1930s, a new form of institutionalized opposition to African American homeownership was introduced by the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC), a New Deal program created by Congress in 1933. The HOLC’s practice of redlining, or demarcating neighborhoods considered high-risk for loan default, doubling down on the racial segregation that had already grown to characterize Portland’s neighborhoods in the early twentieth century.

Redlining and Discriminatory Lending Practices

The HOLC was established as an emergency agency by the Home Owners’ Loan Act of 1933, which was intended to “provide emergency relief with respect to home mortgage indebtedness, to refinance home mortgages, to extend relief to the owners occupied by them and who are unable to amortize their debt elsewhere...”⁸⁴ In effort to standardize methods of property appraisal for the purpose of refinancing home mortgages, the HOLC created a series of “Residential Security Maps” of major American cities. Categorization of individual neighborhoods was determined in part by the average income and racial or

⁸² See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on African American employment in Portland during the Great Depression.

⁸³ For example, in 1925 *The Advocate* published an article celebrating the move of Miss Margaret Mosley to her own new bungalow at **845 NE Portland Blvd.** at a cost of \$5,000. “Builds Attractive Home,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), August 29, 1925.

⁸⁴ Home Owners’ Loan Act of 1933, Pub. L. No. 73-43, 48 Stat. 128 (1933).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

ethnic makeup of each; the HOLC held that areas of mixed or predominantly minority settlement were more likely default on home loans than areas that were exclusively White. As a result, neighborhoods that had historically been accessible to African Americans and other people of color were categorized as “hazardous” areas. They were denoted on the HOLC’s Residential Security Maps in red ink, while more racially-homogenous (i.e., White), higher-income areas were denoted in green. Blue and yellow were used to mark “good” and “definitely declining” areas, respectively.⁸⁵

“Redlined” neighborhoods accounted for 12 percent of Portland’s HOLC-appraised area.⁸⁶ These neighborhoods included Lower Albina, of which one 1937 appraiser opined: “This area constitutes Portland’s ‘Melting Pot, and is the nearest approach to a “slum district” in the city. Three-quarters of the negro population of the city reside here and in addition there are some 300 Orientals, 1000 Southern Europeans and Russians.”⁸⁷ Some scholars have argued that the HOLC’s maps promoted discriminatory practices in government mortgage lending, while others have contended that an analysis of HOLC loans (most of which were made two years before the maps were completed) indicates that the agency provided mortgages to both White and minority homebuyers.⁸⁸ This research suggests that the Residential Security Maps were not used by the HOLC to qualify mortgage refinancing; however, conventional home loans in redlined “hazardous” areas tended to have higher interest rates, and Federal Housing Authority (FHA) appraisers may have taken this information into account when financing loans in later years. What is certain is that the Residential Security Maps capture governmental perceptions of lending risk in the period prior to World War II, with mixed and majority-minority neighborhoods considered the most at-risk for loan default.⁸⁹ Residents of redlined areas struggled to gain access to capital investment that could improve their housing and economic opportunity; in this way, both in Portland and across the country, redlining advanced economic inequality and racial segregation in those neighborhoods that contained minority populations.⁹⁰

World War II and the Growth of Portland’s African American Population: 1941-1945

In the years leading up to World War II, more than half of Portland’s African American population was concentrated into Lower Albina by the actions of the local real estate industry, the local and federal government, lending institutions, and private landlords.⁹¹ This situation became untenable in the war years, however, as the establishment of Henry Kaiser’s Pacific Northwest shipyards attracted tens of thousands of job seekers to the region, including approximately 20,000 African Americans.⁹² These new

⁸⁵ Bruce Mitchell and Juan Franco, *HOLC “Redlining” Maps: The Persistent Structure of Segregation and Economic Inequality* (Washington, D.C.: National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2018), 4-5, 18; Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning*, 9; Tracy Jan, “Redlining was banned 50 years ago. It’s still hurting minorities today,” *The Washington Post*, March 28, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/03/28/redlining-was-banned-50-years-ago-its-still-hurting-minorities-today/>.

⁸⁶ Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning*, 9.

⁸⁷ Hughes et al., *Historical Context of Racist Planning*, 9.

⁸⁸ James L. Greer, “Historic Home Mortgage Redlining in Chicago,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1998-) 107, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 12; Amy Hillier, “Residential Security Maps and Neighborhood Appraisals: The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation and the Case of Philadelphia,” *Social Science History* 29, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 208, 214-221.

⁸⁹ Mitchell and Franco, *HOLC “Redlining” Maps*, 7.

⁹⁰ Mitchell and Franco, *HOLC “Redlining” Maps*, 3, 7, 18.

⁹¹ Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 7.

⁹² See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on African American employment in the Kaiser Shipyards and related wartime industries.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

residents challenged understood conventions in Portland's racial status quo and increased the visibility of the city's previously small African American community. A renewed wave of discrimination in housing and business would be directed at long-time African American residents as well as these newcomers. With the substantial increase in the African American population, however, social mores shifted and achievements slowly compounded. Difficulties and challenges lay ahead, perhaps best summarized in the labeling of Portland as "the most segregated city outside the deep south," a characterization that endured well into the postwar years.⁹³ As the 1940s unfolded, many changes lay ahead for the established African American community, the city of Portland, and the entire nation.

The Emergency Shipbuilding Program and the Kaiser Shipyards

After two years of increasingly tenuous neutrality, the United States entered the war against Germany, Italy, and Japan in December 1941. For the next three and a half years, the domestic economy struggled to maintain production while enlistment in the armed forces reached more than 10 million. Women, minorities, and the disabled joined the labor force by the millions as workers poured into war production centers such as San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland.

Even before the United States officially entered World War II, the conflict had begun to spur Portland to new heights of manufacturing. In the language of city officials, Portland became a "congested war production center" primarily engaged in shipbuilding.⁹⁴ The first federal orders for new ships went to local companies in 1940, and the next year, construction magnate Henry J. Kaiser opened the first of three large shipyards. At the peak of wartime production, the Portland-Vancouver metropolitan area counted 140,000 defense workers, most of them employed by the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company in shipyards in North Portland; Swan Island; and Vancouver, Washington.⁹⁵ Kaiser's active recruitment and the promise of steady employment drew men and women from across the country: shipbuilding put 28,000 women to work in the Portland area, and war-related industries employed approximately 6,700 African Americans by March 1945.⁹⁶ The wartime peak of African American in-migrants (including family members and individuals who were not directly employed by wartime industries) was approximately 20,000, with most coming to Portland from the south-central states of Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Missouri, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.⁹⁷ While these people were attracted to the higher wages being offered in Portland-area shipyards, many were also fleeing oppressive Jim Crow segregation and racially-motivated violence prevalent in the South since the end of Reconstruction.

⁹³ *Local Color*, written and reported by John Tuttle (Portland, OR: Oregon Public Broadcasting, 1986), made-for-television documentary.

⁹⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 51.

⁹⁵ Moreland, *African Americans of Portland*, 53; Carl Abbott, *Greater Portland: Urban Life and Landscape in Pacific Northwest* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42.

⁹⁶ "Digest of City Club Report, The Negro in Portland - July, 1945," Portland City Club Report, 1945, Box 3, Folder 3, Gov. Snell Records, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Documents/life-race3.pdf>.

⁹⁷ William G. Robbins, "African Americans and Women Workers in World War II," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2014, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/oregon-in-depression-and-war-1925-1945/african-american-and-women-workers-in-world-war-ii/#.WrAbXOjwaUk>; "Compiled Report," Commission on Race Relations of the Portland Council of Churches, 1945, Box 3, Folder 3, Gov. Snell Records, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Documents/life-race1.pdf>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The African Americans who arrived in early 1940s Portland were met with racial tension (amplified in 1942 by Executive Order 9066, which resulted in the internment of approximately 112,000 people of Japanese descent, including more than 4,000 living in Oregon), a tight housing market, inadequate transportation, and overcrowding in schools, stores, and theaters.⁹⁸ Although the city did not experience the race riots that exploded in 1943 in Harlem and Detroit, African American Portlanders still endured racial incidents on city buses, harassment by the police, conflict with segregated labor unions, and ongoing discrimination in the housing and rental markets.⁹⁹

Temporary Wartime Housing: Guild's Lake Courts and Vanport

The tight housing market was the foremost problem facing those employed by Portland's wartime industries; soon after workers began arriving, housing vacancy rates plummeted from 6 percent to just 2 percent, and it became apparent that the region's housing shortage amounted to a crisis. This problem was particularly acute for African Americans, who faced not only a limited housing supply but also legal and social restrictions on where they could live. At first, newly-arrived African Americans squeezed into Lower Albina and surrounding neighborhoods, sometimes into homes that had undergone internal conversions to accommodate more residents, and sometimes into trailers that were placed on residential lots. Both of these practices were authorized by Portland's War Code Housing Program, which temporarily altered housing codes in order to quickly increase housing supply. There is evidence that African American Portlanders participated in the program, such as Edwin and Eliza Kelley who placed a trailer on their residential lot in 1946.¹⁰⁰ As the war dragged on, Albina reached capacity and was unable to absorb the rapidly increasing population. Instead, many African American in-migrants made their homes in temporary wartime housing projects. These developments included Guild's Lake Courts and the City of Vanport, which was the largest federal housing project in the country at its completion in late 1942.¹⁰¹

Guild's Lake Courts

Portland was one of the last major American cities to establish a housing authority, despite the rise of homelessness and shantytowns that had occurred during the Great Depression. With the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, however, housing the massive influx of wartime in-migrants became an issue of patriotism, as well as a method of control over the settlement patterns of "Oakies," African Americans, and

⁹⁸ Craig Collisson, "Japanese American Wartime Incarceration in Oregon," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/japanese_internment/#.WrAZ_ujwaUk. Japanese Americans in Western Oregon were forced from their homes and relocated first to assembly centers and then to internment camps. Starting in May 1942, Portland's Japanese Americans were housed at the Pacific Livestock Exposition center in North Portland (now the Portland Exposition Center), where the maximum population reached 3,676. Most of these Portlanders were then incarcerated at the Minidoka War Relocation Center in Idaho beginning in August 1942. Internees from Hood River and southern Oregon were sent to Tule Lake in Northern California.

⁹⁹ "Compiled Report," Gov. Snell Records, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on Portland labor unions and African American workers during World War II.

¹⁰⁰ Kerrie Franey, "Early Densification in an Urban Center: Portland, Oregon and the War Code Housing Program," (terminal project, University of Oregon, 2019), 147; *Cornerstones of Community*, 113. Although *Cornerstones* lists the Kelley Family as occupying 3936 N Kerby Ave. from 1952-55, War Code Housing Permit Applications list the owner as E.J. Kelley in 1946. Eliza Kelley was born in Mobile, Alabama in 1852 and enslaved as a child; supposedly, she once served Abraham Lincoln. She came to Portland in 1944. The home at 3936 N Kerby Ave. was demolished for the creation of DeNorval Unthank City Park in 1969.

¹⁰¹ Carl Abbott, "Vanport," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vanport/#.WrA-dujwaUk>; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 67.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

others arriving in Portland to secure jobs in the shipyards and steel industries. HAP was established within a week of the attack, and within two years, public housing for 40,000 defense workers and their families had been constructed on twenty-five sites, including Guild's Lake Courts.¹⁰²

Between 1942 and 1943, the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) authorized and oversaw the construction of 2,606 temporary housing units at Guild's Lake Courts, a development located along the southwestern bank of the Willamette River in the area that is today Northwest Industrial and Slabtown. The low-lying site was an infilled riparian marsh, formerly known as Guild's Lake that was also the site of the 1905 Lewis and Clark Fair. When completed, the development included eight distinct housing developments (called "divisions" in plans) as well as five community buildings, five childcare centers, a grade school, and two fire stations.¹⁰³ Its peak population was approximately 10,000 residents in 1945.¹⁰⁴

Guild's Lake Courts was the only defense housing community in Portland city limits that accepted African American residents, and it was also first officially segregated community in the city.¹⁰⁵ The entire African American population of Guild's Lake Courts—about 2,000 residents—was concentrated into the two northernmost divisions, which contained only hastily-constructed, unelectrified multi-family housing.¹⁰⁶ Commonly known as the "Negro Section," these two divisions were set apart from the other sections of Guild's Lake Courts and served by their own dedicated community center. The only major facility that was integrated was the Guild's Lake School, completed in 1944 and serving a student body of approximately 600.¹⁰⁷

Vanport

The City of Vanport, the largest wartime housing project in America, was established with the express purpose of housing workers in the Kaiser shipyards. Located in Oregon midway between Portland and Vancouver, Washington, Vanport was bordered by the Columbia River to the north, Denver Avenue to the east, the Northern Pacific Railroad on the west, and the Kenton stockyards to the south; Henry Kaiser intentionally located the project outside of Portland city limits in order to avoid interacting with HAP, who were reticent to approve and fund a project that would encourage a significant increase in the city's African American population.¹⁰⁸ Working instead with the U.S. Maritime Commission, the Kaiser Corporation constructed 9,942 housing units in the summer and fall of 1942.¹⁰⁹ Tenants began occupying the prefabricated housing in December 1942, and nearly overnight Vanport became the second-largest

¹⁰² Tanya Lyn March, "Guild's Lake Courts: An Impermanent Housing Project" (Ph.D. dissertation, Portland State University, 2010), 89-90.

¹⁰³ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 261. One of these fire stations is extant at **4465 NW Yeon Ave.**; the other, which was a temporary station inside one of the community buildings, has been demolished.

¹⁰⁴ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 15, 108-109, 120, 183, 425.

¹⁰⁵ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 118-119, 167; Stuart McElderry, "Vanport Conspiracy Rumors and Social Relations in Portland," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 155.

¹⁰⁶ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 144, 418.

¹⁰⁷ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 209-210. Some students from the northern portion of the "Negro Section" were also bussed to Linnton School to avoid having to cross the railroad tracks that separated them from the school.

¹⁰⁸ William Toll, "War Housing and Vanport," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified May 1, 2019, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/war-housing-and-vanport/#.XdoAoC-ZOCQ>.

¹⁰⁹ Zita Podany, *Vanport* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2016), 41; Richard Sanders, "Housing Authority of Portland," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/housing_authority_of_portland/#.XdoBVi-ZOCQ. Although not involved in the initial construction of Vanport, HAP did eventually assume management of the project.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

city in Oregon. By spring 1945, the development was home to 30,842 residents, 6,317 of whom were African American.¹¹⁰

Although the Vanport's hastily-constructed buildings were relatively small and insubstantial plywood constructions, the city was a fully-functioning community complete with a post office, grocery stores, a movie theater, several schools, and sports and healthcare facilities. On paper, Vanport was an integrated community: African American residents could shop where they pleased and choose any seat in Vanport's movie theaters, and children attended fully-integrated schools and daycare programs. Vanport also employed African American teachers and law enforcement officers, practices that were rare in Portland at the time.¹¹¹ In reality, however, families did not have a free choice of housing units in Vanport. HAP assumed management of the project soon after it was constructed by the Kaiser Corporation, and African Americans were assigned housing on segregated streets. While public spaces remained officially "desegregated," African Americans encountered separate medical facilities, segregated recreational facilities, and a hostile police force.¹¹²

Despite the *de facto* segregation of Vanport and Guild's Lake Courts, these developments were unique in their diversity relative to the greater Portland-Vancouver area. The rapid influx of African American residents under dramatically-altered economic and social circumstances transformed Portland's demographic makeup and intensified existing racial tensions.¹¹³ Widespread anxiety among Whites regarding the swelling African American population even prompted Portland Mayor Earl Riley to declare in a newspaper article that "Portland can absorb only a minimum number of Negroes without upsetting the city's regular life."¹¹⁴ Commissioner J. E. Bennett publicly stated that it was better not to welcome African American workers, and Mayor Earl Riley agreed in private that the racial migration threatened Portland's "regular way of life."¹¹⁵

In general, White Portlanders looked forward to the end of the war and the return to pre-war racial norms, with most assuming that this would be precipitated by the exodus of the wartime African American migrants. Met with this unfriendliness, Portland's African American population fell from a peak of roughly 22,000 in 1944 to a census count of 9,529 in 1950, about five times the size of the pre-war total.¹¹⁶ For the African American population that had resided in Portland prior to the war, these newcomers represented a competing force for the limited resources and positions traditionally available to African Americans in Portland. Conversely and more importantly, they provided a new momentum, critical mass, and energy that eventually broke the racial boundaries that had constrained Portland's African American population for decades.

¹¹⁰ Quintard Taylor, "The Great Migration: The Afro-American Communities of Seattle and Portland during the 1940s," *Arizona and the West* 23, no. 2 (1981): 117.

¹¹¹ Abbott, "Vanport." See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for information on the region's earliest African American police officers.

¹¹² Sarah Griffith, "Vanport Residences, 1947," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2002, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/vanport-residences-1947/#.XdoohS-ZOb8>; Sanders, "Housing Authority of Portland."

¹¹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 66.

¹¹⁴ Rudy Pearson, "A Menace to the Neighborhood": Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-45," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 102, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 158-79.

¹¹⁵ Robbins, "African Americans and Women Workers in World War II."

¹¹⁶ Millner, "Blacks in Oregon"; Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portland's Expanded Postwar African American Community: 1945-1973

Year	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland Population
1940	305,394	1,931	0.629%
1950	373,628	9,529	2.550%
1960	372,676	15,637	4.196%
1970	382,619	21,572	5.638%

Source: Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

The end of World War II brought abrupt changes to nearly every aspect of American life. As veterans returned home, they married in unprecedented numbers and used educational benefits from the G.I. Bill to earn college degrees. Women left factory floors to return to a life of domesticity and to raise the first members of the postwar baby-boom generation. As war emergency housing was dismantled, White workers and their families settled in new suburban tract houses. Still restricted by discriminatory real estate practices, the impacts of redlining, and active resistance from Portland's majority White populace, African Americans crowded into the established Black neighborhoods in Albina. The city council passed a nondiscrimination ordinance for public accommodations in 1950, but voters repealed it, revealing that racial prejudice was widespread among the greater Portland populace. In 1955, the Realty Board acknowledged that its code of ethics still prohibited members from selling houses to "individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."¹¹⁷ This careful phrasing was a coded proscription against the sale of a dwelling in a predominately White neighborhood to a person of color.

Despite these ongoing challenges for Portland's rapidly-growing African American community, World War II marked a turning point in community composition and race relations in the city. In numerous ways, the expanded population failed to fit within the place previously allocated to African Americans in Portland life. Physically, the population had grown too large for all to live in Inner North and Northeast Portland. Moreover, those who had recently moved to Portland brought with them different cultural patterns, life experiences, coping techniques, and aspirations, thus challenging the previously-defined relationship between the races in Portland. These differences certainly disturbed the pre-war White population of Portland, forcing it to confront and adjust to uncomfortable new elements in racial dynamics. But the impact of these new realities also presented Portland's pre-war African American population with new challenges, sometimes welcomed and sometimes resisted. In general, however, African American Portlanders fought to retain and expand the social gains that had been made during the war.

The Vanport Flood and the Growth of Albina

As the war ended, the population of Guild's Lake Courts and the City of Vanport rapidly contracted. Most of the projects' White residents moved to permanent housing in Portland or returned to homes elsewhere in the United States; the population of Vanport fell from a wartime peak of 40,000 to approximately 18,500

¹¹⁷ Joshua Binus, "National Association of Real Estate Boards Code of Ethics," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified March 17, 2005, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/nareb-code-of-ethics/#.Xbvj6C-ZOIM>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

by 1948, and the population of Guild's Lake Courts was similarly reduced.¹¹⁸ HAP accelerated latter project's decline by relocating some families to other wartime housing developments (including Vanport), eager to redevelop the land for industrial use and return Portland to some semblance of its prewar status quo. The African American section of the project was apparently sold off in October 1945, a reaction to heightened racial tensions in Portland at the time.¹¹⁹

Because of discriminatory real estate practices, obstacles to securing home loans, the ongoing impacts of racially restrictive covenants, and outright animosity from many White Portlanders, African American residents of wartime housing projects were restricted in their ability to relocate after the war. Some moved to houses in Albina, but the limited area could not accommodate the vastly increased number of Portland's Black residents; as a result, the majority of the Vanport's African American residents were forced to remain in the project. Their cramped conditions in the hastily-built shelters, coupled with turbulent race relations and an increasingly assertive population, led Vanport residents to demand proper housing within Portland's city limits for those residing in the project after 1945. However, the city's White majority made it very clear that they had no interest in accommodating these requests and wanted African Americans who moved to the region during the war to leave. When it became obvious that Portland would have to allow many of the African American residents to remain, their settlement was still restricted to the Albina neighborhood in Northeast Portland. Many chose to remain in Vanport rather than crowd into Albina, although the project's plywood apartments had never been intended to serve as permanent housing.¹²⁰

Then, quite suddenly, Vanport all but disappeared. After unusually heavy spring rains, the banks of the Columbia River began to swell in May 1948; on Memorial Day weekend, the railroad embankment on the west end of the city collapsed, and all Vanport residents had to be evacuated. Most received a warning of only 10 to 40 minutes. In a single afternoon, the flooding river swept away the homes of an estimated 6,000 African Americans and destroyed the entire city. Fifteen residents were reported dead and seven missing, although by some estimates, the actual figure is much higher; several eyewitnesses told harrowing stories of "indistinguishable masses" in the water, "strewn with bedding, clothes—and what seemed to be bodies."¹²¹

Survivors sought refuge in temporary facilities with the help of non-profit organizations and generous Portlanders, but long-term solutions for housing the more than 18,000 displaced residents did not quickly materialize. Rehousing Vanport's residents of color, including African Americans and Japanese Americans, proved especially problematic within Portland's highly segregated neighborhood system. Many were put up at what was left of Guild's Lake Courts, either in vacant housing that had previously been reserved for White

¹¹⁸ March, "Guilds Lake Courts," 167.

¹¹⁹ March, "Guilds Lake Courts," 167; McElderry, "Vanport Conspiracy Rumors," 157-58. The immediate cause for the hasty sale appears to have been the fatal shooting of Ervin Jones, an African American man and a resident of Guild's Lake Courts, at the hands of a White Portland police officer in August 1945. In search of a murder suspect, a group of policemen stormed Jones's home in the middle of the night; the officers failed to identify themselves and had no warrant. Jones fired a warning shot at the ceiling upon finding the group of unknown assailants in his apartment, and he was shot by an officer. His death was ruled a justifiable homicide.

¹²⁰ Sura Rubenstein, "May 30, 1948 Flood of Change," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 24, 1998.

¹²¹ Leverett G. Richards, "Eyewitness from Airplane Sees City Die as Flood Crumbles Buildings at Vanport," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 31, 1948. One persistent allegation held that the Housing Authority of Portland had buried the bodies of flood victims in order to conceal a higher number of fatalities.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

residents or in temporary trailer housing, while others were crammed into vacant defense housing on Swan Island.¹²² Some left Portland altogether, moving back to their prewar homes or to nearby cities in Washington and Oregon.¹²³ Still others squeezed into Albina, where the African American population had already swelled from a pre-war population of approximately 1,600 to a postwar population of 4,500.¹²⁴ Albina managed to accommodate even more new residents following the flood, and it continued to grow as the primary location of Portland's African American community in the postwar years.

The Battle for Equal Housing: The Oregon Fair Housing Act of 1957

Beginning with the original Black exclusion laws and restrictions in the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850, attempts to control where and under what conditions African Americans could live in Oregon represented the most impactful institutional discriminatory act against African American residents. In the tumultuous years following World War II, African Americans looked towards establishing equal housing opportunities for themselves and other minorities. As school desegregation and bus boycott confrontations lit up the national scene, Oregon's African American population chafed under the restraints imposed by private prejudice and public real estate practices which prevented their economic resources and personal preferences from determining where they could live.

In the decade after the war, African Americans continued to find their housing choices limited to Inner North and Northeast Portland. Colloquially known as the "Freedom Area," African American residences were clustered in an area roughly bounded by NE Oregon Street to the south, NE Fremont Street to the north, the Willamette River to the west, and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard to the east.¹²⁵ Earlier African American residency was concentrated on NE Mallory and NE Rodney Avenues N Monroe, N Ivy, NE Ivy, NE Sacramento, NE San Rafael, and NE Tillamook streets. After World War II, as Albina's remaining White residents moved to other suburbs in and around Portland, the unspoken boundaries of the "Freedom Area" gradually expanded to accommodate the expanded postwar African American population, including those displaced by the Vanport Flood. In the 1940s and 1950s, the area within which African Americans could more easily purchase property included sections of N Commercial, N Gantenbein, N Haight, N Kerby, N Vancouver, N Williams, NE Garfield, and N Flint Avenues, and N Page, N Cook, NE Cook, and NE Hancock streets. By the early 1960s, 80 percent of Portland's African American population resided in Albina neighborhoods including Eliot, Irvington, Boise, King, Sabin, Humboldt, Walnut Park, Vernon, and Woodlawn.¹²⁶

¹²² Podany, *Vanport*, 122; March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 341-42.

¹²³ Vanessa Clemens, "Helen Butler Edited," transcript of an oral history conducted 2007 by Vanessa Clemens, Union County Oral Histories, Pierce Library, Eastern Oregon University, La Grande, OR, <https://library.eou.edu/ohgr/1C4F4E8A-3C05-466A-87FE-079434103630.htm>; Chris Peterson, "Carl Deiz – Oral History Interview," transcript of an oral history conducted May 30, 2012 by Chris Peterson, Oregon Multicultural Archives Oral History Collection, Portland, OR, <http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/multiculturalvoices/item/30716>; Dick Mason, "A Flood That Erased a City," *The Observer* (La Grande, OR), February 4, 2019. A small number of former Vanport residents are known to have relocated to La Grande, Oregon, in the wake of the flood.

¹²⁴ Harper et al., "History of the Albina Plan Area," 44.

¹²⁵ Hugh Scott, "Negroes Find Few Residences Outside 'Freedom Area,'" *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 10, 1953.

¹²⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, A225; Victoria Hensley, *What's in Walnut Park? Reconnaissance Level Survey Final Report*, (Portland, OR: Restore Oregon, 2017), 15-17; Ackerman, "Albina, Portland, Oregon (1870-)."

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

A small but increasing number of African American individuals and families were able to move out of Albina in the postwar years, breaking the “traditional” boundaries allocated to them and drawing increasingly negative attention as the debate over race and housing intensified. In 1953, the *Oregonian* published a series of articles that refuted the perceived negative impact of African American residency upon property values, crime rates, and neighborhood character. The articles featured African American families already living in majority-White neighborhoods, with the reassurance that these residents hadn’t precipitated an African American “invasion” or generated any negative consequences to White residents.¹²⁷ In the same year, this encouraging feature contrasted with another article headlined “Cross Marks Negro Lawn,”¹²⁸ which discussed the police investigation of a cross-burning at the Parkrose home of Charles Gragg at 11261 NE Knott St.¹²⁹ In 1954, both *The Oregonian* and African American newspaper the *Portland Challenger* reported the ordeal of Izella Kimmons, who received numerous telephone threats after she and her four young children moved into a rental house at **425 NE San Rafael St.**¹³⁰ Kimmons and her family quickly moved back to their former residence at 217 NE Weidler St. in Albina, where they remained until moving to North Portland in 1963.¹³¹

The *Oregonian* also openly discussed the long-denied real estate practice of restricting African American homebuyers to a particular geographic area. In 1949, a front-page article exposed the Portland Realty Board’s expulsion of Clarence E. Enders, a White real estate agent who sold a home at **1524 SE 32nd Pl.** to William “Tony” Anthony, an African American railroad steward, and his wife Marie Anthony, who was of Cherokee descent. The *Oregonian* article quoted the Realty Board’s letter of expulsion, which claimed that Enders had violated “both national and local realty board codes of ethics in the sale of southeast district property to other than Caucasian persons.”¹³² The Urban League protested the expulsion to no avail. The Anthony family remained on 32nd Place until at least 1965, then moved to **2011 NE Knott St.**¹³³

At last, after years of agitation, the Oregon legislature adopted its first fair housing legislation in 1957. The Oregon Fair Housing Act made it illegal for property owners receiving any government funding to discriminate “solely because of race, color, religion, or national origin” in the sale, lease, or rental of any “dwelling place for a person or family...in a building containing five or more such apartments or units.” In 1959, the law was amended to apply to any “person who, as a business enterprise, sells, leases or rents real property.”¹³⁴ As in the case of the 1953 Public Accommodations Act (see Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for additional background), approval of a new law did not mean instant access to choice housing for African Americans. In 1960, the *Oregon Journal* newspaper featured a set of articles that quoted Portland Mayor Terry Schruck as “shocked

¹²⁷ “African American Family in White Neighborhoods,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 14, 1953. See Context III, *Journalism*, for additional information about *The Oregonian* and its evolving coverage of the African American community during the period of significance of this MPD.

¹²⁸ “Cross Marks Negro Lawn,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 11, 1953.

¹²⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84. Charles Gragg was the son of Roy and Estella Gragg.

¹³⁰ “Threats Drove Them from Their Home,” *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), April 23, 1954; “Telephone Call Frightens Negro Owner, Tenant,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 10, 1954; J.V. Kimmons, interview by Catherine Galbraith. This house was moved in 1996 to 425 NE Tillamook St. to make way for the Albina Corner project, a mixed-use, low-income housing development at the corner of Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard and NE San Rafael Street.

¹³¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84.

¹³² “Realty Board Expels Agent in Sale to Non-Caucasians,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 13, 1949.

¹³³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84.

¹³⁴ “A Study of the Awareness of the Oregon Fair Housing Law and a Sampling of Attitudes toward Integrated Neighborhood Living,” May 1961, OHS Lib 301.4 L47s 1961, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, OR, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/fair-housing-in-oregon-study/#.XeNYpS2ZPVo>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

and embarrassed” over the burning of the partially-completed Parkrose home of Rowan Wiley, an African American waiter and Purple Heart veteran, under construction at **1630 NE 140th Ave.**¹³⁵ In 1961, LaVerne Bagley Brown filed a complaint with the Civil Rights Division after she was evicted from her apartment at 1906 NE Multnomah because of her race.¹³⁶ After moving from **8844 N Hamlin Ave.** to **2933 NE 16th Ave.** in 1965, John Whitesides, an African American department manager at Tektronix, and his wife Janet, a bookkeeper for Dr. DeNorval Unthank, received a torrent of hate letters leading to a police investigation.¹³⁷

Despite the intimidation and racism these families continued to suffer, the Oregon Fair Housing Act did remove the mantle of legality from those in Oregon who continued to racially discriminate in housing matters. Although many African Americans remained in Albina, the Fair Housing Act accelerated the rate at which people of color could emulate their White predecessors in the flight to newer, more desirable suburban neighborhoods. Fueled by the era’s predominant philosophical strategy to pursue integration into White society, African American suburban flight contributed to the steadily-growing problems of the African American community in Lower Albina. Those with the means to move away carried their professional and economic successes with them, thereby draining away resources, both individual and economic, from the African American community in Lower Albina.

Clearance and Urban Renewal Programs

In addition to the social issues surrounding race that emerged across America in the 1950s and 1960s, economic issues and infrastructure programs significantly impacted housing patterns of the country’s established African American communities. Following White residents’ surge to the suburbs in the early postwar years, American cities focused on rebuilding their urban centers in the late 1950s. “Urban renewal” programs combined federal grants and local investments to redevelop “blighted” urban centers with modern transportation infrastructure, commercial buildings, and public service facilities. Because communities of color inherited most urban centers as they aged and decayed, redevelopment strategies disproportionately impacted these populations. Older, close-in neighborhoods were torn down and replaced by the components of the public sector’s envisioned future of urban life—high rises, freeways, auditoriums, and recreation complexes—and displaced former residents were left to find housing and community elsewhere. In 1962, it was estimated that about 80 percent of Americans displaced by urban renewal were African Americans, and only 0.5 percent of total federal expenditures for urban renewal were spent on relocation.¹³⁸

In Portland, as in other major American cities, urban renewal programs and other redevelopment projects decimated the housing stock and commercial ventures that formed the heart of the city’s African American community. One after another, African American homes and businesses were destroyed to clear space for new development in Lower Albina. The Eliot Neighborhood, in particular, lost nearly half of its residents—most of whom were African American—to the Memorial Coliseum, Minnesota Freeway (I-5), and planned Emanuel Hospital Expansion projects in the 1960s and 1970s.¹³⁹ For African Americans and other minorities

¹³⁵ “Partially Completed Home Burned,” *The Oregon Journal* (Portland, OR), July 16, 1960. Despite the intimidations aimed at the Wileys, the family completed their home and settled at their new address.

¹³⁶ LaVerne Bagley Brown, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997. An Oregon Public Welfare Commission child supervisor, Bagley Brown had been the first African American to attend Marylhurst College. She was the daughter of Donald and Bessie Bagley.

¹³⁷ Janet Whitesides, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997.

¹³⁸ Russ P. Lopez, “Public Health, the APHA, and Urban Renewal,” *American Journal of Public Health* 99, no. 9 (September 2009): 1603-1607.

¹³⁹ Moreland, *The History of Portland’s African American Community*, 109.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

in mid-twentieth-century Portland, urban renewal and redevelopment projects consistently resulted in the displacement of families, the destruction of homes, and the eviction of businesses they owned and patronized. Demolished dwellings and commercial buildings were replaced, if at all, by facilities designed to serve more affluent and powerful Portland residents.¹⁴⁰

Displacement for Memorial Coliseum Construction

Public debate over the best location for Memorial Coliseum, a massive indoor sporting arena or “entertainment-recreation” (E-R) facility, began in the early 1950s. The Broadway-Steel Bridge site that was eventually selected never rose to prominence in any of the site studies completed by public agencies; the heavily-trafficked arterials along NE Broadway, N Williams Avenue, N Interstate Avenue, and NE Weidler Street were all recognized as barriers to easy access for the new facility. Some interest groups preferred a location in Southwest Portland, while others preferred a location in North Portland. Amid accusations of backroom deals and political corruption, the Broadway-Steel Bridge site was chosen not for its unique suitability but as a political compromise.¹⁴¹

Because the Broadway-Steel Bridge site was located in Lower Albina, the Memorial Coliseum project disproportionately impacted Portland’s African American community. 476 dwelling units lay in the path of construction, and 224 of these units were occupied by African Americans. This was at a time when the city’s entire African American population numbered between 9,500 and 15,500, amounting to 2.5 to 4.2 percent of the total Portland population.¹⁴² The clearance of the Broadway-Steel Bridge site resulted in the destruction of homes, businesses, and institutions and the displacement of more than a hundred African American families.¹⁴³ In April 1957, the *Oregonian* published a story profiling several of the approximately 400 displaced residents, including African American crane operator Clarence McFarland and his family. McFarland and his wife, who had five children at the time, had paid \$55 per month for a two-bedroom apartment at 1213 N. Benton Ave. but were now without a home. The family could not find comparable lodging at an affordable price, and, as Mrs. McFarland expressed, “there were so many places Negroes can’t live” in Portland.¹⁴⁴

In perhaps the ultimate disregard of community and neighborhood impact, the project’s demolition contractor announced that he would clear the Memorial Coliseum site in thirty working days and demanded that all tenants vacate the area within the specified time frame. No financial assistance was provided to renters who were forced to move, and loan assistance programs from the Housing Authority of Portland and the Federal Housing Authority were not offered until after the mandatory relocation date. The Portland Development Commission (PDC, now Prosper Portland) maintained that public funds could only be used for property acquisition, not relocation. Some displaced families left Portland entirely, while others scattered throughout the city into the already-crowded neighborhoods north of Broadway. Many were forced into debt to find new homes and business locations. When the loan program was finally established, reimbursement offered to homeowners was generally insufficient, and five condemnation suits were filed objecting to purchase price

¹⁴⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 104.

¹⁴¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 99.

¹⁴² Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38.

¹⁴³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 99.

¹⁴⁴ “Long Time Residents of E-R Site Reluctant to Leave; Others See Merit in Clearance,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 9, 1957. The McFarlands eventually moved to **36 NE Skidmore St.** and then **2521 N Williams Ave.**

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

offers. First to file was Mack Johnson, a Pullman porter living at 53 N McMillen St., who also owned property at 1461 and 1467 N Wheeler Ave. These lawsuits were not settled for more than a year.¹⁴⁵

Displacement for the Minnesota Freeway (I-5)

The siting of the Minnesota Freeway, the segment of I-5 that begins at the I-5/I-84 interchange and continues north to the Columbia River, was among the most controversial freeway projects in the state of Oregon. The engineering division of the Oregon State Highway Department began designing both this and the “East Bank Freeway,” which connects the junction of I-405 on the west side of the Willamette River with the I-5/I-84 interchange, in 1958. The initial plan for the two segments called for an alignment that hugged the west bank of the Willamette to the Steel Bridge, thence crossing over the river to Northeast Portland and following Interstate Avenue (the route of U.S. 99) across the Columbia River. Subsequent studies judged the Steel Bridge to be an inadequate crossing, proposing instead an alignment wherein I-5 would cross the Willamette over a new bridge (the Marquam Bridge) and follow either Greeley Avenue or Delaware Avenue through the western edge of the Overlook and Arbor Lodge neighborhoods in North Portland. Yet another proposed alignment, designed in 1959, shifted the northward stretch of the freeway east to Minnesota Avenue.¹⁴⁶

In early 1959, the Oregon State Highway Commission presented both the Delaware Avenue and Minnesota Avenue alignments to the public. At one meeting, more than 300 people came to voice their support or opposition to the two designs, or to suggest alternatives such as an elevated route above Interstate Avenue; attendance was “a near record for council chamber events,” according to *The Oregonian*. The City of Portland joined with the Highway Department in support of the Minnesota Avenue alignment, citing that it was three-tenths of a mile shorter and was estimated to cost approximately \$3 million dollars less than the Delaware Avenue option. The Highway Commission also contended that the Minnesota Avenue alignment would “cause less damage to property values” than any other option.¹⁴⁷

The Oregon State Highway Commission officially selected the Minnesota Avenue alignment in April 1959.¹⁴⁸ Whereas the Delaware Avenue alignment would have largely avoided Lower Albina, the Minnesota Avenue option bisected it. Altogether, the Minnesota Freeway dead-ended around two dozen east/west cross streets and resulted in the removal of approximately 180 homes, a disproportionate number of which were inhabited or owned by African American families. The State paid as little as \$5 for some of the houses and did not construct or subsidize the construction of replacement housing, asserting that there existed a sufficient amount of vacant and comparable housing stock nearby.¹⁴⁹ Although

¹⁴⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 100; “Resident of E-R Site Sues to Halt City Development,” *Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 25, 1957.

¹⁴⁶ Eliot Henry Fackler, “Protesting Portland’s Freeways: Highway Engineering and Citizen Activism in the Interstate Area,” (MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2009), 54-55; “Portland Citizens Divided on Minnesota, Delaware Avenue Freeway Routes,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 25, 1959.

¹⁴⁷ “Portland Citizens Divided on Minnesota, Delaware Avenue Freeway Routes,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 25, 1959.

¹⁴⁸ Herman Edwards, “State Selects North Portland Freeway Route,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 17, 1959.

¹⁴⁹ George Kramer, “The Interstate Highway System in Oregon: A Historic Overview,” prepared for the Oregon Department of Transportation (May 2020): 35-36. In 1960, several hundred residents living along Minnesota Avenue formed the Minnesota Property Owners Alliance to protest the proposed alignment; the organization was short-lived and apparently disbanded after only a few meetings. No transcripts were kept from these meetings and the racial composition of the group is unknown.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portland Mayor Terry Schruck and City Relocation Chief Joy O'Brien called for relocation assistance for displaced residents, the City ultimately failed to appropriate any funding.¹⁵⁰ More than 400 Portlanders were forced to relocate, without assistance.¹⁵¹ Many of the African Americans displaced by the freeway construction moved east, to the already-crowded area bounded by Broadway to the south, Fremont to the north, NE 7th to the east, and the new freeway to the west.¹⁵² Construction of the Minnesota Freeway was largely completed by 1963.¹⁵³

Displacement for Emanuel Hospital Expansion

In 1962, Portland's Emanuel Hospital notified the City that it was interested in expanding its campus in Inner North and Northeast Portland using federal Urban Renewal funding. Developed in conjunction with PDC, the proposed development program called for expanded hospital facilities, parking, offices, employee housing, and housing for low-income elderly persons on 55.3 acres of land in Albina's Eliot Neighborhood, bounded by N Williams Avenue to the east, N Russell Street to the south, and the Fremont Bridge interchange with Interstate 5 and N Kerby Avenue to the north and west.¹⁵⁴ The plan was approved in July 1970 following a single community meeting. A group of residents led by African American Ina Warren formed the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association (EDPA) and called for the City to "see that those displaced can move with dignity and without suffering financial loss"; their protests received no official feedback from the City or PDC, however, in November 1970, the EDPA submitted a legal brief challenging PDC's relocation plan. The EDPA's activism ultimately resulted in the Replacement Housing Agreement, which stated that federally assisted low- to moderate-income housing should be constructed to offset demolitions.¹⁵⁵

Like the Memorial Coliseum project, the Emanuel Hospital urban renewal program disproportionately impacted African American Portlanders. The hospital itself purchased and demolished 101 properties in the redevelopment zone between January 1963 and October 1969; although no demographic information exists regarding these privately-purchased properties, a majority were likely owned or inhabited by African American families, individuals, and businesses. PDC subsequently purchased and cleared another 188 properties between 1971 and 1973, including 158 that were residential in nature and 30 that were commercial properties. 74 percent of the households displaced were African American.¹⁵⁶ The home of Ina Warren, founder of the EDPA, was one of many to be demolished. Warren and her husband Leo had come to Portland in 1948; the Emanuel Hospital expansion forced the couple from 312 N Cook St. to **6133 NE 8th Ave.** The home of Nellie Owens, 1958 NAACP "Grandmother of the Year," at 111 N Fargo St. was also demolished.¹⁵⁷

To the frustration of the community that it had displaced, the Emanuel Hospital urban renewal program was halted in 1973 following federal budget cuts. Entire blocks that had been cleared of dwellings and businesses sat vacant and undeveloped and remained so for decades. Worse, the low-income housing promised under

¹⁵⁰ Fackler, "Protesting Portland's Freeways: Highway Engineering and Citizen Activism in the Interstate Area," 55-56.

¹⁵¹ Kramer, "The Interstate Highway System in Oregon: A Historic Overview," 36.

¹⁵² Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 104.

¹⁵³ Kramer, "The Interstate Highway System in Oregon: A Historic Overview," 36.

¹⁵⁴ Jeana Woolley, "Reconciliation Project: The Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project," (Portland, OR: City of Portland Housing Bureau, 2012), 1.

¹⁵⁵ Casey Parks, "Fifty years later, Legacy Emanuel Medical Center attempts to make amends for razing neighborhood," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), September 22, 2012; Woolley, "Reconciliation Project," 2.

¹⁵⁶ Woolley, "Reconciliation Project," 1-3.

¹⁵⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 103.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

the EDPA's hard-won Replacement Housing Agreement was never provided.¹⁵⁸ Ina Warren later reflected, "...if your life's investment was smashed to splinters by a bulldozer so make room for a hospital, you could at least feel decent and perhaps tolerable about it, but to have it all done for nothing! Well, what is there to feel?"¹⁵⁹ The Emanuel Hospital project was regarded by Albina residents and by many City officials as one of the worst applications of urban renewal in midcentury Portland. As the last of the mid-twentieth century urban renewal programs to substantially impact the African American community in Lower Albina, the 1973 end date of the Emanuel Hospital project also marks the end of the period of significance for this MPD.

The Federal War on Poverty and Evolving Neighborhood Activism

In the 1960s, the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson introduced an expansive program of social-welfare legislation intended to help end poverty in the United States.¹⁶⁰ The War on Poverty, as it came to be known, provided both funding and a patriotic impetus for community organizing, and in Portland, it laid the groundwork for strong neighborhood activism for years to come. One of its program elements, the Model Cities Program, was specifically focused on developing innovative antipoverty programs, and it included a federal urban aid program that had positive impacts across a large section of North and Northeast Portland. Community organization under the War on Poverty and Model Cities Programs challenged class and racial biases in Portland programs while building community leadership capacity in the Albina neighborhoods.¹⁶¹

The Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project and Albina Citizens War on Poverty Committee

By 1960, community resistance to urban renewal programs was gaining strength in Inner North and Northeast Portland. The Central Albina Study, an urban renewal clearance program proposed for the area between Broadway, Fremont Street, Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, and Interstate Avenue, was under development by PDC in the late 1950s and looked to be disastrous for Albina residents. PDC's report, finally published in late 1962, described the area as "in the advanced stages of urban blight" and suggested that its freeway and arterial access made the area "unusually well suited to transportation, distribution, and service industries."¹⁶² The plan area housed a population of 31,500 people, including 12,544 African Americans—80 percent of Portland's total African American population at the time.¹⁶³ Had it been implemented, approximately 1,400 African American families would have been displaced from their homes.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 103; Craig Wollner, John Provo, and Julie Schablitsky, *Brief History of Urban Renewal in Portland, Oregon* (Portland, OR: Prosper Portland, 2004), 12.

¹⁵⁹ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 140.

¹⁶⁰ The War on Poverty was centered on several major pieces of legislation: the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which established the Office of Economic Opportunity, Job Corps, the VISTA program, the federal work-study program and a number of other initiatives; the Food Stamp Act of 1964, which made the food stamps program a permanent fixture of the American welfare system; the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which established the Title I program subsidizing school districts with a large share of students living below the poverty line; the Social Security Amendments of 1965, which created Medicare and Medicaid and expanded Social Security benefits; and the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, which authorized the Model Cities Program.

¹⁶¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 65.

¹⁶² Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 111; Portland City Planning Commission, "Central Albina Study: A Unit of the Portland Comprehensive Development Plan, November 1962" (Portland, OR: Portland City Planning Commission, 1962).

¹⁶³ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 110.

¹⁶⁴ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 113.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

In reaction to the proposed redevelopment program, Albina residents began to organize. In 1958, the Albina Neighborhood Council, a multiracial advocacy organization including clergymen, business professionals, and other interested Albina residents, began meeting to discuss the area's needs and to explore possible solutions to ongoing problems.¹⁶⁵ In August 1960, members of the Council met with the PDC to request assistance in securing federal funding for an "urban renewal conservation and rehabilitation program," and the PDC agreed. The Albina Neighborhood Improvement Committee (ANIC) was formed two months later, and together with PDC, the committee submitted the "Survey and Planning Application for the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project" to Portland City Council and then the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency (now the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). Approval was granted on October 12, 1961, and the project officially commenced.¹⁶⁶ An ANIC field office was opened in a house at **3726 N Kerby Ave.** to help facilitate project implementation.

The Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project was the first urban renewal project in Northeast Portland to focus on neighborhood rehabilitation rather than redevelopment. The project area included thirty-five city blocks bounded by N Fremont Street, N Skidmore Street, N Vancouver Avenue, and the alley between Albina and Mississippi avenues, and it contained 755 dwelling units and a population that was 54 percent African American. Citizens rehabilitated more than 300 dwellings and performed neighborhood improvements including tree planting and the establishment of Unthank Park.¹⁶⁷ Many Albina residents considered the project a success, and in 1967, more than 1,000 people petitioned Portland City Council to extend the project south of N Fremont Avenue. Because the City did not foresee residential potential in this part of Portland, the request was denied. However, in 1968, the project's area was slightly expanded to include 13.5 blocks north of N Skidmore Street.¹⁶⁸

In addition to their work with the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, the Albina Neighborhood Council also helped establish a local "War on Poverty" committee to secure neighborhood improvement funds from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The OEO had been created by Congress in 1964 to lead the charge in the federal War on Poverty. The Albina Neighborhood Council developed a proposal to secure OEO funding, and in October 1964, an Albina Community Action Plan was created. In February 1965, the Albina Citizens War on Poverty Committee (ACWPC) was formally named and recognized as the official representative for OEO programs in Albina. A new Neighborhood Service Center was opened at 59 NE Stanton St. with African American attorney Mayfield Webb as its first Executive Director. Some of the programs which operated out of the center were a free legal services

¹⁶⁵ City Club of Portland, "Report on Urban Renewal in Portland," *Portland City Club Bulletin* 336 (July 1971): 40; Leanne Serbulo, "Small Steps on the Long Journey to Equality: A Timeline of Post-Legislation Civil Rights Struggles in Portland," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 379.

¹⁶⁶ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 115; "Portland Development Commission (PDC) - Archival - Subject Files - Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project Fact Sheet," December 13, 1961, Record No. AF/186773, The City of Portland eFiles, Portland, OR, <https://efiles.portlandoregon.gov/record/9301929>.

¹⁶⁷ "A2010-003.2403 : Lula Crane and Reverend Roosevelt Rogers planting tree," March 31, 1964, Record No. AP/61635, The City of Portland eFiles, Portland, OR, <https://efiles.portlandoregon.gov/record/9219481>; "A2010-003.3543 : John Kenward, Robert Perron and Herman Plummer Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project (ANIP) project manager with model of Unthank Park," December 31, 1966, Record No. AP/57743, The City of Portland eFiles, Portland, OR, <https://efiles.portlandoregon.gov/record/8154895>.

¹⁶⁸ Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, *Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, Portland, Oregon* (Portland, OR: Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, 1962): 2; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 115-117.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

program, a family counseling service and parenthood program, the Urban League Job Development and Training Program, and various Housing Department programs.¹⁶⁹

The Model Cities Program

A complex parallel to local urban renewal decisions and other War on Poverty programming in Portland was the federally-funded attempt to create a "Model City" in Inner North and Northeast Portland in 1967. The national Model Cities Program, initiated in 1966, sought to remedy urban decay and poverty with innovative services and public improvements. The boundaries of Portland's Model City area included the Albina neighborhoods of Eliot, Irvington, Boise, King, Sabin, Humboldt, Vernon, and Woodlawn, all of which had significant African American populations at the time. The program emphasized the grassroots involvement of community residents in decision-making and project design activities.

Although well-intentioned, this approach to community development would not produce lasting solutions to fundamental problems in the community. One major deterrent to genuine grassroots cooperation was the temptation to compete for control over the sizable pots of federal money that were made available to project participants. Other barriers to long-term success were the techniques of control that the traditional political power structure continued to exercise over decisions regarding objectives and expenditures.¹⁷⁰ While the Model Cities approach itself did not solve the complex problems of a besieged community, however, it did involve numerous African American Portlanders and spurred many to greater civic involvement. For example, Charles Jordan, who was the fourth Director for Portland's Model Cities Program and the first African American to hold the position, became the first African American on the Portland City Council when he was elected in 1974.¹⁷¹ African American Portlanders such as Jordan demonstrate a momentum shift within Portland's African American community in the late 1960s and 1970s, as the community as a whole gained representation within local politics and achieved new inroads in the fight against discriminatory policies and programs.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Steven Reed Johnson, "The Myth and Reality of Portland," in *The Portland Edge: Challenges and Successes in Growing Communities*, ed. Connie P Ozawa (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2004), 107; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 119.

¹⁷⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 105. 51.

¹⁷¹ Anna Griffin, "Charles Jordan remembered: Portland's first African-American commissioner and longtime parks director was 'a giant in this city,'" *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 10, 2019. Jordan's home of the era is extant at **1830 NE Klickitat St.**

¹⁷² See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for additional information on the Model Cities Program and the ways in which it galvanized Portland's African American community.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Changing of the Guard in Portland's African American Community: The 1970s and Beyond

Year	Portland Population	Portland African American Population	African Americans as a Percentage of Total Portland Population
1970	382,619	21,572	5.638%
1980	366,383	27,734	7.570%
1990	437,319	33,530	7.667%
2000	529,121	35,115	6.636%
2010	583,775	35,667	6.110%

Source: Campbell Gibson 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, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), Table 38.

The period of significance for this document ends in 1973 with the conclusion of the Emanuel Hospital expansion project, the last major urban renewal program to significantly impact the African American community in Albina. Later in this decade, as Portland's population and business shifted toward the suburbs, the city experienced a generational shift of leadership and a revolution in political values. Years of community activism fostered by neighborhood groups and the Model Cities Program led to the creation of the Office of Neighborhood Associations in 1974 and substantial public investment in the viability of older neighborhoods. Also in 1974, the decision to cancel the so-called Mount Hood Freeway through Southeast Portland saved half a dozen neighborhoods from destruction and reflected a significant shift in Portland's application of urban renewal programming.¹⁷³ The widespread clearance that devastated the African American community in Albina during the 1960s and early 1970s would not be repeated in Portland's later urban renewal programs.

In many aspects, recent decades have been somewhat positive for the Portland area. After severe economic recession in the 1980s, the metropolitan economy has boomed, first with electronics and high-tech manufacturing and then with related fields like software and health research. Portland State University and Oregon Health and Science University grew substantially in the late twentieth century, and since the 1990s, the area has attracted more than its proportionate share of young college graduates, seeding the economy and earning Portland a national reputation as a progressive city. Portland has also become increasingly diverse with regard to race and ethnicity, as it has welcomed a new wave of Eastern European immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Asian immigration from Vietnam, Korea, India, and China, and an increasingly large Latinx population.¹⁷⁴ The African American population of the city has

¹⁷³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 65; Val Ballestrem, "Mount Hood Freeway," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 1, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/mt_hood_freeway/#.XaLL3i-ZPow. It should be noted that the neighborhoods that would have been directly impacted by the proposed Mt. Hood Freeway were predominantly inhabited by White residents. Existing research has not revealed a definitive link between the neighborhoods' racial makeup and the decision to cancel the freeway, but it may be postulated that White Portlanders in these areas were socially and financially better-positioned to protest urban renewal programs than Black Portlanders and other residents of the less-affluent Albina neighborhoods bulldozed for Memorial Coliseum, Interstate 5, and the Emanuel Hospital expansion. Factors leading to the decision to cancel the freeway included new federal environmental legislation, which led to the creation of an environmental impact study critiquing the suitability of the proposed construction; a new generation of public officials with an interest in mass transit; and grassroots activists who raised legal oppositions.

¹⁷⁴ In the 2010 U.S. Census, 72.2 percent of people living in Portland were identified as "White alone, not Hispanic or Latino." 9.4 percent were listed as Hispanic or Latino, 7.1 percent as Asian, 1 percent as American Indian or Alaskan

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

remained relatively small, numbering 36,695 persons or 6.3 percent of Portland's total population as of the 2010 census.¹⁷⁵

The reality of Portland's growing population and tight housing market has heavily impacted the city's African American community. The historically Black neighborhoods of Albina had already experienced the impacts of massive land clearance from the late 1950s into the 1970s, followed by disinvestment in the poor economic years of the 1980s.¹⁷⁶ In the first part of the twenty-first century, this area of the city has experienced a large influx of relatively young, affluent White residents, leading to gentrification and displacement that has again pushed the city's African American population northward and eastward. Where there were three majority-African American census tracts in Inner North and Northeast Portland in 2000, there are now none within Portland city limits.¹⁷⁷ The realities of displacement, observed at so many points in the community's history, continue to shape African American settlement patterns in Portland even today.

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Due to the pervasive impact of themes described in Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, nearly all of the property types described in Section F are likely to reflect this context to some degree. However, resources significant for their association with Context I are mostly likely to belong to Property Type I, *Residences*, and Property Type IX, *Historic Districts*. Additionally, resources significant for their association with Context I—especially those dating to the earliest years of the period of significance—may belong to Property Type VII, *Sites (Archaeological)*. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD. Refer to Section F, *Property Types*, for additional information regarding properties' potential eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

Native, 0.5 percent as Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, 4.2 percent as another race not listed, and 4.7 as two or more races.

¹⁷⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, "Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010," *American Fact Finder*, accessed November 17, 2019, <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>.

¹⁷⁶ During the 1980s, the City of Portland targeted neglected buildings in "blighted" areas for demolition. One example was a multifamily building at 234-236 NE Sacramento St., which was declared a public nuisance by the Portland City Council in 1982 and demolished in 1984. The forced demolition and assessment of demolition fees was objected to by the property's African American owner, Julia Davis, in a series of correspondence from the period (City Ordinance 153854 [September 29, 1982], Record AD/6918, City of Portland eFiles, Portland, OR).

¹⁷⁷ Portland State University Center for Population Research, *2000 and 2010 Comparison Profile: Census 2000 Geography, Multnomah County Census Tracts* (Portland, OR: Portland State University Center for Population Research, 2010), https://www.pdx.edu/sites/www.pdx.edu.prc/files/Multnomah_CT2000.pdf. The three majority African American census tracts in 2000 were Multnomah County tracts 22.01, 34.01, and 34.02 (the area roughly bounded by Interstate 5 to the west, NE Killingsworth Street to the north, Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard to the east, and NE Russell Street to the south).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT II: BUSINESS AND EMPLOYMENT

Summary

Although Oregon was admitted to the Union as a free state in 1859, most early White settlers viewed Black men and women with a sense of racial superiority. The exclusion laws of the 1840s suggest that Black settlers, both free and enslaved, were widely regarded as a threat to social and economic security in the predominantly White state. Black Americans who did make their homes in early Oregon struggled to acquire land and an independent income; they were invariably relegated to menial, low-paying service positions as janitors, bootblacks, cooks, or domestic servants. These were positions that a majority of White Oregonians regarded as appropriate for a demographic that was, until 1865, legally enslaved in a large portion of the United States.

With the arrival of the railroad system, many African American men in Portland and the broader United States were able to secure more stable, higher-paying service positions with railroad companies and associated hospitality industry. Portland's African American workforce slowly built up capital, and with it the ability to own, operate, and patronize Black-owned businesses. Because racial discrimination limited African Americans' ability to frequent many types of White-owned establishments in early Portland, the city's Black entrepreneurs created thriving parallel industries in hospitality, dining, retail, and professional services. These businesses were necessarily located at the geographical heart of Portland's Black community, which was centered first on Union Station, the city's major employer of African American men, and later in the Albina area of Inner North and Northeast Portland. A small but vital professional class also emerged in the first three decades of the twentieth century, introducing Portland's first African American doctors, dentists, and lawyers.

The Great Depression forced many of the early Black-owned small businesses to shutter, and many African Americans employed by the city's dominant White-owned industries were replaced with unemployed White workers. The outbreak of World War II and Portland's growth as a wartime production center not only put Black Portlanders back to work, but attracted up to 20,000 new African American in-migrants. Of those who entered the wartime labor force in Portland, the vast majority worked in Kaiser Corporation shipyards, where they faced systematized discrimination at the hands of Whites-only unions. Wartime labor shortages and production industry demands guaranteed jobs for African Americans, but even federal action to dispel discriminatory employment practices did not ensure equal opportunity for African American men and women seeking skilled positions.

The end of the war and the curtailing of shipyard production led to widespread unemployment in Portland's newly-expanded African American community, which stabilized at around five times its prewar population. Many returned to service positions with White-owned businesses, but these were initially unwilling to absorb the significant number of Black Portlanders seeking work. Aided by job placement services provided by the Urban League of Portland and encouraged by the passage of Oregon's Fair Employment Practices Act in 1949, African Americans gradually broke barriers to employment in various previously White-dominated industries and organizations. In the early postwar period, the range of careers available to Black Portlanders expanded to include civil service appointments and skilled labor positions that had once been reserved for White applicants alone.

Black-owned small business was also revived by the influx of African American in-migrants during World War II. As the majority of Portland's African American community shifted to the Albina neighborhoods of Inner North and Northeast Portland, Black-owned and -operated businesses proliferated along N Interstate Avenue, NE Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, and N Williams Avenue in particular. The location of these business ventures reflects the ongoing prejudice that African American Portlanders faced with regard to public accommodations, even as their successes demonstrate the ambitions and acumen of local Black entrepreneurs.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The business aspirations and compounded economic gains of Portland's postwar African American community eventually led to the creation of the city's first Black-owned commercial bank, the Freedom Bank of Finance. The bank was an explicitly commercial venture with the express intention of providing equal access to financial services for African American Portlanders, including those attempting to launch business ventures within the local community. The Freedom Bank of Finance, later the American State Bank, was a visible symbol of the economic agency of Portland's African American community and a capstone on decades of advancement in the areas of employment and entrepreneurialism.

African American Employment Opportunities in Early Portland: 1851-1905

Although farming and ranching were the basis of the economy in early Oregon, the Black exclusion laws of the 1840s and discriminatory stipulations in the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 generally prevented Black Americans from establishing profitable agricultural enterprises in the Oregon Territory. Black immigrants who defied the exclusion laws and settled in early Oregon therefore gravitated toward urban centers like Portland, where economic opportunities were more varied. With the notable exception of merchants Abner and Isaac Francis, little is known about the entrepreneurial efforts of the Black urban workforce in early Portland.¹⁷⁸ Instead, the documentary record indicates that most African Americans found employment in service to White settlers. In nineteenth-century Portland, African American women were almost exclusively employed as domestics, laundresses, and cooks in wealthy White households, while men typically found work as janitors, bootblacks, stable hands, coachmen, cooks, and personal servants.¹⁷⁹ Although other West Coast port cities commonly employed Black men at the waterfront, few if any African Americans worked as longshoremen, stevedores, or dockers in early Portland because the city's waterfront industries employed a nepotistic, "brother-in-law" system of recruitment that restricted employment to White persons, mostly of Canadian, Scandinavian, English, or German descent.¹⁸⁰

Many of the service positions available to African American men in late nineteenth-century Portland were associated with railroad and related hospitality industries. This was a nationwide pattern that began soon after the completion of the First Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, when Chicago industrialist George Pullman and his Pullman Car Company instituted a policy of utilizing African American men almost exclusively as porters on their sleeping cars. Pullman preferred hiring recently-emancipated African American men because, in his estimation, they were likely to be skilled in service and willing to accept low wages; his hiring preference became an unofficial rule, and generations of African American men worked for the Pullman Company and its competitors through the mid-twentieth century. Although their pay was low by the standard of the day, employment as a Pullman porter was one of the most lucrative and highly-respected careers available to Black men at the time. These positions were generally coveted among members of the African American community, as they offered a reliable income, opportunity for travel, and a career free from heavy manual labor.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ For additional information on the Francis brothers, see the Historical Background, *Context I: Settlement Patterns*, and *Context VII: Civil Rights*.

¹⁷⁹ Quintard Taylor, "African American Men in the American West, 1528-1990," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 569 (May 2001): 109; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 12.

¹⁸⁰ William W. Pilcher, *The Portland Longshoremen: A Dispersed Urban Community* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 12-13, 68-69.

¹⁸¹ William G. Robbins, "Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2014, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/political-and-economic-culture-1870-1920/railroads-race-and-the-transformation-of-oregon/#.Xb34Yy-ZPVo>; Larry Tyre, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the*

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

When Portland was linked to the national railroad network in 1883, a number of new Black in-migrants were attracted to the city because of the vocational opportunities that the railroad offered: between 1880 and 1890, the total African American population of the city increased from 487 to 1,186.¹⁸² Black men in Portland found work with the railroads as porters and also as dining car waiters, mail clerks, and “red caps” (baggage handlers).¹⁸³ Others were employed by the hotel industry, which had grown in the late nineteenth century to accommodate Portland’s increasing rail traffic. One of the city’s largest and most significant employers of African American hotel workers was the Portland Hotel, a full-block building in downtown Portland constructed by railroad magnate Henry Villard in the 1880s.¹⁸⁴ Like George Pullman, Villard sought to staff his establishment with recently emancipated Black Americans from the South. Villard hired John C. Logan from Columbia, South Carolina, to serve as the hotel’s head waiter, and Logan in turn recruited other African American employees from his state, including brothers Edward and William Rutherford. When the Portland Hotel opened in 1890, seventy-five African American men recruited from North and South Carolina were employed by Villard as waiters, private barbers, and bellmen.¹⁸⁵

While a few other Portland hotels and gentlemen’s clubs followed Villard’s lead in hiring African American waitstaff (the Seward Hotel, the Hotel Cornelius), the Portland Hotel remained the only major hotel employing African American porters and waiters at this time.¹⁸⁶ Despite the limited range of positions and advancement opportunities that the arrangement offered, it was accepted by Black hotel employees even as it reinforced their White clients’ notions of superiority and non-White subservience. For African American men who were excluded by law and custom from other avenues to economic success and security, the financial rewards and superior working conditions of the hospitality industry made such positions invaluable.¹⁸⁷

Hospitality careers afforded African American men both financial security and relative prestige within the Black community of Portland. In some cases, they used their new economic and social status to advance greater employment opportunity for other African American Portlanders. In 1892, a group of Portland Hotel employees formed the New Port Republican Club primarily to support the reelection of President Benjamin Harrison, but they also endorsed an entire slate of African American candidates for employment

Making of the Black Middle Class (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 1-3; Moreland, *The History of Portland’s African American Community*, 12.

¹⁸² Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38. Portland was connected national railroad network when Northern Pacific completed its transcontinental route at Independence Gulch, Montana. The first transcontinental train on the new line arrived in Portland on September 11, 1883.

¹⁸³ Moreland, *The History of Portland’s African American Community*, 12; Robbins, “Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon.”

¹⁸⁴ The Portland Hotel is no longer extant. It was located in downtown Portland between SW 6th Avenue, Broadway, Morrison Street, and Yamhill Street (now the location of Pioneer Courthouse Square).

¹⁸⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076, 12.

¹⁸⁶ “Digest of City Club Report, The Negro in Portland - July, 1945,” Portland City Club Report, 1945, Box 3, Folder 3, Gov. Snell Records, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Documents/life-race3.pdf>.

¹⁸⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 15.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

in Portland's local government.¹⁸⁸ Although three out of the four candidates they supported were denied positions, they were successful on one count. Through their efforts, Moody E. Scott was hired as a typist clerk at the Multnomah County auditor's office, becoming the first African American woman in public service in Portland. 1894 brought additional successes, as African Americans George Hardin and John Harry Hooper were hired as patrol drivers for the Portland Police Bureau. Both were laid off within a year, ostensibly due to the effects of the economic depression that had started in 1893, but Hardin would persist in his desire to serve on the force. He was finally hired as Multnomah County's first African American sheriff's deputy in 1915.¹⁸⁹

Black-owned Small Business in Early Portland

Portland's greater African American community also benefitted from the city's growing number of Black hotel employees and railroad porters, who used the economic rewards of their stable, relatively well-paid positions to establish and patronize emerging Black-owned businesses. In at least one instance, a group of African Americans working in the hospitality industry pooled their resources to increase their investment capacity; of the eight men who formed the "Enterprise Investment Company" in the early twentieth century, seven were employed by the Portland Hotel. In 1901, the Enterprise company put up a capital investment of \$10,000 to purchase property and construct a building at 1018 N Larrabee Ave. The building was completed in 1903, and by 1907, the value of the company's investments had grown to \$13,500. The building was home to the Enterprise Lodge of Masons, one of Portland's first African American fraternal organizations, and hosted formal dances for members of the local Black community.¹⁹⁰

Most other early Black-owned businesses were smaller in scale, and they appear to have emerged primarily to serve other African Americans, who were restricted from patronizing White-owned restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, and entertainment halls.¹⁹¹ For this reason, Black-owned and -operated business in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portland were typically located near Union Station (**800 NW 6th Ave.**), Portland's major employer of Black men and the center of the city's emerging African American community during the period.¹⁹²

In this environment, early Black-owned establishments such as William Brady's tailoring shop (727 SW Morrison St.), the Arcadia Saloon (NW 4th Avenue and Everett Street), and the Enterprise Investment Company Building (1018 N Larrabee St.) all provided services that were generally denied to African American Portlanders by the city's dominant White power structure. There may have been instances, however, in which Black-owned businesses were patronized by members of the White community: one

¹⁸⁸ See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for additional information on the New Port Republican Club and other African American advocacy organizations.

¹⁸⁹ J.D. Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland, Oregon* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 88-91. Hardin served as a sheriff's deputy until 1926, at which time he joined the Multnomah County jail unit. He continued in this position until his death in 1938.

¹⁹⁰ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 52; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 18, 51; McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 113. Enterprise Hall is not listed in the City Directory of 1910 and may have been sold before the end of the decade. See Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, for additional information on African American fraternal organizations in Portland.

¹⁹¹ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 54.

¹⁹² See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on the geographical dispersion of the African American community in early Portland.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

example is that of the horseshoeing shop of Nelson McBrien and Cubet Crawford (1315 SW Naito Pkwy.), which held a contract to shoe horses for Portland's police and fire departments.¹⁹³

Growth of African American Business in the Early Twentieth Century: 1905-1930

The Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair of 1905 marks a major inflection point in the history of Portland, and, more specifically, in the history of Black employment in the city. In hosting the Lewis and Clark Fair, Portland leaders hoped to establish the city as a major West Coast commercial center ripe for outside investment. The fair attracted nearly 1.6 million visitors to the city between June 1 and October 5, 1905, and triggered a surge of growth that raised the city's total population from 90,426 people in 1900 to 207,214 people in 1910.¹⁹⁴ The vast majority of these new residents were White, with the African American population of the city growing by fewer than 150 people in the same ten-year period; nevertheless, Portland's overall population increase during the first decade of the twentieth century had a profound impact on African American employment and industry. The influx of new residents created a strong demand for employees in the service industry, including roles that were historically filled by African Americans. Expanded employment opportunities provided financial stability for an increased number of Black Portlanders and enabled more and more African American entrepreneurs and professionals to establish their own business ventures in the growing city. In 1907, the Black-owned *New Age* newspaper celebrated the proliferation of African American enterprise in the early twentieth century, writing: "We find barbershops, grocery stores, restaurants, tailor shops, cafes, boarding and rooming houses, furniture stands, laundries, etc., all being run by Afro-Americans, and comparing favorably with any like establishments in the city."¹⁹⁵

African American Entrepreneurialism and the Golden West Hotel

As in the late nineteenth century, the new Black-owned businesses that proliferated after the Lewis and Clark Fair were primarily (perhaps exclusively) patronized by other Black Portlanders. Segregation led to the creation of flourishing Black industries that paralleled those operated and patronized by White Portlanders. This phenomenon is best illustrated by the Golden West Hotel (**707 NW Everett St.**), which was founded by African American entrepreneur and Tennessee native William D. Allen in 1906. The hotel served an entirely Black, predominantly male clientele and provided both short- and long-term lodging for patrons who, because of their race, would be denied accommodations at the city's White-owned hotels.¹⁹⁶

The Golden West Hotel was Allen's second business venture, the first being a Portland restaurant named the Climax Café. After marrying Lillian Medley in 1905, the Allens together opened the Golden West Hotel to serve African American railway porters, cooks, barbers, waiters, and other visitors to Portland.¹⁹⁷ The Golden West included 100 hotel rooms and ground-floor commercial spaces for local Black-owned businesses; in this way, Allen's hotel served both out-of-town guests and Portland residents alike. In the

¹⁹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 17; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 49-50.

¹⁹⁴ Abbott, "Lewis and Clark Centennial."

¹⁹⁵ "A visit to several business enterprises..." *The New Age* (Portland, OR), March 2, 1907. See Context III, *Journalism*, for more information about *The New Age* and other African American newspapers.

¹⁹⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 32-33; *Polk's Portland City Directories*.

¹⁹⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 32. The Allens lived at **1926 NE 40th Ave.** in 1916 and had three children together. The oldest, William Duncan, Jr., graduated from Oberlin College; by 1930, he was on the faculty at Howard University's Music Department and had performed at Carnegie Hall. The Allens' youngest son, Robert, attended college at Howard University and the couple's daughter, Nellie, attended Oberlin College.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

early twentieth century, small businesses housed within the Golden West included Richardson's Confectionery and Fountain Lunch, operated by former expressman Erastus Richardson; A.G. Green's Candy Shop, an ice cream parlor and confectionery; the Golden West Athletic Club, which was operated by George Moore and featured amenities like a Turkish bath and gymnasium; and the Golden West Barbershop operated by Waldo Bogle, who was a second-generation barber from a prominent Black pioneering family in Walla Walla, Washington.¹⁹⁸

For a quarter-century, Golden West Hotel served as a hub of Black business enterprise and a center of African American community life. The Mount Olivet Baptist Church was located in a neighboring building until 1921, and after regular Sunday morning church services, many Black churchgoers visited the Golden West to share a meal and socialize. Residents and visitors included some of the most respected members of the community at the time, and prominent Black entertainers, politicians, and musicians regularly stayed at the hotel; notable guests included the Honorable Oscar DePriest, African American Congressman from Illinois, and A. Philip Randolph, who founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925.¹⁹⁹ Randolph visited Portland several times in the 1920s, speaking at the relocated Mt. Olivet Baptist Church (1734 NE 1st Ave.) and Bethel AME Church (1239 N Larrabee Ave.) and establishing a small local arm of the African American labor union.²⁰⁰

The Rise of Black-Owned Small Business in the Early Twentieth Century

Just as segregation effected a parallel hospitality industry for African Americans in early twentieth-century Portland, it also gave rise to a number of small businesses that were operated by African Americans and served an almost exclusively African American clientele.²⁰¹ Emerging Black professionals and entrepreneurs came from a variety of backgrounds—some had been born in Portland, and some were recent in-migrants; some were college-educated, while others were self-taught or trained through apprenticeships; but all were pioneering professionals in the sense that they established practices and business ventures in a city that systematically limited their vocational opportunities.²⁰²

Portland's discriminatory real estate practices, restrictive covenants, and hostile White attitudes placed constraints on African American business owners and professionals, both directly and indirectly.²⁰³ Indirectly, these practices restricted African American residential settlement to only a few prescribed areas and because Black-owned businesses were almost exclusively patronized by other African Americans, it was generally necessary for them to locate their establishments within these nodes of African American settlement. Directly, some African American entrepreneurs were met with resistance from White

¹⁹⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 32; Adam Rozen-Wheeler, "Golden West Hotel Portland (1906-1931)," *Black Past*, last modified March 26, 2017, https://www.blackpast.org/aaw/vignette_aahw/golden-west-hotel-portland-1906-1931/. Moore was also a major national boxing promoter and the secretary/treasurer for the Times Publishing Company, and William Allen and Moore were brothers-in-law.

¹⁹⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 32-33. Long-term residents included William Rhea, a Portland Hotel and Benson Hotel waiter; Jeff Fort, a Portland Hotel waiter; William Gilmer, president of the Spanish-American War Veterans Sgt. Joseph White Camp, and his wife Anna; and Ed "Denver" Martin, one-time "Colored Heavyweight Champion," and his wife.

²⁰⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 31.

²⁰¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 33-34.

²⁰² "Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 37-38.

²⁰³ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information regarding the obstacles that hindered African American residency and property ownership in Portland during the twentieth century.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portlanders when they attempted to establish their businesses in White dominant areas. For example, when Jessie and Carrie Ingersoll attempted to relocate their garment-care business, Up-to-Date Cleaning and Tailoring Company, to 318 NE Sacramento St. in 1930, several White residents protested the idea of African Americans buying property in the neighborhood. By withholding their signatures from a petition necessary to allow a commercial venture in the residential area, these residents prevented the Ingersolls from relocating their business.²⁰⁴

In early twentieth-century Portland, Black-owned small businesses included garment-care ventures, barber shops and beauty salons, restaurants, retail establishments, and more. A handful of African American professionals even engaged in traditionally White-dominated fields like medicine and law also opened their own practices. The following are a representative sampling of entrepreneurs and professionals operating in the period after the Lewis and Clark Fair.

Medical Offices

Portland claimed only a few Black medical professionals in the early twentieth century, despite the patent need of the African American community. At the time, African Americans could not receive treatment in hospitals, and house calls were a necessity; with just one or two African American physicians practicing in the city at one time, it could be challenging to meet the needs of the growing community.²⁰⁵

Dr. James A. Merriman was Portland's first African American doctor, opening his practice in 1903. In 1909, he was joined by Dr. Stanley Lucas, a Jamaican native who had come to Portland after leaving his position as railroad physician for the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company. The practice ended in 1930, when Dr. Merriman and his wife Barbara relocated to Phoenix, Arizona; little is known regarding either doctor's education or the dissolution of their partnership.²⁰⁶

Throughout the 1930s, Portland's only Black medical practitioner was Dr. DeNorval Unthank. Dr. Unthank received his bachelor's degree from the University of Kansas and his medical doctorate from Howard University, a Black university in Washington, D.C. Three years into his practice, he relocated to Portland and opened his first offices in the city in 1929. A front-page article in *The Advocate*, a popular local Black newspaper described in Context III, celebrated his arrival and listed his many credentials.²⁰⁷ Dr. Unthank would go on to become a prominent leader in the Black community and in Portland; he was named Doctor of the Year by the Oregon Medical Society in 1958 and Citizen of the Year by the Portland chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1962.²⁰⁸

Despite his qualifications and high standing within the greater community of Portland, Dr. Unthank, his family, and his practice regularly faced discrimination from White Portlanders. He and his wife, Thelma

²⁰⁴ "Owner Will Rent to Colored Tenants," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), March 15, 1930. When those opposed claimed that it was the business that they protested and not the Ingersolls' race, the property's owner, Deputy District Attorney William Hoesly, called their bluff and responded by posting a new sign that read "Colored Tenants Desired."

²⁰⁵ Rudy Pearson, "DeNorval Unthank (1899-1977)," *Black Past*, January 18, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/unthank-dr-denorval-1899-1977/>.

²⁰⁶ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 33.

²⁰⁷ "Dr. Unthank Opens Office," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 25, 1930.

²⁰⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 93; Pearson, "DeNorval Unthank (1899-1977)." Dr. Unthank received a number of other awards, including the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission's Distinguished Achievement Award in 1971 and the Brotherhood Award from Portland's B'nai B'rith Lodge in 1973.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Shipman, were threatened and harassed when they attempted to settle in a predominantly White neighborhood, and they were ultimately forced to move four times before settling peacefully. Over the course of his nearly-fifty-year-long practice, Dr. Unthank was also forced to move from two offices due to urban renewal projects that targeted centers of African American community; of his many office locations, only the last (**511 SW 10th Ave.**, Portland Medical Center) still stands.²⁰⁹

Dental Offices

African American dentists were similarly few in early twentieth-century Portland. The city's first known African American dentist was Dr. Hugh Bell, who opened a practice in his mother's home on N Williams Avenue in late 1924. Dr. Bell was a graduate of the University of Southern California and passed board examinations in both California and Oregon; when he received news that he had passed the latter, *The Advocate* ran a front-page story celebrating his achievement and recommending his practice to its readers.²¹⁰ Dr. Bell soon moved out of his mother's home and into his own live/work space at **3213 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.**²¹¹ The documentary record indicates he remained at this location until mid-1925, when he married and relocated to Los Angeles.²¹²

A few years after Dr. Bell had moved away from Portland, Dr. Elbert Booker opened another African American-owned dental practice; born in Yakima, Washington, Dr. Booker received his bachelor's degree from Howard University and was the only African American to graduate from North Pacific Dental College, which closed in 1945.²¹³ His former dental office at **534 SW 3rd Ave.** remains extant.²¹⁴

Legal Practices

Portland's first African American attorney was McCants Stewart, who came to Portland in 1903. Stewart was born in Brooklyn to a well-educated middle class family; his parents, T. McCants and Carlotta Stewart, were both college graduates, and his father worked as a lawyer and professor of mathematics. T. McCants Stewart was also a personal friend of Booker T. Washington, and impressed upon his children Washington's principles of frugality, self-help, and moral reform. At age sixteen, McCants Stewart was sent to Washington's Tuskegee Institute, an all-Black industrial education college in Tuskegee, Alabama. He then earned a law certificate from New York University a Master of Law degree from the University of Minnesota Law School.²¹⁵

The Twin Cities had already developed a small African American professional class by the late nineteenth century, leading Stewart to seek a smaller city with reduced competition from other African American lawyers. Taking White clients was presumably not an option, or at least not sufficiently common for a turn-of-the-century African American attorney to earn a living from this practice. Stewart moved first to the

²⁰⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 93; Pearson, "DeNorval Unthank (1899-1977)." See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on urban renewal programs and their impact on Portland's African American community.

²¹⁰ "Admitted to Practice Dentistry Here," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), December 6, 1924.

²¹¹ "Dr. Bell in New Quarters," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), March 7, 1925; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 34.

²¹² "Dr. Hugh A. Bell, popular young dentist...", *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 16, 1925.

²¹³ "Portland to Have a Colored Dentist," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 28, 1927.

²¹⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 34-35.

²¹⁵ Albert Broussard, "The Struggles of a Black Attorney in the Urban West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 159-160.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Dakotas and then to Portland. Stewart became the first African American admitted to the Oregon Bar Association in 1903, apparently without any obstruction related to his race; but in Portland as in Minnesota, he struggled to earn a comfortable income. Racial etiquette dictated that White Portlanders did not hire Black attorneys, and Portland's small, predominantly working-class African American population ensured only a modest stream of legal work. Stewart's most prominent case was the 1906 Oregon Supreme Court case *Taylor v. Cohn*, in which an African American man named Oliver Taylor brought a suit against S. Morton Cohn, the owner of a downtown Portland theater, who refused to seat him on the main floor of the theater during a show for which he purchased tickets (see Section VII for a discussion of this case, its resolution, and related implications).²¹⁶

Other African American attorneys practicing in early twentieth-century Portland include Eugene Minor and Beatrice Cannady. Minor had shown a demonstrated interest in the legal system for some time, first working as a U.S. District Court Messenger and then rising to bailiff before receiving his degree from the Northwestern School of Law 1918.²¹⁷ Cannady, who was also assistant editor of *The Advocate*, graduated from the Northwestern School of Law in 1922.²¹⁸ Although never admitted to the Oregon Bar Association, Cannady practiced law and is generally regarded as the state's first female African American lawyer.²¹⁹

Real Estate Businesses

Despite the challenges imposed on prospective African American homebuyers in early twentieth century Portland, a small number of Black Portlanders are known to have established real estate agencies serving other members of the city's African American community. Some, such as *The Advocate* founder E.D. Cannady, who advertised in his own paper during the late 1920s and early 1930s, may have worked predominantly or even exclusively with African American sellers and buyers.²²⁰ In contrast, Walter Greene, who was described as a "White-passing" African American real estate broker, often served an intermediate role between White sellers and prospective Black buyers. Because he was frequently regarded as White, Greene was able to quietly purchase homes for other African American Portlanders from the 1910s onward.²²¹ Both of these men were early pioneers in the Portland real estate system, which systematically worked to limit African American housing options in the early twentieth century.²²²

²¹⁶ Broussard, "The Struggles of a Black Attorney," 161; "Color Line in Theaters," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 20, 1905.

²¹⁷ J. Clay Smith, Jr., *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 515.

²¹⁸ See Context III, *Journalism*, for additional information on *The Advocate* newspaper and Portland's Black press.

²¹⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 34; Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland*, 101. The first African American woman admitted to the Oregon State Bar was Mercedes Diez, who earned her law degree from the Northwestern School of Law and was admitted to the bar in 1960 (Cliff Collins, "A Life of Firsts: Mercedes Deiz Was a Trailblazer by Choice," *Oregon State Bar Bulletin* (December 2005), <https://www.osbar.org/publications/bulletin/05dec/heritage.html>).

²²⁰ "Cannady Real Estate Co.," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 11, 1930.

²²¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59; Lang, "'A place under the sun.'" 369. Greene lived in Portland from 1899 until his death in 1954, and his last residence, an apartment at **3820 NE Mallory St.**, still stands.

²²² See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on discriminatory real estate and zoning practices in Portland during the early twentieth century.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Barbershops and Beauty Parlors

A number of African American barbers and “beauty culturists” established their own small businesses in the late 1920s and 1930s. While many African American barbers were employed by White-owned hotels, they were prohibited from working in the hotel barbershops, which were staffed by White barbers; instead they worked as “private barbers” and provided in-room haircuts and shaves to hotel guests.²²³ In contrast, African American barbers who began their own businesses seem to have worked from dedicated barbershop spaces, as was standard for White barbers. Whether these independent Black barbers served a predominantly or entirely African American clientele is undetermined; however, most established their shops in known centers of Portland’s African American community, near Union Station in the early twentieth century and in the Lower Albina neighborhoods of Inner North and Northeast Portland a few decades later.

Some independent Black barbers began their careers in the White hotel industry. Brothers William and Edward Rutherford both worked as private barbers at the Portland Hotel before launching their private venture, the “Club Café Shaving Parlor,” at NW 9th Avenue and Flanders Street in 1907. They eventually hired a third barber and began to offer men’s furnishings, changing their business name to Rutherford Brothers Barbers and Haberdashery. In 1914, they moved the business to 414-418 NW 6th Ave., just a block from the popular Golden West Hotel. At this time, the Golden West housed Waldo Bogle’s Barbershop, but the competition does not seem to have strained either business. Both barbershops remained in their Northwest Portland locations until 1930, when the Golden West closed. At this time, both relocated across the river to 1608 N. Williams Ave., which was then at the heart of Portland’s growing African American community. They operated at this location until the Great Depression forced their closure in 1934.²²⁴

Portland’s African American beauty culturists (beauticians), who were exclusively female and who served only female African American customers, commonly operated their businesses out of their homes rather than from dedicated commercial spaces. Black entrepreneurialism related to beauty culture was a nationwide trend in first three decades of the twentieth century, as this was one of the only professional fields accessible to African American women at the time.²²⁵ In Portland and across the country, women who pursued work in the beauty industry regularly built independent and profitable ventures despite a lack of access to substantial capital or formal business training.²²⁶

Portland’s first African American certified beautician was Inez Duke Mayberry, who graduated from Portland Sanitary Beauty Parlors in 1927. Mayberry worked first out of her home at 1736 N Vancouver Ave. and then at We-Three-Salon of Beauty at **2940 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** Zepha Baker, a beauty culturist who lived and worked at **3427 NE Rodney Ave.** and later **6535 NE Grand Ave.**, earned a diploma from the Madam C. J. Walker School of Beauty Culture in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1931.²²⁷ Founded by African American entrepreneur and haircare product developer Sarah Breedlove (known

²²³ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, 12.

²²⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, 10-11.

²²⁵ In the early twentieth century, Black women’s career options were typically limited to jobs in the service industry. Many worked as maids in private homes or as maids or elevator operators in select department stores (McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 114-115).

²²⁶ Tiffany M. Gill, “Civic Beauty: Beauty Culturists and the Politics of African American Entrepreneurship, 1900-1965,” *Enterprise & Society* 5, no. 4 (December 2004): 583-585.

²²⁷ “Local News,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), March 14, 1931.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

professionally as Madame C.J. Walker) in 1910, this Indianapolis beauty school was one of the most prominent African American haircare institutions in the country.²²⁸ Other Black beauticians in early twentieth-century Portland include Eula Anthony, who worked from her home at **6835 SE Boise St.**, and Bertie Davison, who lived and worked at **129 NE Mason St.** and later **8335 SE 7th Ave.** All four of these women were primary caregivers who raised families at the same time that they built and managed their businesses. Additionally, Davison owned and operated the Golden Rule Café on NE Russell Street, where she both employed and served other members of Portland's African American community.²²⁹

Carpentry and Building Trades

Almost all local building contractors in Portland during the early twentieth century were White; White residents were generally reticent to hire a Black contractor, and few African Americans could afford to commission a new dwelling or significant renovation work. Because their race limited their clientele, Black contractors and handymen could find only limited work as plasterers, painters, and plumbers; very few could survive on the income they received, and most did not pursue a career in the field. African Americans in early twentieth-century Portland were also discouraged from joining the building trades because they were barred from joining trade unions, which fought for safe working conditions, fair pay, and stable positions for their exclusively White membership.²³⁰

One of the few known African American carpenters from this period is Shelby Golden, a Missouri-born African American man who arrived in Portland by 1905. He initially worked as a porter, but he was a skilled carpenter and received contracts from individuals and organizations within the African American community. In 1931, he replaced the roof on the Bethel AME Church's parsonage after it was damaged by fire.²³¹ He also built his family home at **944 SE Sherrett St.**, where he and wife Sadie lived from at least 1910 through the 1940s. He left this home to his son, Shelby Jr., and built another at **1003 SE Sherrett St.** where his son Chuck Williams later lived.²³²

Restaurants and Retail

Because African American Portlanders frequently faced discrimination when attempting to dine or shop in White-owned establishments, a number of African American-owned retail outlets and restaurants also found success in the early twentieth century. They regularly advertised in local African American-run newspapers, such as the *Advocate* and the *New Age*, and like other Black businesses of the period, they

²²⁸ Madam C. J. Walker, born Sarah Breedlove, was born to recently-freed sharecroppers on a plantation in Delta, Louisiana, in 1867. After years of employment as a domestic servant, laundress, and cook, Breedlove became a commission agent selling hair care products for Annie Turnbo Malone, an African American haircare entrepreneur and owner of the Poro Company. In 1905, Breedlove married newspaperman Charles Joseph Walker, left Malone's company, and began to market her own line of haircare products for African American women under the name "Madam Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower." She established a factory, laboratory, and beauty school in Indianapolis in 1910 and founded the National Negro Cosmetics Manufacturers Association in 1917. At the time of her death in 1919, Walker was one of the wealthiest African Americans in the country and a noted philanthropist, donating thousands of dollars to the Indianapolis YMCA, the Tuskegee Institute, and the NAACP, among other organizations (A'Leilia Bundles, "Madame C.J. Walker: A Brief Biographical Essay," *Madame C. J. Walker*, accessed April 9, 2020, <http://madamcjwalker.com/about/>; Debra Michals, "Madam C. J. Walker," *National Women's History Museum*, accessed April 9, 2020, www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/madam-cj-walker).

²²⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 36-37, 129.

²³⁰ Family members of Ross Newby, Timothy Tillman, and Edward Rawlins, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1996.

²³¹ "Bethel Church Notes," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 14, 1931.

²³² Shelby Golden, Jr., interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1996.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

tended to be located in Northwest Portland near Union Station or in the Lower Albina area of Inner North and Northeast Portland, the two nodes of African American settlement in the early twentieth century.

Establishments operating west of the Willamette River in the early twentieth century include the Alpha Restaurant, opened in 1906 at 269½th NW Washington St.; S.S. Walker Soft Drink, established in 1919 at 395 NW Flanders St.; P.J. Summers Second Hand, established by at least 1919 at 340 NW 16th Ave.; and the Colored American Club and Smith's Cafe, established at an unknown date at 420 NW 9th Ave. Shops opened in Inner Northeast Portland include Edward and Ida Freeman's Freeman Second Hand at 754 Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. and Fred and Molly Thomas's Fred D. Thomas Catering Service at 312 NE Shaver St. By the early 1940s, virtually all Black business in Northwest Portland would close permanently or relocate to the Lower Albina neighborhoods on the east bank of the Willamette River.²³³

The Great Depression and Its Impact on African American Business: 1930s

The redevelopment of Portland's downtown crowded the African American community near Union Station during the first quarter of the twentieth century; by the 1930s, many Black Portlanders had relocated to neighborhoods in Lower Albina, on the east side of the Willamette River. Black businesses that had established themselves in Northwest Portland were no longer located at the heart of the community they served, and long-running institutions like the Golden West Hotel and the Rutherford Brothers Barbers and Haberdashery saw their clienteles diminish. This problem was compounded by the onset of the Great Depression, a period in which Portlanders of every race and ethnicity found themselves unemployed and homeless as a result of the county's economic collapse and the decade-long stagnation that followed.

The situation was especially dire for Black Portlanders, as the few avenues of employment that had typically been reserved for African Americans were suddenly coveted by out-of-work White men. White-owned businesses systematically replaced many African American employees with White Portlanders in search of employment: for example, the Portland Hotel replaced its African American waiters with White employees for several years during the Depression, and the African American managers of the Columbia Country Club were also ousted in favor of new White hires.²³⁴

Because so many African American Portlanders lost their incomes and their livelihoods during the Great Depression, the Black-owned businesses that they had faithfully patronized in the early twentieth century suffered as well. Made especially vulnerable by their sole dependency on African American customers, the Golden West Hotel and numerous other African American businesses that had flourished in previous decades shuttered in the early 1930s.²³⁵ William Allen of the Golden West, the Rutherford barbering brothers, barber Waldo Bogle, and others briefly operated new business ventures in Lower Albina, but these businesses also failed by the mid-1930s.²³⁶ Employment opportunities for educated Black professionals in Portland also dwindled during the 1930s, and many were forced to take menial, low-paying jobs in order to remain in the city.²³⁷ The economic conditions of the time were so dire that some

²³³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 36; Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 48-49.

²³⁴ "Whites Replace Colored Employees," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 18, 1930; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 44.

²³⁵ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 54.

²³⁶ Rozen-Wheeler, "Golden West Hotel Portland (1906-1931)"; National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, 13.

²³⁷ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 54.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

unemployed African American men resorted to selling fruit and nuts door-to-door in Portland neighborhoods, desperate to bring in any income at all.²³⁸ Many Black Portlanders remained underemployed until the outbreak of World War II, which created thousands of local jobs in wartime industries.

African American Military Service and Employment in World War II-Era Portland: 1941-1945

The outbreak of World War II marked a second major inflection point in the history of Black employment and business in Portland. Many White American men were called to fight overseas, and racial and gender barriers were relaxed as thousands of African Americans and women entered into defense industry positions. A large number of African Americans, many of them from the South, relocated to wartime production centers like Portland in search of employment and relief from the racial prejudices of the Jim Crow South. Some were recruited by the shipbuilding industry and carried to their destinations on "Kaiser Specials," trains from New York City, while others paid their own way.²³⁹ In Portland, more than 8,700 African Americans were employed in war-related industries by January 1945, with 8,493 employed by the Kaiser shipyards alone.²⁴⁰

Although wartime labor demands ensured that African American men and women would find paying work, they did not guarantee equitable treatment. Executive Order 8802, issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in response to the activism of A. Philip Randolph and other Black civil leaders, declared, "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries and in Government, because of race, creed, color, or national origin," and established the Fair Employment Practices Committee by way of enforcement.²⁴¹ However, the Executive Order and the new commission were not entirely successful in securing truly equal treatment for African American workers, many of whom struggled with workplace segregation and a limited range of employment opportunity during the war years. Labor shortages and production demands would somewhat erode the racial classification of labor, but in Portland and other production centers, most Black workers remained relegated to unskilled positions for the duration of the war.²⁴²

African Americans in the Pacific Northwest's Kaiser Shipyards

Wartime industry in the Pacific Northwest was dominated by the Kaiser Corporation shipyards, established by industrialist Henry J. Kaiser in Portland and across the Columbia River in Vancouver, Washington.²⁴³ The first and largest of Kaiser's shipyards was the Oregon Shipbuilding Company, also called the OSC or "Oregonship," which opened on the Willamette River, northwest of Portland's St. John's neighborhood, in early 1941. Before the United States officially entered the conflict, the shipyard assembled merchant ships for the British government; after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Oregonship expanded its original site from 87 acres to more than 300, and began rapidly producing cargo ships, small aircraft carrier, tankers, and other military vessels for the U.S. Maritime Commission. In 1942, Kaiser constructed two more shipyards to meet growing demand: the 200-acre Vancouver Shipyard was constructed on the Columbia River in

²³⁸ Otto Rutherford, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1996.

²³⁹ March, "Guild's Lake Courts," 93.

²⁴⁰ "Negroes in Portland: What is Their Postwar Outlook?" *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 17, 1945.

²⁴¹ "Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry," June 25, 1941, Record Group 11, General Records of the United States Government, National Archives, Washington, D.C., <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=625>.

²⁴² Taylor, "African American Men in the American West," 112.

²⁴³ Kaiser also established four shipyards Richmond, California.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

January 1942, and the 400-acre Swan Island Shipyard began operation in July of the same year. All three operated twenty-four hours a day.²⁴⁴

With Kaiser's active recruitment, the shipyards attracted African American men and women from across the country, and from the South in particular. Although both the Kaiser Corporation and Executive Order 8802 had promised them equal employment opportunities, upon arrival they immediately encountered discrimination with regard to job placement and union membership. The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America (known simply as the "Boilermakers"), the largest of the shipyard unions, actively worked against the employment of African Americans in skilled positions and relegated them to all-Black "auxiliary" unions that offered fewer benefits and weaker protections. The Boilermakers in Portland initially refused to hire Black workers except for the most menial and lowest-paid positions; most were employed as janitors, chippers, tank-testers, deck-sweepers, or painter's helpers.²⁴⁵ In late 1942, ten African American men who had been recruited in New York lodged a complaint with the Oregon State Bureau of Labor and the United States Employment Services, asserting that they had not been given the skilled positions that they had been promised upon recruitment.²⁴⁶ A core group formed the Shipyard Negro Organization for Victory to protest union discrimination, and in short order they drew up a list of demands.²⁴⁷ Threatened with a strike, Kaiser officials agreed to reclassify eight Black employees as journeymen and offer vocational training without restriction.²⁴⁸

While Henry Kaiser apparently held firm in his decision to hire African Americans for skilled positions,²⁴⁹ the Boilermakers' resistance mounted. In 1941, the union had secured a "closed-shop" agreement with Kaiser that granted them sole discretion over hiring and firing in the West coast shipyards; they weaponized this agreement to restrict African American employment, claiming that Black workers who refused to join the segregated auxiliary unions were not qualified to work in the shipyards and should be dismissed.²⁵⁰ When hundreds of African American shipyard workers on the West Coast refused to pay their dues in summer 1943, the Kaiser shipyards were compelled by the Boilermakers to fire 350 dissenting Black workers from the Portland and Vancouver shipyards.²⁵¹

Local Black organizations responded immediately. Julius Rodriguez, president of the Shipyard Negro Organization for Victory, and Revered J. James Clow, president of the Portland chapter of the National

²⁴⁴ Gordon Oliver, "Kaiser Shipyards," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified May 1, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/kaiser_shipyards/#.Xcde6C-ZPox.

²⁴⁵ Chippers followed welders, using a hammer to chip off the slag that collected and cooled around a weld; tank testers inspected ships' hulls for leaks and marked spots where welds needed to be reinforced; and painter's helpers were required to crawl under the hulls to scrape off rust in advance of the painters. All of these positions were difficult, tedious, and relatively low-paid ("Irma Martin reminiscences of Vanport, Oregon [manuscript], undated," n.d., Coll. 442, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, OR).

²⁴⁶ "Negroes Ask Better Jobs," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 9, 1942. The men stated that they had "been promised a chance at skilled jobs, only to be later reclassified as common laborers"; the ten men "wanted their original work status restored or transportation back home" to New York, from where they had been recruited and where they could find unskilled positions comparable to the ones that they had been offered in Portland.

²⁴⁷ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 62.

²⁴⁸ "Agreement Ends Walkout Threat," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 19, 1942.

²⁴⁹ "Kaiser Stands Firm on Negro Decision – Portland, Ore.," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, CA), October 21, 1942.

²⁵⁰ Alonzo Smith and Quintard Taylor, "Racial Discrimination in the Workplace: A Study of Two West Coast Cities During the 1940s," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 8, no. 1 (1980): 36.

²⁵¹ Taylor, "African American Men in the American West," 112.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), traveled to Washington, D.C., to meet with national officers of the NAACP and to file an official complaint against both the Boilermakers and the Kaiser Company with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee. Most of Portland's Black community leaders supported Rodriguez and Clow; however, a small faction led by Wyatt Williams, a local Black attorney and past president of the Portland NAACP, argued that the auxiliary union provided Africans Americans with sorely needed employment and should be tolerated despite the Boilermakers' abuse. Williams went so far as to volunteer his services in organizing Black workers into the auxiliary union. Local Black-owned paper *The People's Observer* derided Williams for his stance, and the national leadership of the NAACP expelled him from the organization.²⁵²

In response to Rodriguez's and Clow's complaints, the Fair Employment Practices Committee held public hearings in Portland on November 15 and 16, 1943. The FEPC found that the auxiliary unions had "no vote or voice in the conduct of the union's affairs" and suffered from "unfair differences in insurance benefits provided for members by the union and in the age limits for admission to membership."²⁵³ The Boilermakers were subsequently ordered "to eliminate all membership practices which discriminate against workers because of race or color," and "to reinstate all Negro workers discharged because of their refusal to pay dues to Boilermaker auxiliary unions."²⁵⁴ However, the Boilermakers protested the ruling, and the war had ended before it completely complied with the FEPC's ruling. Most African American shipyard workers remained underrepresented by their unions and limited to less desirable, less lucrative positions for the duration of the war.²⁵⁵

African American Employment in Other Wartime Industries

African American Portlanders in other wartime defense industries faced similar discrimination at other employment sites, including Portland's three non-Kaiser-owned shipyards—Willamette Iron and Steel, Commercial Iron Works, and Albina Engine Works—which were also controlled by the Boilermakers' Union.²⁵⁶ In 1945, when Black machinists at the Union Pacific's Albina yard saw the posting of "White" and "Colored" signs at yard facilities, they also attributed this development to the Boilermakers, who had members at the railyards as well the shipyards.²⁵⁷

Other Whites-only unions created obstacles to African Americans' wartime employment, as well. The labor shortages of World War II at last enabled some African American men to work at the docks as longshoremen, but they were denied admission to the local chapter of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. When Harry Mills, a Black longshoreman who had held his position for a year, was refused union membership in December 1943, the vice-president and spokesperson of the local chapter stated, "We are not opposed to Harry Mills. We are fighting the Negro race! We cannot open our doors to the Negro people after having kept them closed all of this time."²⁵⁸ The Portland chapter of the International

²⁵² Quintard Taylor, "The Great Migration," 119-120.

²⁵³ Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis, *The Black Worker, Volume 7: The Black Worker from the Founding of the CIO to the AFL-CIO Merger, 1936-1955* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983), 291.

²⁵⁴ Foner and Lewis, *The Black Worker, Volume 7*, 291-92.

²⁵⁵ Taylor, "The Great Migration," 121.

²⁵⁶ Tessara G. Dudley, "Disfavored for the Color of Their Skin: Black Women Workers in the World War II Shipyards of Portland and Vancouver," *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal* 13, no. 1 (2019): n.p.

²⁵⁷ Taylor, "The Great Migration," 121.

²⁵⁸ "Race Identity Closes Union Door," *The People's Observer* (Portland, OR), December 21, 1943.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union would not accept African American members until the early 1960s, more than a decade after other West Coast chapters had integrated.²⁵⁹

African Americans in the United States Military

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' formal entrance into World War II, African Americans across the country contributed directly to the war effort through service in the United States military. In late 1942, the Office of War Information reported that 10.1 percent of the soldiers inducted into the army through selective service were African American (at the time, African Americans made up approximately 9.8 percent of the country's population). This figure was released to dispel racist rumors "that Negroes were not being drafted in the proportion they bear to the total population," which circulated among White American society for the duration of the conflict.²⁶⁰

Herbert Bagley, Robert Kelly, Hubert A. Lewis, and Ocea McNell were the first four African Americans from Portland to be inducted into the U.S. Army.²⁶¹ They were celebrated with a special feature in *The Oregonian* in February 1941.²⁶² At least three African American Portlanders also served in the ranks of the famous Tuskegee Airmen, the first African American flying group in the U.S. Air Force. *The Portland Inquirer*, a local African American-owned newspaper, celebrated the accomplishments of Tuskegee First Lieutenant Robert (Bob) Deiz and his brother, Second Lieutenant Carl Deiz, with a full-page story in 1944; interviewed in the Deiz family home at 2254 SE 35th Pl., the men's father William said, "more than one criticised [*sic*] me for sending my kids to college when I was nothing but a waiter in a dining room [...] I am proud of my boys, the sacrifice was worth it."²⁶³

Bob Deiz flew on ninety-three missions in 1943 and 1944. He later spoke of the prejudice that the Tuskegee Airmen faced from fellow soldiers, saying "among those in control, some wanted to see us succeed, and some wanted to see us fail [...] it made us the best of the best. Prejudice made it a lot tougher for a black fellow to get his wings."²⁶⁴ Carl Deiz never saw combat in Europe due to a depth perception problem detected near the end of his training, but he served as a tactical officer at the Tuskegee Institute.²⁶⁵ A third Portland resident and member of the Tuskegee Airmen, First Lieutenant Charles Duke, later became the first African American policeman in postwar Portland.²⁶⁶ Unfairly prevented from advancing within the Portland Police Bureau on account of his race, Duke left in 1951 and

²⁵⁹ Pilcher, *The Portland Longshoremen*, 67-71.

²⁶⁰ "Negro Quota High in Army Ranks," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 27, 1942.

²⁶¹ Bagley, a custodian at the Portland Club and Civic Auditorium, resided at 115 N Halsey St. and 1768 N Ross Ave. in the 1940s and early 1950s and at **4704 NE 9th Ave.** from 1958 through the 1970s. Kelly's and Lewis's residences from the 1940s and 1950s were lost to Memorial Coliseum construction, but Lewis's later home at **5303 NW Skyline Blvd.** is extant (though extensively altered). The Portland home of McNell, who was originally from California and who returned after the war, was at 2711 N Albina Ave. but has been demolished (Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 61).

²⁶² "Negroes Jazz Armory Hall," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 28, 1941.

²⁶³ "Headlines Tell Story of Exploits: Foresight of Parents Leads to Success," *The Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), September 1, 1944.

²⁶⁴ "Robert Deiz, WWII Fighter Pilot, Dies at 72," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 8, 1992.

²⁶⁵ Carl Deiz worked for the U.S. Forest Service and Bonneville Power Administration after the war, and in 1949 married Mercedes Deiz, a lawyer and later judge (Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 89). Bob Deiz relocated to Columbus, Ohio, around 1960 ("Robert Deiz, WWII Fighter Pilot, Dies at 72," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 8, 1992).

²⁶⁶ Duke lived at **7214 NE 9th Ave.** by 1950 (Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 68).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

rejoined the military. He went on to become a captain in the U.S. Air Force at the Portland Air Force Base.²⁶⁷

African American Employment Outside of Wartime Industry

Although the vast majority of Portland's African American workforce was engaged in wartime industry, about 1,100 remained engaged in service positions with the railroads and hotels; a small number also found positions as maids and janitors with Portland's major downtown department stores. An even smaller number of African Americans found professional opportunities in the growing City of Vanport, a wartime housing project that accommodated 6,317 African American in-migrants by May 1945.²⁶⁸ Vanport upheld a non-discriminatory policy in public places, and integrated schools and recreational facilities were standard. By 1945, W.L. Van Loan, Superintendent of Vanport City Schools, reported that the Vanport school system employed four African Americans in childcare centers and three in elementary schools. Several African American men were also employed as Vanport policemen. Despite these advances, however, African Americans were rarely hired for civil service positions outside of Vanport until after the war had ended.²⁶⁹

Portland's increased African American population also revived local Black-owned small business, to some extent. One of the most successful Black business ventures established during the war was Kelly Foster's Royal Palm Hotel (**310 NW Flanders St.**). Foster, who had lived in Portland before World War II and who had owned and operated a number of restaurants, purchased the hotel from Japanese owners who were forced into internment camps when the United States went to war with Japan. He directed his new business in much the same way that William Allen had the Golden West Hotel, providing hotel rooms as well as a barbershop, restaurant, and other facilities for African American patrons.²⁷⁰

African American Employment and Entrepreneurialism after World War II: 1945-1973

Even before the end of the war, a majority of African Americans in Portland began bracing themselves for widespread unemployment when the shipyards curtailed production. According to an *Oregonian* survey published in mid-1945, an estimated 96 percent of the Black workforce in the greater Portland area were employed by the shipyards, with another 1.1 percent in other wartime industries, compared to 77 percent of the White workforce in defense industries at the same time.²⁷¹ Outside of wartime industry, White-owned companies resisted the idea of absorbing Portland's greatly-expanded African American population into their postwar workforce, clinging to racial stereotypes that branded Black employees as "lazy," "undependable," and "aggressive."²⁷²

As they had feared, thousands of African American men and women were left without jobs in the months immediately following the war. Some in-migrants returned to their pre-war domiciles, while others sought employment in Seattle or California. By 1947, the number of African Americans in the greater Portland area had plummeted from a wartime peak of approximately 22,000 to around 11,000.²⁷³ About 4,500 were

²⁶⁷ Gayle Karol, "Dec. 11, 1946: Almost the first black police officer," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 5, 2008.

²⁶⁸ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 74. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional discussion of the Vanport housing project.

²⁶⁹ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 69-72.

²⁷⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 71.

²⁷¹ "Negroes in Portland: What is Their Postwar Outlook?" *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 17, 1945.

²⁷² "Negroes in Portland: What is Their Postwar Outlook?" *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 17, 1945; Thomas C. Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," *Phylon* (1960-) 30, no. 3 (1969): 281.

²⁷³ "Our Negro Population," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 16, 1947; Taylor, "The Great Migration," 121.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

members of the labor force. Many of those who remained found service positions with the railroads and hotels, but around 1,500 remained unemployed two years after the war had ended.²⁷⁴ Even more were underemployed; many Black Portlanders with college degrees and professional licenses found themselves limited to working at filling stations, as waiters or janitors, and in other menial and service-oriented positions. Many men were forced to work two or more part-time jobs to care for their families.²⁷⁵

With the passage of Oregon's Fair Employment Practices Act in 1949 and the help of local advocacy organizations like the Urban League of Portland, other avenues of employment were eventually opened to African Americans. Black Portlanders, previously relegated to a narrow range of service industry positions, were eventually employed in department stores, civil service positions, public schools, and other fields that had previously been closed to them. African American small businesses also began to regain strength, and many new ventures opened along N Williams Avenue in Inner North and Northeast Portland, the commercial heart of Portland's postwar African American community. The business aspirations and compounded economic gains of the community eventually contributed to the creation of Portland's first Black-owned commercial bank, the Freedom Bank of Finance, which was part of a larger trend of Black-owned banks established in the late 1960s across the United States.

The Urban League of Portland

An affiliate of the National Urban League, the Urban League of Portland formed in 1945 to help manage the employment challenges of the 11,000 African American former shipyard workers remaining in Portland after the war had ended. Portland city officials had initially contacted the National Urban League for help relocating African American "temporary residents" to other states; the Urban League, which had formed in 1910 to help African Americans in New York find housing and job training, refused the City's request to facilitate relocations and instead established a local chapter in Portland.²⁷⁶ Around 400 people attended the chapter's first meeting in September 1945, where they heard Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, speak of the organization's commitment to securing equal housing and employment opportunities for Black Americans.²⁷⁷

The Urban League of Portland opened its first local headquarters within Dr. DeNorval Unthank's medical office at 6 SW 6th Ave., where an examination room was converted into a small office space. Edwin C. "Bill" Berry, an African American activist and graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, was hired as the organization's first executive secretary.²⁷⁸ Berry had come directly from the Pittsburgh Urban League, where he had worked as the community organization secretary for nearly a decade, and he remained in Portland until 1956, when he was selected to head the Chicago branch of the organization.²⁷⁹ Berry worked closely with E. Shelton "Shelly" Hill, whom he hired as the Urban League's Director of Industrial Relations and who

²⁷⁴ Hogg, "Negroes and Their Institutions in Oregon," 281. The Portland Hotel was demolished in 1953, but the Benson and Multnomah Hotels began to employ African American workers after World War II when they previously had not.

²⁷⁵ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 89.

²⁷⁶ "The Urban League of Portland: Highlights from the Gates Collection of African American History and Culture," *Portland State University Library Digital Exhibits*, accessed November 9, 2019, <https://exhibits.library.pdx.edu/exhibits/show/gates/integration/national-urban-league>.

²⁷⁷ "Most Negroes Seen Staying," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), September 20, 1945; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 67.

²⁷⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 67-68; McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141.

Berry's Portland home stands at **628 NE Roselawn St.**

²⁷⁹ McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

eventually replaced him as executive secretary. Hill had previously worked as a labor recruiter for Union Pacific, as an employee relations officer for Portland Air Base, and as race relations officer for the Vancouver Housing Authority.²⁸⁰

Under the two men's leadership, the Urban League worked tirelessly to challenge employment discrimination and to desegregate unions.²⁸¹ They joined a variety of liberal politicians, veterans, and churches in lobbying the Oregon Legislature to adopt a Fair Employment Practices Act, which passed in 1949 and legally barred discrimination due to race, religion, color, or national origin by labor unions and employers with more than five workers.²⁸² Although the act was not immediately successful in eliminating discriminatory hiring practices and segregated unions (the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union did not accept its first African American members until 1964, for example), it did provide a legal foundation for the Urban League's efforts to place African Americans in positions that had long been denied to people of color.²⁸³

In the decades following World War II, the Urban League successfully placed African American workers with more than 180 Portland business.²⁸⁴ They engaged directly with White employers, regularly performing extensive market research in order to anticipate and counter their possible objections to hiring Black employees. For example, Shelly Hill surveyed transit company officials in several major American cities that employed Black drivers before he approached the head of Rose City Transit; through his efforts, African Americans Robert Dillard and Arvoll Rae became Portland's first non-White bus operators.²⁸⁵

Berry and Hill also appealed to companies that regularly hired African American employees, but placed them exclusively in menial service positions. By appealing to the local management of major department stores including Meier & Frank, Lipman Wolfe, Olds Wortman & King, and the Eastern Outfitting Company, the Urban League leaders were able to begin placing African American women in positions that exceeded the dignity and pay of their customary roles as housekeepers and maids. Beginning with Alene Grice and Clara Mae Peoples at the Eastern Outfitting Company (SW 10th Avenue and SW Washington Street), many African American women were soon employed as elevator operators by Portland's downtown department stores.²⁸⁶

The Urban League eventually outgrew its small office at 6 SW 6th Ave., moving to 408 SW 3rd Ave. in the 1950s and to the Dekum Building at **519 SW 3rd Ave.** in 1960. Of the Urban League's later offices, its 1970s (**718 W Burnside St.**, with a field office at **5329 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.**) and 1980s (**4128 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.**) locations are extant. In the early 1990s, the Urban League moved into the

²⁸⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 68. Hill's 1940s and 1950s homes stand at **445 NE Cook St.** and **4612 NE Rodney Ave.**

²⁸¹ McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141.

²⁸² Serbulo, "Small Steps on the Long Journey to Equality," 378; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 92; Taylor, "The Great Migration," 123. Oregon was the sixth state in the nation to have a law banning employment discrimination.

²⁸³ Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 11.

²⁸⁴ Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 11.

²⁸⁵ Janet Paulsen, "Urban League Crusader," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 16, 1992.

²⁸⁶ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 91-92; Anna Marum, "Portland stores of the past," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 2016, https://www.oregonlive.com/window-shop/2016/05/portland_stores_of_the_past.html. The Eastern Outfitting Company was also Portland's largest employer of Eastern European Jews.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Tivoli Theater Building at **2525 N Williams Ave.**, where the organization continues to offer workforce services, civic engagement opportunities, and other community programming.²⁸⁷

African American Portlanders in Civil Service

While many African American professionals struggled to find positions in their relevant fields during the early postwar years, significant gains were made during the postwar period with regard to African American employment in civil service positions. Only fifteen African Americans were employed by the City of Portland in July 1945, but that number would climb steadily through the late 1940s and after.²⁸⁸ In many cases, these men and women began their careers in Vanport, where the high percentage of African American residents had facilitated their entry into public service. It was also common for African American civil servants, particularly schoolteachers, to have gained their professional qualifications and experience prior to settling in Portland.

Law Enforcement

Multnomah County, which had hired George Hardin as its first Black sheriff's deputy in 1915 and Lizzie Weeks as its first Black probation officer in 1920, took the lead in hiring Black law enforcement officers during and after World War II.²⁸⁹ Beginning in 1942, the Multnomah County Sheriff's Department was responsible for enforcing laws in the City of Vanport, and a number of African American policemen were hired to work in Vanport during the war years.²⁹⁰ Following the Vanport Flood, Vanport sheriff's deputies Matt Dishman and Bill Travis were employed by the Multnomah County Sheriff's Department, and Dishman would go on to become the County's first African American sheriff.²⁹¹ Little is known about the circumstances surrounding their transfer to the County after the Vanport Flood or their promotion.²⁹²

With the exception of George Hardin and John Harry Hooper, both of whom were served as patrol officers for a short time in the late nineteenth century, the Portland Police Bureau remained an entirely White organization through the 1940s.²⁹³ However, the bureau finally opened its ranks to African Americans in the early postwar years. Although the bureau had hired a few Black officers as part of the "Veterans Patrol" during the war years,²⁹⁴ these part-time appointments were not official members of the police force; the first official African American policeman in postwar Portland was Charles Duke, a former Tuskegee Airman who had scored first place on the civil service exams in 1946.²⁹⁵ As the only African American on the force, many White officers refused to partner with him, and he stayed with the bureau only five years before he left to

²⁸⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 204-205; "The Urban League of Portland," accessed November 9, 2019, <https://ulpdx.org>.

²⁸⁸ "Digest of City Club Report, The Negro in Portland - July, 1945," Portland City Club Report, 1945, Box 3, Folder 3, Gov. Snell Records, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR, <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Documents/life-race3.pdf>.

²⁸⁹ Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland*, 91.

²⁹⁰ "Vanport Installs New Deputies," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), July 19, 1944; "Vanport Sheriff's Guard and Patrol," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), October 20, 1944.

²⁹¹ Bill Travis lived at **2837 NE 10th Ave.** and Matt Dishman lived at **4035 N Haight St.** The former Knott Street Center at **77 NE Knott St.** was renamed the Dishman Center in recognition of Matt Dishman's work in the community.

²⁹² See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional discussion of the Vanport Flood and its aftermath.

²⁹³ Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland*, 91.

²⁹⁴ The "Veterans Patrol" functioned primarily as air raid wardens.

²⁹⁵ Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland*, 91.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

rejoin the military.²⁹⁶ His younger brothers, Horace and George Duke, who were also military veterans, were installed as officers in the late 1940s and faced similar discrimination. Although White officers refused to work with them, the brothers partnered together and both had long, distinguished careers as police officers.²⁹⁷ Integration of the Portland Police Bureau continued to progress slowly for the next several decades, not achieving significant progress until the 1970s.²⁹⁸

Public Education

Prior to World War II, no African American schoolteachers were employed by Portland Public Schools; by 1945, Vanport schools employed seven African American educators, two of whom—Robert G. Ford and Leota E. Stone—went on to become the first Black teachers in the Portland Public School system. Both were wartime in-migrants who had been educated outside of Portland, and both were placed at Eliot Elementary School, which possessed a student body that was 38 percent African American at the time. This move toward integrating the public schools' faculty apparently did not signal a desire to alleviate *de facto* school segregation, as Eliot Elementary's student body had become fully 80 percent African American by 1957.²⁹⁹

African American teachers in early postwar Portland do not appear to have been limited to schools in the Albina area; in 1952, Robert Ford left Eliot Elementary to teach English and Social Studies at Roosevelt High School in North Portland, and Thomas Vickers was later hired at Marshall High School in Southeast Portland.³⁰⁰ However, it may have been some African American educators' preference to work in the heart of Portland's African American community. Carmen Parrish Walker, who worked for the Vanport Housing Authority during the war and Williams Avenue YWCA immediately after, became the first African American to teach in Portland Public Schools' Home Economics Department and later became a counselor at Jefferson High School. Like Eliot Elementary, Jefferson High School had a particularly high percentage of African American students in comparison to other public schools at the time.³⁰¹

Twenty-five years after hiring its first African American public school teacher, Portland finally saw African American representation on the Portland Public Schools Board of Education. Gladys McCoy, a social services worker with the city's Head Start program, was elected to the Portland School Board in 1970. McCoy was the first African American person to win an elected office in the state of Oregon.³⁰²

The Court System

In the postwar period, Portland at last saw its first registered female African American lawyer and its first African American judges. The first African American judge in Portland and in the state of Oregon was Aaron Brown, who attended Fisk University in Nashville and earned his law degree from Northwestern

²⁹⁶ Karol, "Dec. 11, 1946," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 5, 2008.

²⁹⁷ J.D. Chandler and J.B. Fisher, *Portland on the Take: Mid-Century Crime Bosses, Civic Corruption & Forgotten Murders* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), n.p.

²⁹⁸ Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland*, 91-92.

²⁹⁹ Ethan Johnson and Felicia Williams, "Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 111, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 12.

³⁰⁰ "Wartime Shipyard Welder First Negro to Teach High School in Portland," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 12, 1952.

³⁰¹ Carmen Walker, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997; Johnson and Williams, "Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools," 25.

³⁰² Michael Leighton, "Honoring Gladys McCoy," *The Portland Observer* (Portland, OR), March 1, 2016, <http://portlandobserver.com/news/2016/mar/01/honoring-gladys-mccoy/>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

School of Law in downtown Portland.³⁰³ After ten years of private practice at **2337 N Williams Ave.**, Brown became a municipal court judge in Portland and the first Black judge in the state of Oregon. When the Portland Municipal Court merged with the Multnomah County District Court in 1971, Governor Tom McCall appointed Brown as a district court judge. Brown successfully ran for election four times, serving for twenty-five years before his retirement in 1995.³⁰⁴

Portland's first female African American judge was Mercedes Deiz, who was also the first African American woman admitted to the Oregon State Bar.³⁰⁵ Deiz attended Northwestern School of Law in the evenings while working as a legal assistant and raising four children with her second husband, Carl Deiz. She practiced trial law for eight years and served as an administrative law judge with the workers' compensation board for two years before Governor McCall appointed her a district court judge in November 1969. In 1972, she was elected to the Multnomah County Circuit Court, defeating seven male opponents in the process. She served four terms and retired in 1992.³⁰⁶

Throughout their careers, both Judge Brown and Judge Deiz were committed to mentoring other African Americans in the legal field. One of Brown's most successful mentees was Ancer L. Haggerty, who began his career at the Metropolitan Public Defender in Portland and served as a judge on the Multnomah County District Court and the Multnomah County Circuit Court until 1993, when he was nominated to the United States District Court for the District of Oregon.³⁰⁷ Judge Haggerty was the first African American judge to serve in Oregon's federal courts. Deiz was also active in her support of younger African American lawyers and judges; in endorsing her for the Oregon State Bar's Award of Merit in 2000, Katherine H. O'Neil wrote, "I do believe that each and every African-American lawyer who entered practice between 1970 and 1992 sat with Judge Deiz in her chambers, receiving a few hours of more of private tutoring in career development."³⁰⁸

City, County, and State Government

By the 1970s, a handful of Portland's African American civil servants had secured state and local political offices. Encouraged by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s (see Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for additional information), some local African American leaders turned to political offices after securing voters' rights and other advances for minority communities. The first African American to serve on Portland's City Council was Charles Jordan, who came to Portland in 1970 to work on the federal anti-poverty Model Cities Program. In 1974, Portland mayor Neil Goldschmidt appointed Jordan to an empty council seat, which he won by election in 1976 and again in 1980. As a member of city council, Jordan

³⁰³ Northwestern School of Law later merged with Lewis and Clark College and relocated to its campus in southwest Portland.

³⁰⁴ "Tribute to Oregon Judge Aaron Brown '59," *Lewis & Clark Law School Newsroom*, September 6, 2016, <https://law.lclark.edu/live/news/33832-tribute-to-oregon-judge-aaron-brown-59>.

³⁰⁵ Oregon's second African American female judge is Adrienne Nelson, appointed in February 2006 and elected to a six-year term following the November 2006 general election. She became the first African American judge to serve on the Oregon Supreme Court in 2018, when she was appointed by Governor Kate Brown ("Governor Appoints First African American Judge to Oregon Supreme Court: Adrienne Nelson," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 2, 2018).

³⁰⁶ Collins, "A Life of Firsts: Mercedes Deiz Was a Trailblazer by Choice."

³⁰⁷ Symone Jackson, "What's up with the young Black lawyers?" Remembering Aaron Brown, Oregon's first African American judge," *Beneficial State Foundation*, February 28, 2018, <https://beneficialstate.org/perspectives/remembering-aaron-brown-oregons-first-african-american-judge/>.

³⁰⁸ Collins, "A Life of Firsts: Mercedes Deiz Was a Trailblazer by Choice."

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

pushed the Portland Fire and Rescue Bureau to hire more people of color and argued for greater civilian oversight of the Portland Police Bureau.³⁰⁹

Outside of the period of significance of this MPD, other African American Portlanders have been elected to serve in city, county, and state governments. Gladys McCoy, who served on the Portland Public Schools Board of Education beginning in 1970, was elected to the Multnomah County Board of Commissioners in 1979. Her husband, William McCoy, became the first African American elected to Oregon State Legislature when he entered the Oregon House of Representatives in 1974. McCoy was appointed to the Oregon Senate in the next term and continued to serve in that role until his death in 1996. Margaret Carter, a former counselor at Portland Community College, became the first Black woman in the Oregon Legislative Assembly in 1985, and Avel Gordly, who served in the Oregon House of Representatives from 1991 to 1996, became first Black woman in the State Senate in 1996.³¹⁰

Black-Owned Small Business and Investment in the Postwar Era

African American-owned and operated small businesses, buffeted first by the Great Depression and then by wartime industrial demands, gradually recovered in the postwar years. Continuing the trend that had begun in the late 1920s and early 1930s, most African American businesses established themselves in Inner North and Northeast Portland, specifically along N Williams Avenue, north of Broadway. Because housing options for Portland's African American community were largely confined to the Albina area in the decades after World War II, N Williams Avenue naturally functioned as the commercial heart of the African American community. Service-oriented neighborhood businesses, cafes and restaurants, and other commercial establishments lined Williams Avenue, co-existing with the older residences on the street.

African American entrepreneurs established a variety of businesses in the postwar years, and while some expanded into relatively new industries, most Black-owned businesses maintained a strong connection with the service industry. Hotels, barbershops, restaurants, and grocery stores remained some of the most common and successful business ventures for Portland's postwar Black entrepreneurs. However, some entrepreneurs made noteworthy forays into real estate and specialized industry, such as automotive service and record sales.³¹¹ One of the most important entrepreneurial developments of the period was the development of African American banking institutions, which were born from a tradition of Black investment clubs.

Barbershops and Beauty Parlors

Barbershops and beauty salons continued to play a powerful role in Black consumer culture in the postwar era, and many new establishments were opened along N Williams Avenue and nearby blocks in the late 1940s through the 1960s. As had been common in the 1910s and 1920s, some barbers built their clientele by first working out of Black-owned hotels; Charles Maxey and Ulese Raiford had both operated out of Kelly

³⁰⁹ Anna Griffin, "Charles Jordan remembered: Portland's first African-American commissioner and longtime parks director was 'a giant in this city,'" *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 10, 2019. In 1984, Jordan moved to Austin, Texas, where he served as director of the city's parks department. In 1989, he returned to Portland and assumed the position of Director of Portland Parks & Recreation, a role which he would hold for fourteen years.

³¹⁰ Mark Friesen, "African American elected officials," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 27, 2019; Peter Wong, "Margaret Carter's family values," *Portland Tribune* (Portland, OR), July 22, 2014; Patricia Schechter, "Avel Gordly, (1947-)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/gordly_avel_1947_/#.XeLKay2ZPVo.

³¹¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Foster's Royal Palm Hotel during the war, and both went on to establish their own stand-alone barbershops in the Albina area. Raiford opened Ray's Barber Shop at 2833 N Williams Ave., and Maxey began Maxey's Better Buy Grocery and Barber Shop on 20 N Cherry St. Within a few years of establishing their businesses, however, Maxey and Raiford were forced to relocate due to Portland's schedule of urban renewal programs in Inner North and Northeast Portland.³¹² Raiford reopened at **5126 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** and Maxey at **4603 N Williams Ave.**³¹³ Other Black-owned barbershops to open in the postwar era include F & F Barber Shop at **2017 N Williams Ave**, Friendly Barbershop at **3705 N Williams Ave.**, and Sportsman Barber Shop at **3638 N Williams Ave.**³¹⁴

Several new African American beauty culture businesses also opened in northeast Portland after the end of World War II; beauty culture remained only of the only lucrative industries controlled primarily by Black women, and therefore these businessowners were some of the most economically autonomous women within their community.³¹⁵ While many Black beauty culturists continued to operate out of their homes, as had been common in the 1920s and earlier, dedicated salons and beauty shops became more prevalent in the postwar era: Mary Rose Dean initially ran Rose's Beauty Salon from her home address, but she and her husband Benjamin Dean opened Dean's Beauty Salon and Barber Shop at **215 NE Hancock St.** in 1954; under its third generation of family ownership, Dean's continues operation as of late 2019.³¹⁶ Lillian Williams, who had come to Portland in 1945 seeking work in the shipyards, operated Lillian's Beauty Salon first from **2529 N Williams Ave.** and later **2322 NE Martin Luther King Blvd.**³¹⁷

Restaurants

A number of new African American-owned restaurants opened along N Williams Avenue in the postwar era. Several shared a building and occasionally an owner/operator with other types of Black-owned businesses: for example, the Citizen's Fountain Lunch shared its **2531 N Williams Ave.** location with the Lillian's Beauty Salon, and **2017 N Williams Ave.** was home to both F & F Barber Shop and Blue Ribbon Barbeque. Extant postwar, Black-owned restaurants along N Williams Avenue include Wallace's Barbeque at **3217 N Williams Ave.** and later **3240 N Williams Ave.**, the House of Fortune Café at **3940 N Williams Ave.**, Rudy's Tavern & Billiards at **3037 N Williams Ave.**³¹⁸ The Chat and Chew Restaurant at 2707 N Williams Ave., Doug's Tavern at 22 NE Russell St., and Scotty's Barbeque at 2829 N Williams Ave. were demolished in connection with the Emanuel Hospital expansion project.³¹⁹

³¹² See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on urban renewal programs and their impact on Portland's African American community.

³¹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101, A39, A165.

³¹⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101.

³¹⁵ Tiffany M. Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women's Activism in the Beauty Industry* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 2; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 73, A53, A121.

³¹⁶ Casey Parks, "Black barbershops in Portland: After 61 years in family business, who will head Dean's Barbershop and Beauty Salon next?" *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 20, 2015. Dean's Beauty Salon and Barber Shop continues to operate at this location as of early 2020.

³¹⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101, A53, A121.

³¹⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101.

³¹⁹ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on urban renewal programs and their impact on Portland's African American community.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Retail Stores

A broad range of Black-owned retail establishments were also established along the N Williams Avenue commercial corridor in the postwar period. Grocery stores such as Maxey's Better Buy Grocery at **4603 N Williams Ave.** (which was owned by Charles Maxey and operated out of the same building as Maxey's Barber Shop), Brooks Grocery and Meats at **3634 N Williams Ave.**, and the Albina Cash Market at **36 N Russell St.** existed alongside specialty stores including Hunter Baby & Gift Shop at 2647 N Williams Ave., Charlene's Tot & Teen Shop and the Melody Amusement record store at 2713 N Williams Ave., the House of Sounds Records at **3620 N Williams Ave.**, and Bop City Records at 3213 N Williams Ave. (later **5130 Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.**).³²⁰ The concentration of these restaurants along a short stretch of the same major thoroughfare illustrates the immense importance of N Williams Avenue to both the African American business community and the African American consumer in postwar Portland.

Real Estate Businesses

The proliferation of Black-owned real estate businesses in mid-twentieth century Portland was a particular achievement for the African American community, who were long denied unrestricted access to housing in Portland. In the early twentieth century, the city's White-dominated real estate industry had systematically restricted areas within which houses were sold to African Americans, only admitting to the practice after a front-page exposé in *The Oregonian* in 1949.³²¹ The success of a small number of Black real estate agents in the postwar period actively challenged these restrictions and aided African American Portlanders in settling outside of the areas that had historically been available to them. Herman and Lonnetta Plummer of Herman C. Plummer & Company at **2752 N Williams Ave.** were celebrated by one local African American-owned newspaper for "making it possible for Negroes to buy and live in communities of their own choosing."³²²

Additional research is necessary to ascertain the extent to which Black real estate agents in the postwar era were able to expand African Americans' housing options; however, the establishment of several Black-owned real estate companies certainly represents an important inroad into a predominantly White field. African American real estate agents and business owners in postwar Portland included Samuel Whitney (Whitney Real Estate, 3203 N Williams Ave.), Olandus Webb (Hartley Real Estate), Vivianne Barnett (Barnett Real Estate, **27-29 N Killingsworth St.**), Curtis McDonald (Albina Real Estate, **3120 N Williams Ave.**), and Venerable Booker (Booker Real Estate, **1533 NE Alberta St.**).³²³

African American Independent Banking

This first financial institution created by and for Portland's African American community was the NAACP Federal Credit Union, initially run from the home of Otto and Verdell Rutherford (**833 NE Shaver St.**).³²⁴ Its primary goal was to help African American Portlanders secure home loans, and the credit union does not

³²⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 101-102. Several of these businesses were displaced or closed permanently by the Emanuel Hospital expansion project. Charlene's Tot & Teen Shop had previously been displaced for construction of Memorial Coliseum. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on urban renewal programs in Portland.

³²¹ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on discriminatory real estate practices in Portland.

³²² "Real Estate Firm Helps Integration," *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), February 20, 1953.

³²³ [Advertisement], *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), February 20, 1953; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 76, 82, 89, 101, 107.

³²⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, 28.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

seem to have been widely used for business investment.³²⁵ Instead, African Americans with stable positions occasionally created “investment clubs,” pooling their capital in order to invest in larger business ventures and thereby increase their profits. This system had been pioneered in early twentieth-century Portland by the Enterprise Investment Club, composed primarily of Portland Hotel employees. One similar postwar investment club was the “Cosmopolitan Business Club,” named for Portland’s Cosmopolitan Club (**614 SW 11th Ave.**), which employed many of the club’s members.³²⁶

Portland’s second African American-owned bank, the Freedom Bank of Finance, was a for-profit commercial venture inspired by these ambitious businessmen and by the African American-owned Bank of Finance in Los Angeles, California, which had opened in 1964. The idea was conceived by a group of local African American businessmen for the express purpose of providing capital for emerging businesses in the Albina and North Portland area; they felt that White-owned banks would not offer them the services necessary to grow their investment and their community. Founders included realtor Venerable F. Booker, grocery-store owner Silas Williams, dentist Dr. Booker T. Lewis, and restaurateur Roy Granville, who persuaded his cousin Onie B. Granville, one of the founders of the Bank of Finance in Los Angeles, to temporarily move to Portland to help establish their new bank.³²⁷

The Freedom Bank of Finance opened at **728 NE Killingsworth St.** in 1969, with Venerable Booker as president. The bank was something of an anomaly in the 1970s, as most other successful African American-owned banks were located in cities with Black populations larger than half a million. Interestingly, some of the Freedom Bank’s largest investors were Multnomah County, the State of Oregon, and the Federal Government’s Model Cities Program.³²⁸ In 1971, the bank relocated to **2737 NE Martin Luther King Jr Blvd.**, and in 1975, it was renamed the American State Bank and refocused to serve a broader Portland community; lest its origins be forgotten, however, it bore the motto, “The bank that integration built and continues to build.”³²⁹ Ironically, the bank would face criticism for not loaning to minority entrepreneurs, a reproach that Booker defended by arguing that solvency and risk avoidance were the bank’s foremost concern.³³⁰ Booker continued to manage the American State Bank well beyond the end of the period of significance of this document, finally selling to the Albina Community Bank in 2000.³³¹

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context II, *Business and Employment*, are mostly likely to belong to Property Type II, *Commercial and Professional Buildings*, although some resources belonging to Property Type I,

³²⁵ Lang, “A place under the sun,” 371. The NAACP Credit Union continued to serve Portland’s African American community through the end of this document’s period of significance, consolidating with Multco Employees Credit Union in 1991.

³²⁶ Among the members of the Cosmopolitan Business Club, those whose houses still stand are: John Minor, living in the 1930s at **4113 NE Mallory Ave.** and **4812 NE 27th Ave.** and then from the early 1940s at **3105 SE 29th Ave.**; Thomas Vickers, a Cosmopolitan Club waiter, living at 1326 N Benton Ave. and later **4426 NE Rodney Ave.**; and Earl Elkins, Southern Pacific Club Car attendant and entrepreneur, living at **7034 N Knowles Ave.** from the 1930s through the 1950s.

³²⁷ Natalie Mallard, “Freedom Bank of Finance (1969-2000),” *Black Past*, August 20, 2018, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/freedom-bank-of-finance-1969-2000/>.

³²⁸ Lang, “A place under the sun,” 372.

³²⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 107.

³³⁰ Lang, “A place under the sun,” 372.

³³¹ Mallard, “Freedom Bank of Finance.”

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Residences, may also be significant for their associations with significant figures discussed in this context and/or Black-owned businesses that were operated out of private homes. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD.

CONTEXT III: JOURNALISM

Summary

As was the case in many major American cities, the emergence of a Black press in Portland provided a powerful counterbalance to the neglect and distortion that African American individuals and institutions often experienced at the hands of dominant media outlets. For much of the period of significance of this MPD, the national and local mainstream press often misrepresented African Americans both individually and collectively, failed to cover issues pertinent to local Black communities, and upheld dominant White perspectives and power structures. The Black press emerged in an effort to literally rewrite this narrative, portraying African Americans on their own terms and sharing relevant news stories that were not carried by the mainstream media. African American communities in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans were early leaders in the field of independent Black journalism, establishing their own local newspapers prior to emancipation; Portland finally joined their ranks in 1896 with the founding of its first African American newspaper, *The New Age*.

Although mainstream journalism (dominated primarily by *The Oregonian* and secondarily by *The Oregon Daily Journal* during the period of significance of this MPD) established the dominant journalistic narrative in Portland, the emergence and evolution of a local Black press established a counter narrative that proved hugely influential in connecting and supporting Portland's growing Black population.³³² The founding of *The New Age* established the African American journalistic presence in Portland, a presence that has remained influential through the time of this writing. Although *The New Age's* run was relatively brief, a second newspaper known as *The Advocate* would become the dominant Black periodical in Portland for much of the early twentieth century.

As described in other contexts within this MPD, the social, economic, and political turbulence of the 1930s and 1940s altered nearly every aspect of life in Portland. The impact on the Portland press was no exception. During the Great Depression, Portland's dominant print newspapers suffered significant financial losses but outlasted this hardship by expanding into new radio markets.³³³ The African American press, unable to fund their own radio station or continue publishing periodicals, purchased time on White networks to advertise businesses and events, broadcast recordings of sermons and choirs, and eventually release their own programs. The onset of World War II revitalized print media and similarly resurrected the Black press in Portland, as the influx of African American in-migrants generated demand for a reliable and unifying news source.

In Portland as in cities across the country, African Americans rallied to actively resist the status quo and fight for equal rights in the postwar years.³³⁴ Much of this movement was coordinated and spread through the Black press. Weekly publications such as *The People's Observer* and the *Portland Challenger*

³³² *The Oregon Daily Journal* was established in 1902 and tested the supremacy of *The Oregonian* for seventy years.

³³³ Harry H. Stein, "The Oregonian," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregonian/#.Xe1I3ndFxPY>.

³³⁴ See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for additional information on postwar activism within Portland's African American community.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

celebrated accomplishments, encouraged patronage at Black-owned businesses, and provided information about upcoming civil rights events. In response to the destructive urban renewal programs of the 1960s and early 1970s, Black journalists established two newspapers that are still in publication as of this writing: the *Portland Observer* and *The Portland Skanner*. In addition to the growth of periodicals, new opportunities in non-print journalism also arose in Portland near the end of the period of significance, following the local and national experience of urban uprisings and a reckoning with a lack of diversity in broadcast journalism.

In summary, the African American press in Portland, operating almost continuously from 1896 through 1973 (the close of the period of significance of this MPD), emerged in response to the city's White-dominated media and provided a critical resource for nearly every aspect of life within Portland's Black community.

Portland's Dominant Newspapers

The emergence and expansion of Portland's Black press did not occur in a vacuum. Throughout much of the 1851-1973 period of significance, the Black press existed alongside—and often in response to—Portland's dominant media outlets. The two most powerful of these outlets, *The Oregonian* and *The Oregon Journal*, established the journalistic standard for many Portlanders and often upheld a White-dominant narrative of local and national news and events.

The Oregonian (1850-present)

Founded a year prior to Portland's incorporation and the beginning of the period of significance, *The Oregonian* became the most impactful and widely-read newspaper in the state.³³⁵ Initially founded as a weekly newspaper, *The Oregonian* became a daily publication in February 1861.³³⁶ By the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, *The Oregonian* had become Oregon's primary news source. Early editors Thomas J. Dryer (1850-1860) and Harvey W. Scott (1865-1872, 1877-1910) established the "Oregon style" of journalism with principles of "denunciation, vituperation and sarcasm".³³⁷ Despite the aggressive and sometimes hostile stance that the editors held towards progressivism, they typically permitted their writers latitude to cover a variety of viewpoints during moments of political shifts locally and nationally.³³⁸

³³⁵ Leslie M. Scott, "The Oregonian Newspaper in Oregon History," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (September 1928): 225-235. *The Oregonian* was the fifth newspaper established in the region but the first in Portland and the only paper to continue publication today. The four prior newspapers operated out of Oregon City, Milwaukie, and Hillsboro and were founded as early as 1846. These first five newspapers only provided weekly editions, with the first daily newspaper established in the same year as statehood in 1859.

³³⁶ Scott, "The Oregonian," 228. Three daily newspapers preceded the daily edition of *The Oregonian* in Portland, but all would end publication within a few short years. The first three newspapers in Portland with a daily publication were the *Daily News* in 1859, the *Advertiser* from 1859-1862, and the *Times* from 1860-1864. It is likely that *The Oregonian* transitioned to daily service as it transitioned ownership to Henry L. Pittock in 1860.

³³⁷ Scott, "The Oregonian," 226, 228-229.

³³⁸ Scott, "The Oregonian," 230-232; Stein, "The Oregonian." Under Scott's leadership, *The Oregonian* outlasted all previous Portland and Oregon publications. In 1881, newspapers were delivered to locations three-hours distance from Portland; by 1909, subscriptions went as far as twelve-hours distance from Portland. Residents did not always positively view Scott's partisan publication style, as is evidenced by a decline in circulation from 22,000 to less than 12,000 in the 1890s during the "free silver" debate. The first African American to be employed in the newsroom of *The Oregonian* was William Hilliard, publisher of the *Portland Challenger*, in 1952.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Perhaps more than any other individual during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Oregonian* editor Harvey Scott shaped public opinion in Oregon through his newspaper's expansive circulation network and strong reputation. Scott viewed *The Oregonian* as an educational tool for pioneer residents and later as a chronicle of Oregon's great history.³³⁹ Scott, who had himself come West via the Oregon Trail, held Oregon's pioneers in the highest regard, comparing them to the founders of England and the United States.³⁴⁰ Scott's scholarly pursuits distinguished him from other early founders, and he would come to be regarded as one of Oregon's leading historians.³⁴¹

Scott's conservative views were widely known and exhibited for decades in his *Oregonian* editorials. Although he was pro-abolition during the Civil War, Scott sympathized with Southerners during Reconstruction and was a fierce opponent of equal rights and integration of African Americans.³⁴² Scott also vehemently opposed women's suffrage, leading to lengthy editorial arguments with his sister, Abigail Scott Duniway, who published the progressive *Portland New Northwest* between 1871 and 1887.³⁴³ Scott did not shy away from an argument and viewed his early years at *The Oregonian* as a constant battle in which no maneuver was too immoral. Although it maintained its position as Portland's dominant media outlet throughout the period of significance, *The Oregonian's* preeminence was challenged throughout much of the twentieth century by its mainstream competitor, *The Oregon Daily Journal*.

The Oregon Daily Journal (1902-1982)

The Oregon Daily Journal (*The Journal*) began publishing a daily afternoon paper in 1902. From its inception, the newspaper sought to challenge the dominance of *The Oregonian*, which was a daily morning publication. In response to the conservatism of *The Oregonian*, *The Journal* regularly featured progressive writers and editorials. Like *The Oregonian*, whose offices were located in a stately building at 537 SW 6th Ave. from 1892 to 1950, *The Journal's* offices were also located downtown, starting in the

³³⁹ Lee M. Nash, "Scott of the 'Oregonian': The Editor as Historian," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (September 1969): 201-203. Scott viewed Oregon's residents as intelligent beings whose ignorance was based on a lack of proper education and not on disinterest or ineptness. Scott sought to educate his kinsman in local, regional, and national matters, even comparing *The Oregonian* to the "church" in terms of moral influence. Scott was the first graduate of Pacific University in 1963 and the first person to attain a college degree in Oregon.

³⁴⁰ "Mr. Scott's Address," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 6, 1899; Nash, "Scott of the 'Oregonian,'" 210. Scott not only compared Oregonians to earlier pioneers but argued that Oregonians were more "pure" than others, such as migrants to California.

³⁴¹ Nash, "Scott of the 'Oregonian,'" 197, 204, 219, 221. Scott served as one of Oregon's leading historians in a variety of capacities. Scott was continuously called upon to speak at state and nationwide events, such as to the Historical Congress of the Lewis and Clark Exposition and at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York; edited the *History of Portland*, a 650-page book from a New York publisher; was considered a "Prominent Contributor and Reviser" for volumes IX-XI of the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, published 1899-1901; and served as the first president of the Oregon Historical Society, a title which he held for four years.

³⁴² Nash, "Scott of the 'Oregonian,'" 209. Scott is characterized as being "wary of innovations in government and society." Another example is an editorial aside in an *Oregonian* edition from January 23, 1868: "The Democratic idea of the whole duty of the black man: That he shall work for others without pay, and be content with no more rights as a freeman than he had as a slave." While it cannot be proven that Scott penned this sentence himself, it surely was approved by the editor and in the same year that Oregon rescinded its ratification of the fourteenth amendment.

³⁴³ Jean M. Ward, "Abigail Scott Duniway (1834-1915)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/abigail_scott_duniway/#.Xe1LZXdFxFY. Duniway was a leader in Oregon's suffrage movement and the first woman to vote in the state.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Goodnough Building at SW 5th Avenue and Yamhill Street before moving to the Jackson Tower at **806 SW Broadway** in 1912.³⁴⁴

Portland's Early African American Press: 1896 through the Great Depression

Beginning in 1896, African American newspapers began to assert themselves as important alternatives to the city's dominant journalistic narrative. In the years between 1896 and the outbreak of World War II, one and sometimes two African American publications served the city's Black residents.³⁴⁵ During years of overlapping coverage, the various African American newspapers were not always in accord; despite the periodic conflict between publications, however, the Black press remained united in their shared mission to educate and energize Portland's African American population.³⁴⁶

The New Age (1896-1907)

Portland's earliest African American newspaper was *The New Age*, founded by editor Adolphus D. Griffin.³⁴⁷ Exchanging news stories with the more than forty African American periodicals that already existed across the United States, *The New Age* kept Portlanders informed of nationwide news pertinent to the African American experience.

Griffin was a lifelong Republican, and the paper often reflected his partisan views. Readers of *The New Age* included African American and White Portlanders, and Griffin regularly featured advertisements for both White- and Black-owned businesses. Griffin urged his fellow Black Portlanders to adhere to Booker T. Washington's "conservative philosophy of accommodation," which argued that education and economic success would better effect progress than political or legislative activity.³⁴⁸

With the founding of Portland's second Black-owned newspaper, *The Advocate*, in 1903, Griffin's *New Age* faced competition from a publication that was demonstrably more progressive. In 1907, *The New Age* succumbed to the growing popularity of *The Advocate* and Griffin, the founder of what was to be the first in a long tradition of Black periodicals in Portland, left Oregon for the Midwest.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ "Barbara Mahoney, Charles S. (Sam) Jackson (1860-1924)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified February 28, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/jackson_charles_s_sam_1860_1924_/#.Xe1NJndFxPY. The Jackson Tower was commissioned by *The Journal* and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1996 (National Register of Historic Places, Journal Building, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #96000995).

³⁴⁵ While it is not known why this was usually the case, it is possible that Portland's small Black population could not financially sustain two newspapers.

³⁴⁶ News articles from both the White and Black press show a series of libel suits filed by Black editors against other Black editors.

³⁴⁷ Jason Stone, "Historic Oregon Newspapers: Portland New Age," *University of Oregon Libraries*, accessed September 26, 2019, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/history/newage/>. Griffin was likely born in Louisiana in 1871 and had lived in Los Angeles, California, and Spokane, Washington, prior to his arrival in Portland by 1896. His publication was also known as the *Portland New Age*.

³⁴⁸ Quintard Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in The Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," *The Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 4 (Autumn 1979): 346.

³⁴⁹ Stone, "Historic Oregon Newspapers: Portland New Age." The newspaper catapulted Griffin to national and local prominence for his outspoken yet conservative views. Griffin served as vice president for both the National Civil Rights Protective League of the U.S. and the National Negro Businessmen's Association. In 1901, he was the first African American to attend a Republican State Convention in Oregon.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The New Age operated from a variety of buildings during its eleven-year run, including 215 SW Stark St., the Cambridge Building at SW 3rd Avenue and Morrison Street, the Haseltine Building at **133 SW Second Ave.**, and finally 115 SW Second Ave. It is possible that Griffin operated out of downtown Portland locations to maintain proximity with other publishers like *The Oregonian*.³⁵⁰

***The Advocate* (1903-1936)**

Portland's second African American newspaper, *The Advocate*, became Portland's longest-running and most influential African American newspaper prior to World War II. Initially a four-page weekly publication, *The Advocate* expanded to sixteen pages in 1929. At its peak, the paper was estimated to have more than three thousand subscribers, including Oregon Governor A. W. Norblad and Oregon Supreme Court Chief Justice John Rand.³⁵¹ Unlike *The New Age*, editors of *The Advocate* actively incorporated a progressive agenda into the pages of the publication.³⁵²

The Advocate was founded in 1903 by a group of ten men, nine of whom were Portland Hotel employees, under the editorial leadership of Edward Daniel (E.D.) Cannady.³⁵³ Early editions demonstrate the paper's stark tonal contrast with *The New Age*; where Griffin frequently appeased White businessmen, Cannady regularly challenged their treatment of African Americans. In 1912, E.D. Cannady married Beatrice Morrow, who would become assistant editor of *The Advocate* and a driving force behind progressive change at the newspaper and in the city.³⁵⁴ In her many editorials, Beatrice Cannady displayed her willingness to challenge oppression, both as a woman and as an African American.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁰ "A.D. Griffin, Veteran Newspaper Man, Answers the Call of His Maker," *Topeka Plaindealer* (Topeka, KS), June 9, 1916. Adolphus D. Griffin and wife Emma Minor Griffin lived at **2037 NW 21st Ave.** from 1906 until their divorce in 1907. Griffin left Portland shortly thereafter and eventually started the *Kansas Elevator* newspaper in Kansas City, Missouri; he died in Kansas City in 1916 and was buried in Shreveport, Louisiana. Emma Minor Griffin remained in Portland and later married Jack Stanley.

³⁵¹ Kimberley Mangun, "'As Citizens of Portland We Must Protest': Beatrice Morrow Cannady and the African American Response to D.W. Griffith's 'Masterpiece,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 385. Oregon Governor A. W. Norblad served from 1929 to 1931 and Oregon Supreme Court Chief Justice John Rand served from 1921 to 1942.

³⁵² *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), various, including "Negroes Victims of Reds," January 14, 1933. *The Advocate* extensively pursued White subscribers in 1933 by running a campaign to get a copy of *The Advocate* in every White home in Oregon.

³⁵³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 37. The group of founders includes John Logan; Edward Rutherford; William Bolds; Reverend Carey F. B. Moore, Pastor of First AME Zion Church; McCants Stewart, an attorney; A. Ballard; Howard Sproules, a waiter at the Portland Hotel; Bob Perry, a waiter at the Portland Hotel; and Edward Daniel (E.D.) Cannady. Cannady, the Portland Hotel's "hat man," was well known for checking as many as 300 hats an evening and returning each to its owner without the aid of a ticket check. Bolds eventually left Portland for Los Angeles; Stewart died in Oakland, California; Ballard moved to Norfolk, Virginia; and Sproules had left for Seattle by 1910.

³⁵⁴ Beatrice Morrow Cannady previously taught school in Oklahoma and studied music at the University of Chicago. She moved to Portland after exchanging a series of letters with future husband E.D. Cannady. Following their marriage, Beatrice Cannady became *The Advocate*'s assistant editor, and in the 1920s became lead editor (Kimberley Mangun, "A Force for Change: Beatrice Morrow Cannady's Program for Race Relations in Oregon, 1912-1936," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 96, no. 2 [Spring 2005]: 69).

³⁵⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 38-42. The Cannadys edited and published *The Advocate* together for two decades and were prominent in Portland's social and political circles as a couple and as individuals. Beatrice Cannady became the Northwest's first African American female attorney and was a tireless civil rights advocate, with a steady stream of speaking engagements at Reed College, First Congregational Church, Willamette University, multiple annual NAACP conventions, the first Pan-African Congress in New York, and countless others. She ran for the Oregon State Legislature in 1932, and although she did not win election, she gained 8,000 votes among an

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

At a time in which White Americans still questioned the capabilities of African Americans, *The Advocate* challenged preconceived notions of intellect and interest. The relative isolation of Portland's small African American community necessitated a mechanism to keep Black Portlanders attuned to the larger issues and events of their day, resulting in a thorough and worldly weekly publication.³⁵⁶ In addition to coverage of the mainstream news stories in the dominant White press, *The Advocate* reported on African American individuals and institutions fighting against oppression. Readers were encouraged to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and attend lectures delivered by nationally prominent African Americans who visited Portland. In addition to targeted reporting on African American resistance to White-dominated power structures, *The Advocate* featured continuous reporting on various social aspects of Portland's Black community. For example, each edition offered coverage on Black places of worship, fraternal organizations, and benevolent societies. While subtle, such constant reminders showed existing residents and potential newcomers that Portland's small pre-World War II African American community was a resilient force able to support its own institutions.

The Advocate featured local social news which it published alongside other regional and national news of interest. One of the paper's popular local features, "Hotel News," kept readers apprised of career changes, promotions, and other news about the African American workers at various downtown hotels.³⁵⁷ Editions included sections devoted to youth happenings in the city, homes for sale or rent, and travels of local citizens. Such news tempered the antiquated characterization of African Americans as "the other," a narrative that was actively promoted in Portland by institutions such as the Ku Klux Klan.³⁵⁸

Depression-era financial strife caused *The Advocate* to cease publication in 1936, having never missed a weekly issue and having provided an intimate picture of daily life in the African American community for thirty-three years.³⁵⁹ *The Advocate* offices were located in the Lowengart Building at **204 SW 8th Ave.**

overwhelmingly White electorate. E.D. Cannady was a charter member of the Rose City Elks Lodge #111 and served as its Exalted Ruler for 15 years. In the 1910s and 1920s, their home at **2516 NE 26th Ave.** was the site of regular "inter-racial teas" of up to 250 guests. The Cannadys divorced in 1930, but Beatrice continued as the paper's lead editor until the end of its run in 1936.

³⁵⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 41. *The Advocate* was certainly not the only mechanism that counter-balanced this isolation; many of Portland's African American men traveled extensively during their railroad work, and individual Portlanders traveled to other parts of the country for family and business reasons and carried on extensive correspondence to the same end.

³⁵⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 37. Porter Keddie Culp was a regular "Hotel News" Contributor. Culp came to Portland from Arkansas in 1921, and Culp's family home from 1925 through the 1960s stands at **1535 NE 59th Ave.**

³⁵⁸ Millner, "Blacks in Oregon"; Mangun, "As Citizens of Portland We Must Protest," 382-387. Scholars agree that the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Oregon primarily targeted Catholics and Jews, but supporters of the KKK also did not want to see the relatively powerless minority of African Americans in Portland gain any ground. Movies like *The Birth of a Nation* reinforced implicit and explicit biases, and as Portland had the largest Klan membership west of the Mississippi, it is likely that many residents believed these prejudicial portrayals. See Context VII for more on the KKK in Oregon.

³⁵⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 42. *The Advocate* arguably provides the most complete record available for information about Portland's African American community during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

from 1913 through 1920, in the Buchanan Building from 1920 through 1925, and at **414-418 SW Washington St.** from 1925 through 1936.³⁶⁰

The Portland Times (1918-1923)

Prominent local African American businessmen united in 1918 to establish *The Portland Times* as a journal for all of Portland's citizens.³⁶¹ These businessmen included W. R. Lee, Erastus Richardson, Dr. James Merriman, William McLamore, William D. Allen, George P. Moore, and J.D. Emery.³⁶² Although both *The Advocate* and *The Portland Times* prioritized the advancement of Portland's African American community, primary sources reflect tension between the two publications and their editors.

The founding principle of *The Portland Times* was that of an unbiased publication serving White and Black residents of Portland regardless of religious or social affiliations.³⁶³ *The Portland Times* criticized Black benevolent and fraternal societies at a time in which *Advocate* founder E.D. Cannady was the Exalted Ruler of the Rose City Elks, arguing that Black businesses, not social organizations, were the best way to gain recognition by dominant White society.³⁶⁴ A contentious libel suit filed by *Advocate* assistant editor Beatrice Cannady against five *Portland Times* editors would follow in that same year. The suit was eventually dropped, but it is unlikely that the two papers ever fully reconciled.³⁶⁵

The Portland Times challenged *The Advocate* as the dominant Black press in Portland, but the city could not sustain two African American newspapers simultaneously; *The Portland Times* closed its doors after only five years.³⁶⁶ The Abington Building, located on the east side of SW 3rd Avenue between Stark and Washington streets, housed the paper's offices and was demolished in 1967.³⁶⁷

The Northwest Enterprise (1920-1952)

Alongside the local African American press existed regional and national African American publications, including the notable *Northwest Enterprise*. Based in Seattle, Washington, *The Northwest Enterprise* established a local Portland office and hired a Portland editor to write a one-page spread of Portland news

³⁶⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 41. It is possible that *The Advocate* offices were located in downtown Portland in deliberate proximity to other established newspaper offices.

³⁶¹ "The Portland Times stands for...", *The Portland Times* (Portland, OR), August 2, 1919.

³⁶² "Historic Black Newspapers of Portland: Portland Times," *PDXScholar*, accessed September 26, 2019, <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/portlandtimes/>. Erastus Richardson once lived at **4135 NE Mallory Ave.** while J.D. Emery resided at the Golden West Hotel for a time.

³⁶³ "The Portland Times stands for...", *The Portland Times* (Portland, OR), August 2, 1919.

³⁶⁴ "Fraternal Orders Strong Influence on Colored People," *The Portland Times* (Portland, OR), [undated] 1920.

³⁶⁵ "Colored Women Not to Press Civil Action for Alleged Libel," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), January 12, 1920. The original article about Cannady published in *The Portland Times* could not be located.

³⁶⁶ Newspaper clippings from *The Sunday Oregonian* and *The Oregon Daily Journal* show a libel suit between W. D. Allen and Beatrice Cannady in 1919. In a similar vein as *The New Age* and *The Advocate* lawsuits in the first decade of the twentieth century, this lawsuit was possibly the result of the two papers vying for readership in Portland ("Negroes Accused of Libel," *The Oregonian* [Portland, OR], November 2, 1919; "Colored Editors Are Accused of Criminal Libel," *The Oregon Daily Journal* [Portland, OR], November 2, 1919; "\$25,000 Suit Withdrawn," *The Oregon Daily Journal* [Portland, OR], January 12, 1920).

³⁶⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 42. The building was also home to the African American-owned Times Publishing Company, which featured the Golden West's William Allen as president, Dr. Merriman as vice president, and George Moore as secretary/treasurer. Moore was also the director of the Golden West Athletic League and a major national boxing promoter. Allen and Moore were brothers-in-law.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

for each weekly issue. *The Northwest Enterprise* was the Pacific Northwest's first regional Black newspaper; it was also notable in that it was one of the first newspapers in Portland to regularly feature images of African Americans.³⁶⁸

While most papers featured more than just local news, the presence of a separate office in Portland for a Seattle-based paper demonstrates the regional support given to the small Black community in Portland. Unlike the local Black press outlets in Portland, *The Northwest Enterprise* continued publishing during the turbulent times of the Great Depression and World War II.

Beyond Print Journalism: Radio Broadcasting

Nationally, the lexicon of journalism experienced a major shift with the introduction of commercial radio in the 1920s. *The Oregonian* was Portland's first newspaper to establish its own station, KGW, in 1922. Other newspapers would quickly follow suit, and by 1926, five radio stations were operating in the metropolitan region. *The Oregon Daily Journal* purchased KOIN in 1931 after its parent company folded during the Great Depression.³⁶⁹

Radio sustained the dominant local newspapers during the Great Depression as circulation and advertising revenues were decimated by economic strain. While many radio broadcasts covered news items traditionally printed on paper, radio also served as popular entertainment. Regularly programmed shows included actors, musicians, singers, and even tap dancers. Advertisements featured catchy jingles designed to last in listeners' memories long after the program was over.

National and local radio broadcasts often stereotyped African Americans and insulted their culture. A popular radio program called "Amos 'n' Andy" satirized southern African American's attempts to make a life in the northern states.³⁷⁰ Played by two white men, the show utilized exaggerated vernacular to convey the "Blackness" of the characters.³⁷¹ The program eventually evolved into a more dramatic exploration of human nature and toned down the overtly racial dialogue.³⁷²

In contrast, Portland's Black community's broadcasts featured intelligent and articulate leaders from the community. One of the first broadcasts by local African Americans was a service at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in January of 1927.³⁷³ Beatrice Cannady would become Portland's most frequent African

³⁶⁸ Gerald J. Baldasty and Mark E. Lapointe, "The Press and the African-American Community: The Role of the 'Northwest Enterprise' in the 1930s," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 94, no. 1 (Winter 2002/2003): 17-20.

³⁶⁹ "Journal Invests in KOIN," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 1, 1931.

³⁷⁰ Judy L. Isaksen, "Resistive Radio: African Americans' Evolving Portrayal and Participation from Broadcasting to Narrowcasting," *Journal of Popular Culture* 45, no. 4 (August 2012): 755. "Amos 'n' Andy" played over the airwaves six days a week in fifteen-minute segments. Over 40 million people tuned in to listen to the program.

³⁷¹ Isaksen, "Resistive Radio," 755. See Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*, for a discussion of minstrel theater, the performance genre in which these caricatures and tropes developed.

³⁷² Mel Watkins, "What Was it About 'Amos 'n' Andy'?" *The New York Times*, July 7, 1991. As the show evolved, Amos and Andy were gradually portrayed as being similar to working-class Americans regardless of race.

³⁷³ "Mt. Olivet Church Will Be Heard over Radio," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1927. This advertisement for the event on January 30, 1927 highlights that Reverend E.C. Dyer will provide the sermon and Lola McCants direct the choir. A follow-up piece states the event was seen as a success with many "white friends" in attendance or listening in, and an editorial in the same edition praises the efforts of all involved as "another means of helping to solve the race problem." ("The Radio Program," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 5, 1927; "Longview News," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 5, 1927).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

American radio guest during the pre-World War II years, speaking about events like “Negro History Week” and delivering lengthy addresses about Black contributions to society.³⁷⁴ Local leaders like Cannady used their radio appearances to counter racist and oppressive programming that made it into the dominant local and national broadcasts.

The Interplay of Portland’s White and Black Press Prior to World War II

The two dominant local newspapers of the early twentieth century, *The Oregonian* and *The Oregon Daily Journal*, coexisted with *The Advocate* for more than thirty years. Although their social coverage and special interest articles were targeted toward different audiences, the papers often reported on the same local, national, and international events. However, the angle of this coverage differed markedly between the three papers. Preliminary research indicates a level of mutual respect between *The Advocate* and *The Oregon Daily Journal*, with both newspapers maintaining a generally antagonistic attitude toward the more conservative *Oregonian*.

Coverage of one racially-charged incident from 1927 highlights these complicated relationships. When the Cannadys’ young son George was refused entrance at an ice rink on a school trip due to his race, both *The Oregonian* and *The Oregon Daily Journal* published articles about the event. *The Oregonian* provided an ostensibly objective retelling of events, with no commentary on the treatment of the young boy, although the author did note that he “ranked well above average of his class in scholastics.”³⁷⁵ In stark contrast, *The Oregon Daily Journal* published coverage of the event alongside an editorial about the general treatment of African Americans in Portland, using George Cannady’s experience as an example. *The Journal* wrote that African Americans have “made greater mental and spiritual progress than any other [race]” and that “no city has a higher-minded colony of colored people than Portland.”³⁷⁶

A 1931 debate regarding the radio program “Amos ‘n’ Andy” provides another example of how the three newspapers interacted on the topic of race relations. *The Oregonian* published an editorial arguing that African Americans had lost all sense of humor and were being “too sensitive” in objecting to the program’s derogatory stereotypes, which were reminiscent of minstrel shows. The editorial continued by stating that “one Oregon up-state newspaper...stands with an almost invisible minority” in its opposition to the program.³⁷⁷ This not-so-subtle jab at *The Oregon Daily Journal* prompted a response by *The Advocate*, in which authors stated that the only “pertinent remarks” with which they agreed were those said sarcastically in *The Oregonian* regarding the universality of the characters if stripped of their racist accents.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ “Speaks over Radio,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 12, 1927; “Give Radio Program to Broadcast from KEX,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), April 7, 1928. It appears that such programming became more frequent in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

³⁷⁵ “[Illegible] Frolic Ends When One [Illegible] Kept out Because of Racial Difference,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 28, 1927.

³⁷⁶ “Their Loyalty,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 12, 1927. Reprinted from *The Oregon Daily Journal*. *The Advocate* did not state in the original reprint of this article that the article was sourced from *The Oregon Daily Journal*. The next week’s edition of *The Advocate* included a correction stating this fact.

³⁷⁷ “Too Sensitive,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), August 10, 1931.

³⁷⁸ “Too Sensitive,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), August 29, 1931. For more on appropriation of African American culture for White audiences, see Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

In yet another display of the animosity between *The Oregonian* and *The Advocate*, the two papers publicly criticized each other's journalistic efforts through a series of editorials in 1922. A report about a proposed national anti-lynching law in *The Oregonian* on December 4, 1922, was countered by an *Advocate* editorial entitled "Timely, Yet Too Late." In the editorial, *The Advocate* staff stated that while *The Oregonian* published a compelling argument for the passage of the bill, the publication was too close to the vote to persuade any representative to alter their vote and was therefore was a farcical effort by *The Oregonian*. *The Oregonian* simply responded by asking how something could be both "timely and yet too late," then continued to patronize *The Advocate* staff by offering an explanation of the legislative process.³⁷⁹

While the conflicts between the papers are notable, not all interactions between the newspapers were tense. When Sam Jackson, the editor and publisher of *The Oregon Daily Journal*, died in 1924, Beatrice Cannady penned a sincere tribute in *The Advocate*. In this article, Cannady complimented Jackson's "spirit of fair play, helpfulness and friendliness," and noted that Jackson assisted *The Advocate* in its early days, never once refusing a request.³⁸⁰

The African American Press: World War II through 1973

Following the closure of *The Advocate* in 1936, Portland's Black press went silent for the first time in forty years. A brief start of a paper, *The Portland Observer*, was founded by recent Morehouse College graduate William H. McClendon in 1938. However, it suffered from a lack of funding and did not last a year.

As detailed in Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, World War II brought major changes to Portland and a significant increase in the size of the city's Black population. The war also effected the resurgence of the Black press in Portland. Fledgling publications begun in the 1940s primarily focused on the war effort and familiarizing Black in-migrants with Portland's friendly institutions. As World War II came to a close, Portland's expanded African American population would begin again to rely on the local press to counterbalance the dominant media and advocate for issues important to the Black community.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, explored in Context VII, *Civil Rights*, gave Black journalism a new mandate to elevate the accomplishments of the African American community and demand change from Portland's White institutions. From the hiring of African American clerks in grocery stores to electoral victories in state elections, the Black press played a critical role in celebrating victories and advocating for change during the years leading up to 1973, the close of the period of significance for this MPD, and beyond.

The People's Observer (1943-1950)

In the spring of 1943, five years after his *Portland Observer* had failed, William McClendon was summoned again to the printing press. As Portland's rapidly-expanding African American community reached 15,000 strong, the Shipyard Negro Organization for Victory (SNOV) requested McClendon revive *The Portland Observer*. McClendon resumed his editorial post and renamed the paper *The People's Observer*, working out

³⁷⁹ "Timely, Yet Too Late," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 13, 1922.

³⁸⁰ "Sam Jackson Passes," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 3, 1925. Although no further details could be located regarding the type or extent of assistance received from *The Oregon Daily Journal*, it is possible that *The Advocate* used *The Journal's* printing press.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

of an office at 2017 N Williams Ave.³⁸¹ The newspaper covered local and national issues regarding race that were intentionally ignored by White news outlets like *The Oregonian*.³⁸²

Like Portland's Black editors before him, McClendon utilized his publication to challenge preexisting notions of racism, sexism, and African Americans' place in Portland. His controversial stances would lead to his dismissal from his job at the shipyards in July 1943, but he continued to publish *The People's Observer* until 1950.³⁸³

Portland Inquirer (1944-1946)

Although short-lived, the *Portland Inquirer* played a major role in uniting Portland's fragmented Black community at the close of World War II. Editor Ralph H. Faulk distributed the newspaper from offices located in Portland, Vanport, and Vancouver, where significant numbers of Black in-migrants and established residents were living during the war.³⁸⁴

The bulk of this eight-page weekly publication was devoted to the African American experience on the home front. The paper covered local and national news, with an emphasis on mobilizing the African American community to vote. Multiple pages in each weekly issue contained encouragements large and small regarding voter registration sites, the benefits of gaining representation in government, and the importance of fulfilling one's patriotic duty. Similar to the publications predating the *Portland Inquirer*, each newspaper featured information about African American religious services, benevolent and fraternal organizations, and youth events.³⁸⁵

Portland Challenger (1952-1954)

The *Portland Challenger* was the first media endeavor of journalist William Hilliard, a recent graduate of Pacific University at the time of the paper's founding in 1952.³⁸⁶ Hilliard's particular brand of journalism was influenced by a nationwide trend toward statistical analysis, including analysis of African Americans who were previously ignored by the White majority except during election season. The bi-weekly *Portland Challenger* published quantitative and qualitative data to urge African American participation in politics, such as a report regarding a voter survey in November 1952 and evidence of illegal housing discrimination in May 1953.³⁸⁷

³⁸¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59-60. Other properties associated with McClendon during this era include **1803 NE 1st Ave.**, **825 NE Holland St.** and **4140 NE Holman St.**

³⁸² Stan Fonseca, "William McClendon (1915-1996)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/mcclendon_william/#.XY-sAndFxPY.

³⁸³ Fonseca, "William McClendon (1915-1996)." The supposed article that got McClendon fired was the coverage of a protest at the shipyards regarding racial slurs used to describe female African American workers. After 1950 McClendon pursued career as a social worker and later as an educator at Reed College and Portland State University, where he helped to establish the Black Studies program. McClendon was also a jazz musician and owner of McClendon's Rhythm Room, which opened in 1949.

³⁸⁴ "Historic Black Newspapers of Portland: The Portland Inquirer," *PDXScholar*, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/portlandinquirer/>.

³⁸⁵ "Portland Patter," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), September 8, 1944.

³⁸⁶ Due to the bi-weekly nature of the newspaper, Hilliard often covered the same topics in each edition as the news evolved. For example, digitized copies of the *Portland Challenger* on University of Oregon's "Historic Oregon Newspapers" database show the continued reporting on plans for the Eliot Elementary School in each edition for more than four months. Routine topics included civil rights activities, elections, education, housing, and employment.

³⁸⁷ "Vote Survey Gives Ike, Nixon Third of Total," *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), November 28, 1952; "Neighborhood Restrictions Evident," *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), May 1, 1953.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The *Portland Challenger* was in circulation during the landmark passage of Oregon's Civil Rights Bill in 1953, but it was discontinued in 1954 following Hilliard's departure for a position at *The Oregonian*.³⁸⁸ Hilliard, who was initially hired by the White-owned *Oregonian* in 1952, was the first African American employed in the paper's newsroom. After years of covering sports, religion, and general reporting assignments for *The Oregonian*, Hilliard began to ascend through the editorial ranks and secured a position as the paper's executive editor in 1982.³⁸⁹

***Oregon Mirror* (1959-ca.1962)**

Much like the *Portland Challenger* before it, the *Oregon Mirror* reflected the aspirations of Portland's Black community as it navigated the challenges and victories of the Civil Rights Era. Established by J. Marcus Willington and Don Alford, the *Oregon Mirror's* weekly edition focused on the Black community in Albina, with pages of advertisements for Black businesses along Williams Avenue and a "classifieds" section devoted to Inner North and Northeast Portland. Although the paper did not remain in circulation for long, it existed at a time when Portland's African American community was still largely ignored by many of Portland's dominant institutions.³⁹⁰

Other African American Publications in the Postwar Era

In the 1950s and 1960s, at least one if not multiple African American newspapers continuously served the Portland community. Other known newspapers include the *Advocate Register*, published in 1951 by Oliver Smith at 1453 N Williams Ave.; *The Northwest Clarion*, initially published between 1943 and 1961 and revived under Jimmy "Bang Bang" Walker as *The Clarion Defender* from 1967 to 1973 at **1223 NE Alberta St.**; the *Consumer Review*, published in 1958 and 1959 by Earl Hampton at 3211 N Williams Ave.; and the *Oregon Advance Times*, published from **714½ NE Alberta St.** in the late 1960s.³⁹¹

Although many of Portland's African American newspapers of the mid-century period lasted only a short time, two newspapers founded near the close of the period of significance still exist as of this writing. The *Portland Observer* (which has no affiliation with William H. McClendon's Depression-era publication of the same name) was established in 1970 by Rev. Alfred Henderson of Bethel AME through the efforts of the Albina Ministerial Alliance. *The Portland Observer's* first offices stood at **2201 N Killingsworth St.**, and as of 2019, it continues publication at **4747 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** under the management of Mark Washington. A second 1970s-era publication, *The Skanner News*, was established by Bernie Foster in 1975

³⁸⁸ *Portland Challenger's* office was located at 3300 N Williams Ave.

³⁸⁹ Tom Hallman, Jr., "William A. Hilliard, former editor of The Oregonian, has died," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 16, 2017; Sam Roberts, "William A. Hilliard, 89, Pioneering Black Journalist, Dies," *The New York Times*, January 20, 2017. In his time as editor, Hilliard strove to change the way minority communities were covered and described by *The Oregonian*; he generally omitted racial references in criminal suspect descriptions, arguing that they were too generic to help identify suspects and that they needlessly perpetuated racial stereotypes, and he stopped the paper's sportswriters from referring to team nicknames that were demeaning to Native Americans. In 1993, Hilliard was named the first Black president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (now the American Society of News Editors); in the same year, he was honored by the National Association of Black Journalists for his role in integrating the mainstream media.

³⁹⁰ "Historic Black Newspapers of Portland: Oregon Mirror," *PDXScholar*, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/oregonmirror/>; *Oregon Mirror* (Portland, OR), various editions from 1962. The *Oregon Mirror* operated at 4617 N Williams Ave.

³⁹¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 97-98. Jimmy "Bang Bang" Walker, a professional boxer who moved to Portland in 1955, is noted in Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*. His home was located at **4403 N Concord Ave.**

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

at **2337 N Williams Ave.** The paper relocated to **415 N Killingsworth St.** in 1997 and also continues publication as of 2019.³⁹²

Beyond Print Journalism: Radio and Television after World War II

The use of radio during World War II and the expansion of regularly scheduled television programming in 1948 permanently altered the way Americans received the news. President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed the nation via radio in “fireside chats” throughout the Great Depression and World War II, transforming radio into a symbol of patriotism and contributing to its rise in popularity.³⁹³ Prior to World War II, relatively few Americans owned television sets, and networks did not provide daily news coverage. However, the economic boom following World War II and technological advancements in the postwar era contributed to the growing popularity and accessibility of this medium, so that 70 percent of American homes owned a television set by 1956.³⁹⁴ As well as providing a range of popular entertainment, television and radio functioned as platforms for local and national news outlets.

Minority representation in all forms of mainstream American media continued to lag after World War II. Portland’s first African American radio host, Mr. Excell (Bass) Harris, was hired by station KWJJ in 1946. Harris produced and hosted his own show, the “Bronze Community Hour,” on the station from midnight to 1:00am, six days a week.³⁹⁵ Although a few African Americans, including William Hilliard at *The Oregonian* and Inez Smith at radio station KRUL, had entered the “White newsroom” in the early postwar years, their assignments were often limited in scope.³⁹⁶ During his stint as a sports reporter, Hilliard was the only reporter in *The Oregonian*’s sports department never to be assigned to cover a game.³⁹⁷

The impacts of these discriminatory hiring practices were revealed during the widespread race riots of the late 1960s, when many American news outlets realized their White reporters were unable to be on site at these riots or to engage with rioters in any meaningful way. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* was recorded to have sent in 24-year-old African American office messenger Robert Richardson to cover the 1965 Watts riots; other news outlets in various cities also asked their African American “copy aide, librarian assistant, or circulation truck driver to blend in with the crowd and report what they saw,” as White reporters were unable to safely or successfully report on the riots.³⁹⁸

In February 1968, a presidential commission published findings of widespread discrimination and inaccuracy in the news coverage of the urban uprisings, forcing news outlets across the United States to reflect on their hiring and promotional practices.³⁹⁹ Portland appears to have reckoned with its own lack of diverse

³⁹² John Killen, “Past Tense Oregon: Oregon Historical Society to celebrate Skanner newspaper archives,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 5, 2015, https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2015/02/past_tense_oregon_oregon_histo.html.

³⁹³ “The Fireside Chats: Roosevelt’s Radio Talks,” *The White House Historical Association*, accessed April 25, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-fireside-chats-roosevelts-radio-talks>.

³⁹⁴ Steve Allen and Robert J. Thompson, “Television in the United States,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, last modified July 1, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/art/television-in-the-United-States>. In contrast, only 2 percent of American households had a television set in 1948.

³⁹⁵ “Another First,” *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), February 8, 1946.

³⁹⁶ “Inez Smith Named to Radio Job,” *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), December 12, 1952.

³⁹⁷ Sam Roberts, “William A. Hilliard, 89, Pioneering Black Journalist, Dies,” *The New York Times*, January 20, 2017.

³⁹⁸ Fred Carroll, *Race News: Black Journalists and the Fight for Racial Justice in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 180-189.

³⁹⁹ Carroll, *Race News*, 180-181.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

journalistic representation in the months and years that followed. The first on-air Black television reporter in the Pacific Northwest was Richard Bogle, who was hired by KATU Portland news in January 1968.⁴⁰⁰ *The Oregonian* reported in March of that year that “the scarcity of qualified Negro applicants in journalism is apparent” across the country and called upon local educators to better advocate for African Americans to create a career in print and television journalism.⁴⁰¹ In 1969, a news panel was held regarding “Race and the Mass Media,” and led in part by William Hilliard and Richard Bogle. The panel envisioned a new direction for Portland’s media industry through its frank discussion of inclusionary hiring practices and the need for more objective and multidimensional coverage of African Americans and minority issues.⁴⁰²

The Interplay Between Portland’s Press Outlets after World War II

Competing news outlets in Portland during and immediately following World War II reflected the heightened racial tension of the rapidly densifying and diversifying city. Coverage of a meeting of Portland and Vancouver leaders in August 1944 by *The Oregonian* and *Portland Inquirer* provide insight into the persistent racial divide upheld by the dominant press. A three-paragraph article in *Portland Inquirer* titled “Mayor Taboos Discrimination” stated that although “petty bickering was indulged in by some of those present,” Mayor Earl Riley offered his commitment to work toward an end to discrimination.⁴⁰³ Alternatively, *The Oregonian* reported on the same event in a full-column article titled “Racial Issues Cause Dissent: Harmony Meeting Ends in Tension,” describing how “uninvited persons” disrupted the meeting and faulting African Americans for instigating racial tension in the city.⁴⁰⁴

As social change gripped Portland in the postwar decades, public opinion gradually moved toward more inclusive and racially-tolerant views. Although African American periodicals of the time still largely appealed to a Black audience, the mainstream outlets of *The Oregonian* and *The Oregon Daily Journal* began hiring more diverse reporters and reporting on more inclusive stories during the 1950s. For example, Hugh A. Scott of *The Oregonian* reported on the “Negro Housing Situation in Portland” in a three-article series in May 1953. Scott’s first article explained the policies leading to the majority of African Americans settling in Albina; his second article argued that Black people were living in every Portland neighborhood; and his third article dispelled the notion that Black residents decreased neighboring property values. Such a lengthy, well-researched, and insightful series about the African American experience in Portland demonstrated an editorial shift for a dominant media outlet with a history of inflammatory articles.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ James Harrison, “Richard ‘Dick’ Bogle (1930-2010),” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified November 15, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/bogle_dick_1930_2010/#.XpNaT5lIBPa. Dick Bogle was the son of Richard W. Bogle and Kathryn Hall Bogle (both respected members of Portland’s pre-war African American community) and the great grandson of Black pioneers who settled in Walla Walla, Washington. Dick Bogle had a broad range of interests and worked as a police officer, newscaster, and City Council Commissioner. Bogle also was passionate about jazz music from a young age and wrote reviews from his twenties onward, leading to the creation of the Dick Bogle Scholarship Fund by the Jazz Society of Oregon.

⁴⁰¹ Wayne Thompson, “News Media ‘Can No Longer Wait,’” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 31, 1968.

⁴⁰² “News Panel Recommends Objectivity in Reporting of Race Related Stories,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 1, 1969.

⁴⁰³ “Mayor Taboos Discrimination,” *The Portland Inquirer*, August 18, 1944.

⁴⁰⁴ “Racial Issues Cause Dissent: Harmony Meeting Ends in Tension,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), August 12, 1944.

⁴⁰⁵ Hugh A. Scott, “Negroes Find Few Residences Outside ‘Freedom Area,’” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 10, 1953; Hugh A. Scott, “History Fails to Verify Statements on Negroes,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 11, 1953; Hugh A. Scott, “Experience Related by Negro Home-Owner Shows that Property Values Fail to Suffer,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 12, 1953.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Increasingly more inclusive, *The Oregonian* and *The Oregon Daily Journal* remained the dominant newspapers in Oregon throughout the close of the period of significance. The advent of television, a deemphasis on print journalism, and transitions of ownership at both papers precipitated talks of a merge between the two in 1959, with *The Oregonian* seeking to buy out *The Oregon Daily Journal*. This sparked outrage amongst employees and union members at both papers, prompting a five-year strike that later evolved into resistance against the mechanization of the industry.⁴⁰⁶ In the end, the two papers consolidated under one owner and gradually *The Oregon Daily Journal* faded behind *The Oregonian*, ceasing publication in 1982.⁴⁰⁷

The continued publication of both the *Portland Observer* and *The Skanner News* as of 2019 represents a continuation of the significant contributions made by African American journalists in Portland during and after the period of significance of this MPD.

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context III, *Journalism*, are mostly likely to be newsrooms belonging to Property Type II, *Commercial and Professional Buildings*. Some resources belonging to Property Type I, *Residences*, may also be significant for their associations with significant figures discussed in this context. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD.

⁴⁰⁶ Many suspected that *The Oregonian* encouraged its workers to join the strike to make acquisition of *The Oregon Journal* more appealing to the general public. This is the third-longest newspaper strike in U.S. history.

⁴⁰⁷ Jeannette Butts, "Portland's Newspaper Wars: How the Oregonian Became a Monopoly," *Public History PDX*, January 29, 2017, <http://publichistorypdx.org/2017/01/29/portlands-newspaper-wars-oregonian-became-monopoly/>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT IV: ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

Summary

Implicit and explicit racial discrimination throughout the period of significance of this MPD compelled Portland's African American community to establish their own activities and institutions for social life and entertainment. As with places of business and worship, the location of Black social venues generally corresponded with the geography of African American settlement patterns as described in Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, beginning on the west side of the Willamette River in the nineteenth century and transitioning to Inner North and Northeast Portland in the early twentieth century.

In nineteenth-century Portland, Black-owned gathering spaces were few, and Black Portlanders generally patronized White-owned establishments. Many of these spaces were segregated or even inaccessible to African American customers, but informal, word-of-mouth knowledge of friendly establishments served to prevent the humiliation or danger of service refusal at White businesses that were hostile to African American patrons. As Portland's Black community became larger and more established after the turn of the century, a clearer demarcation emerged between White-owned and White-patronized establishments and those that were created by and for the African American community. In the early decades of the twentieth century, African American homes, fraternal lodges, and churches often played host to parties, theatrical performances, and lectures when racial discrimination or budgetary constraints prohibited the rental of another venue.

Economic and population growth after World War II facilitated the development of a flourishing entertainment and recreation scene within Portland's African American community during the later decades of the period of significance. While many White residents and business owners continued to discriminate against Portland's expanded Black community in the postwar years, African American entrepreneurs invested in their own social and athletic clubs, ballrooms, and music venues, providing a range of entertainment opportunities not seen in the city's early history. These spaces solidified a multifaceted African American community in Albina, supported the rise of successful athletes and performers, and fostered a music scene that attained regional and national fame.

African American Entertainment and Recreation in Early Portland: 1851-1905

Entertainment options for all audiences were fairly limited in Portland during the early years of the state's history, consisting predominantly of art exhibitions, theatrical plays, live musical performances, and activities held at private businesses such as saloons and restaurants.⁴⁰⁸ As Portland's African American population was extremely small in nineteenth-century Portland, numbering just 775 individuals at the time of the 1900 census, few Black-owned entertainment venues existed to cater to the recreational needs of Portland's African American community. Instead, African American Portlanders generally sought entertainment in those White-owned venues that would admit them. Where Black patrons were freely

⁴⁰⁸ One popular form of mainstream entertainment in the late nineteenth century was the "cyclorama," a type of artistic installation comprising a panoramic image curved into a cylindrical shape and surrounding a viewing platform. The medium was frequently used to depict historical battles and other scenes, providing an immersive experience for viewers. Portland, like many other major American cities, displayed its own cyclorama depicting Civil War battle scenes in the 1880s. Although many other cities' Civil War cycloramas included depictions of African Americans joining in battle or celebrating a Union victory, Portland's engaged in a form of erasure as it lacked depictions of African Americans entirely (Jeffrey Uecker, "Portland's Gettysburg Cyclorama: A Story of Art, Entertainment, and Memory," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 1 [Spring 2012]: 56-57; "The Battle of Gettysburg," *The Oregonian* [Portland, OR], August 11, 1887; "The Cyclorama," *The Oregonian* [Portland, OR], December 30, 1887).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

admitted, they were still regularly required to adhere to segregated seating restrictions. Mainstream entertainment of the period was also problematic with respect to the African American experience, frequently employing racial stereotypes and cultural appropriation in the guise of popular comedy.

Entertainment Venues and the African American Experience in Early Portland

African Americans living in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portland had few available entertainment options and only limited opportunity to host gatherings and community events outside of their own homes. White-owned venues exercised discretion in admitting African American patrons, and the documentary record suggests that few were available for rent by Black individuals or social groups. The Enterprise Investment Company building (1018 N Larrabee St.), which was constructed by a group of African American men in 1903, was one of the few spaces in which African American organizations were able to hold formal social events around the turn of the century.⁴⁰⁹ Black-owned social clubs and taverns, which welcomed patrons for leisure activities including dining, drinking, and gambling, also appear to have been rare within the small community. One of the only known Black-owned taverns in turn-of-the-century Portland is the Arcadia Saloon, which opened at NW 4th Avenue and Everett Street in 1899. Burr Williams, who co-founded the Arcadia after moving to Portland from Ohio in 1898, told the local Black press that he saw a need for a Black-owned saloon in Portland after immediately observing “the absence of respectable places of resorts for the many members of his race that reside in the city.”⁴¹⁰ Williams may have been alluding to the existence of social organizations such as the Colored Cooks’, Waiters’, Porters’ and Janitors’ Social Club, which operated out of a former horse stable on NW 8th Avenue and was raided by Portland police for selling liquor without a license in the early twentieth century.⁴¹¹ It is likely that other Black-owned and -operated social clubs such as this existed to serve the African American community of early Portland, but little is known about these venues as of this writing.

For mainstream entertainment such as theater and musical performances, African Americans in early Portland often had to look to White-owned private entertainment venues. Articles and advertisements in the contemporary Black press suggest that Black Portlanders were allowed entrance to at least some of these establishments, but the extent of their ability to frequent White-owned venues and to freely select seating is undetermined.⁴¹² It is certain that African Americans were regularly discriminated against in White-owned theaters until at least 1906, when an African American man named Oliver Taylor brought a suit against a theater owner who refused to seat him in the box seats for which he had purchased tickets. The case was eventually heard by the State Supreme Court, which declared it illegal for Oregon theaters

⁴⁰⁹ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 52. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on the Enterprise Investment Company, which was formed in 1901 and counted seven Portland Hotel employees among its original members.

⁴¹⁰ “As evidence of what pluck and energy . . .,” *The New Age* (Portland, OR), July 7, 1900.

⁴¹¹ “Social Club in a Barn,” *The New Age* (Portland, OR), March 4, 1905; “Editors are at War,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 5, 1905; “Editor Griffin’s Statement,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 6, 1905. The Colored Cooks’ Waiters’, Porters’ and Janitors’ Social Club, which was owned by a staff member of Portland’s African American newspaper *The Advocate*, was derided in the city’s other African American news outlet, *The New Age*, for being “a disgrace to the decent colored population of the city” (“Editor Griffin’s Statement,” *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR], March 6, 1905).

⁴¹² “At the Theaters,” *The New Age* (Portland, OR), December 2, 1899. In this column, shows at two separate theaters are highlighted: Cordray’s Musée-Theatre at SW 3rd Avenue and SW Yamhill Street and the Marquam Grand Opera House on SW Morrison Street between 6th Avenue and Broadway.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

to refuse admission to paying guests on the basis of their race.⁴¹³ Even after the high court's decision, however, explicit prejudice towards Black theater patrons in Portland continued for decades. For example, both William Allen, the owner of the successful Golden West Hotel (**707 NW Everett St.**), and James McArthur, a Spanish-American War veteran, were rebuffed from White-owned theaters in 1929.⁴¹⁴

African Americans in Mainstream Entertainment and Their Reception in Portland

Mainstream musical acts and plays featuring Black performers were uncommon in Portland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; however, Black culture had been commonly parodied, mocked, and monetized in White American entertainment since before the Civil War.⁴¹⁵ From the 1840s through the late 1880s, American show business was dominated by "minstrelsy" or "minstrel theater," in which White Americans blackened their faces with charred cork, adopted heavily accented dialects, and delivered performances that satirized plantation work songs and spirituals authentic to African American culture.⁴¹⁶ These productions developed and reinforced a set of cruel stereotypes surrounding invented Black American personalities, including the loyal "mammy," the happy banjo-strumming "darker," and the conceited "city slicker."⁴¹⁷

In the late nineteenth century, some African American performers broke into mainstream American show business by playing to the same caricatured personas that White theater had developed to mock and commercialize their culture. Promoters billed African American minstrel actors as "authentic portrayals of plantation life," and the performers themselves were generally compelled to appear in black makeup and to adopt a heavy dialect.⁴¹⁸ One popular American play performed in Portland in 1899, entitled "Brown's in Town," featured songs in the minstrel style and an African American actress in the role of Primrose, the

⁴¹³ *Taylor v. Cohn*, 47 Or. 538, 84 Pac. 388 (1906). See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for further information on *Taylor v. Cohn*, argued by African American attorney McCants Stewart before the Oregon Supreme Court in 1906.

⁴¹⁴ Smith, *Emancipation*, 515; "Theatre Refuses Admittance to Negro," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), August 24, 1929; "Theatre Draws Color-Line," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 5, 1929.

⁴¹⁵ Abolitionist and writer Frederick Douglass described performers who donned blackface as "the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow citizens" (Frederick Douglass, "The Hutchinson Family—Hunkerism," *The North Star* [Rochester, NY], October 27, 1848).

⁴¹⁶ Robert C. Toll, "Blackface: The Sad History of Minstrel Shows," *American Heritage* 64, no. 1 (Winter 2009), <https://www.americanheritage.com/blackface-sad-history-minstrel-shows>.

⁴¹⁷ Toll, "Blackface." The cruel and false stereotypes perpetuated by these popular minstrel shows have echoed in popular cultural for more than a hundred and fifty years. One early twentieth-century Portland dining establishment, part of a chain of White-owned fried chicken restaurants, dubbed itself the "Coon Chicken Inn" and featured the caricatured visage of a smiling Black porter on its plates, menus, and matchboxes; the entrance to the restaurant was a gaping-mouthed version of the same. The restaurant's branding was inspired by the minstrel show character "Zip Coon," described as "a Black urban dandy," a fool "putting on airs" for the amusement of White audiences, his braggadocio affirming their perceived supremacy over the African Americans his character was intended to represent. Portland's Coon Chicken Inn building, though significantly altered, is still extant at 5474 NE Sandy Boulevard. Despite opposition, the three-restaurant chain (other locations in Seattle, Washington, and Salt Lake City, Utah) operated from 1925 through the 1950s. The Portland location was open from 1931 through 1949 (Catherine Roth, "The Coon Chicken Inn: North Seattle's Beacon of Bigotry," last modified 2009, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/coon_chicken.htm#ref3; John Strausbaugh, *Black Like You: Blackface, Whiteface, Insult & Imitation in American Popular Culture* [New York, NY: The Penguin Group, 2007], eBook; Toll, "Blackface").

⁴¹⁸ Michael Campbell, *Popular Music in America: And the Beat Goes On* (Boston, MA: Schirmer Cengage Learning, 2009), 29.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Black “lady cook.”⁴¹⁹ Portland’s foremost White media outlet, the *Oregonian* newspaper, reviewed the play positively but was reserved and possibly ironic in its praise for the play’s sole Black actress. While the paper complimented the White actors and actresses on their dramatic capabilities, the actress who performed as Primrose was commended for her “clever” execution of the heavily-accented, stereotypical dialogue and minstrel-style musical numbers assigned to her character.⁴²⁰

Nationally, African American performers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were typically limited to racially demeaning and highly caricatured roles such as Primrose in “Brown’s in Town”; with few other performance options available to Black actors, dancers, musicians, and entertainers at the time, however, minstrelsy provided an important avenue by which African American performers could secure a career in the American entertainment industry. W.C. Handy, the composer of “St. Louis Blues” and other popular American songs, began his career as a Black minstrel and stated that “all the best [African American] talent of that generation came down the same drain. The composers, the singers, the musicians, the speakers, the stage performers—the minstrel show got them all.”⁴²¹ One of Portland’s African American-run newspapers, *The New Age*, ran its own complimentary review of “Brown’s in Town” in 1899, suggesting that African American participation in minstrelsy or minstrel-inspired theater was supported by Portland’s broader Black community at the time.⁴²²

African American Portlanders and the Lewis and Clark Fair of 1905

Fairs and expositions became a primary source of entertainment in large and mid-sized American cities during the late nineteenth century, attracting visitors from across the country and showcasing modern technologies, art, architecture, and carnival-like attractions. Seeking to establish a reputation as a vibrant urban destination and an emerging economic power, Portland organized its own event, the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair, in the summer and early fall of 1905. The Lewis and Clark Fair sold nearly 1.6 million tickets and brought national attention to the relatively young city; over a quarter of the Fair’s attendants came from outside of the Pacific Northwest. The Fair marked a significant inflection point in Portland’s history, as it altered national perception of the growing city and catalyzed a period of booming economic and population growth.⁴²³

Alongside these arguably positive outcomes, the Lewis and Clark Fair also reinforced racial stereotypes and upheld dominant narratives of White superiority. Like other American expositions and fairs held in the

⁴¹⁹ Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 188; “Yes, ‘Brown’s in Town,’” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 27, 1899. “Brown” referred to the surname of the White protagonists.

⁴²⁰ “Yes, ‘Brown’s in Town,’” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 27, 1899. Also in 1899, the African American newspaper *The New Age* ran a review of the Black Patti Troubadours, a traveling musical and acrobatic act led by African American soprano Sissieretta Jones. The paper described the group as “without parallel,” having received “distinguished honors” for their “extraordinary excellence” in the United States and Europe (“At the Theatres,” *The New Age* [Portland, OR], December 9, 1899). In contrast, *The Oregonian* was again reserved in its commendation of an African American performer, making no mention of the troupe’s critical acclaim and reducing the performance to “a carnival” orchestrated by “capable performers.” As this review demonstrates, explicit and implicit derision of Black entertainers was commonplace during the time, even in the case of world-renowned performers (“Black Patti Coming,” *The Sunday Oregonian* [Portland, OR], December 3, 1899).

⁴²¹ Campbell, *Popular Music in America*, 29.

⁴²² “Coming Attractions,” *The New Age* (Portland, OR), November 25, 1899.

⁴²³ Carl Abbott, “Lewis and Clark Exposition,” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/lewis_clark_exposition/#.Xeg6_XdFyh.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Portland's event featured live-displays of "exotic" human beings, presenting Native Americans, the Igorot people of the Philippines, and people of Japanese descent as novelties in virtual "human zoos."⁴²⁴ Persons of African descent are not known to have been included in these "exhibitions," but nor were they expressly welcomed to the Lewis and Clark Fair. Issues of African American interest are absent from the official Fair catalog, apart from one Census Bureau exhibit displaying "negro statistics" alongside immigration figures and domestic production data.⁴²⁵ Photographs of the construction of exhibit halls show African Americans assisting in the creation of the fairground, but people of color are not represented in photographs of the Fair itself. Portland historian Carl Abbott characterized the nature of the Lewis and Clark Fair as "by and for White Americans."⁴²⁶

African American Social Gatherings, Entertainment Venues, Sports, and Musicians: 1905-1941

Portland's African American community grew slowly through the early twentieth century, establishing small businesses, fraternal organizations, and places of worship that paralleled those created by the city's White community. As the community developed its own social institutions and community organizations, demand also grew for entertainment venues that would serve African American patrons. Few entertainment venues in early twentieth-century Portland were African American-owned, and although Portland's public spaces were not officially segregated, people of color were still frequently denied service or admission to venues of all kinds during the years leading up to World War II.⁴²⁷ As a result, many members of Portland's early African American community hosted social gatherings and sponsored entertainment in their churches, fraternal lodges, and even their own homes during the early twentieth century. Despite the lack of freedom in selecting venues, a small but vibrant African American nightlife gradually developed. As the city's Black community grew more established, it supported an all-Black baseball team and a number of musical ensembles born from relationships built through business communities, fraternal organizations, and religious congregations in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Bob Batchelor, *American Popular Culture through History: The 1900s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 140; Emily Trafford, "Hitting the Trail: Live Displays of Native American, Filipino, and Japanese people at the Portland World's Fair," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 116, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 158-195; Lisa Blee, "Completing Lewis and Clark's Westward March: Exhibiting a History of Empire at the 1905 Portland World's Fair," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 232. The practice of displaying and commercializing non-White individuals well-established by the time of Portland's Lewis and Clark Fair. Live displays, desiring to create an immersive experience, included traditional domiciles, clothing, and arts and crafts of the exhibited peoples with the people themselves performing daily chores and rituals for the fairgoers. The practice of exhibiting indigenous and foreign peoples reasserted White supremacy and furthered racialized practices in Western cultures.

⁴²⁵ H.B. Hardt, *Official Catalogue to the Lewis and Clark Exposition* (Portland, OR: no publisher, 1905), 50.

⁴²⁶ Carl Abbott, *The Great Extravaganza: Portland and the Lewis and Clark Exposition* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2004), xiv.

⁴²⁷ "Color Line Drawn Pupils Leave Rink," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 28, 1927; "Colored Boy Barred Class Leaves Rink," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 12, 1927. Reprinted from *The Oregon Daily Journal*. For example, George Cannady, the son of *The Advocate* editors Beatrice and E.D. Cannady, was denied entrance to an ice-skating rink in early 1927. Although such instances, particularly those involving children and prominent African American families like the Cannadys, often resulted in publicity and heightened awareness, they do not appear to have meaningfully changed discriminatory practices at the time.

⁴²⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 31, 45.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Private Homes, Churches, and Fraternal Halls as Recreational Gathering Spaces

With the exception of the Golden West Hotel (**707 NW Everett St.**), a handful of Black-owned restaurants and bars, and the “Colored” YWCA building (**6 N Tillamook St.**), few dedicated public spaces existed for African Americans to participate in mainstream leisure activities prior to World War II.⁴²⁹ As a result, many members of the community hosted social activities in Black churches, fraternal lodges, and private homes. For example, one group of Black Portland couples organized a popular dinner party circuit in the 1930s, with each couple hosting the other members in turn. The dinner parties focused on different themes, with each host trying to outdo the last in ingenuity, hospitality, and flair.⁴³⁰ Although seemingly inconsequential within the larger context of entertainment and recreation, organized events like dinner party circuits provided an important opportunity for African American Portlanders to socialize and converse in an environment free from explicit racism.

For larger and more formal gatherings such as public lectures, Portland’s African American churches were naturally suited to serve as entertainment venues.⁴³¹ Churches provided a large seating capacity and acoustically sound design, and where White-owned venues may have segregated seating or denied access to African American guests, Black-owned churches offered a welcoming atmosphere that existed apart from the city’s White prejudices. Prominent Black churches such as Mt. Olivet Baptist and Bethel AME played frequent host to visiting lecturers and national leaders in the African American community.⁴³² Black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Addie Waites Hunton, a race relations leader and suffragist, often spoke at these venues when visiting Portland.⁴³³ A few of these speakers even drew White Portlanders to Black-owned churches: in 1930, African American orator and essayist William Pickens spoke at Bethel AME to a diverse crowd of more than 700 people.⁴³⁴

Fraternal halls were a third major venue for African American entertainment during the period, hosting annual charity balls, fundraisers, and guest lectures planned and sponsored by local African American fraternal organizations and their women’s auxiliaries. Individuals, couples, and social clubs would also rent these spaces for private parties, frequently hiring talented musicians and elocutionists from within the local Black community to provide entertainment. Hibernia Hall at **128 NE Russell St.** and the Elks Club Stag Auditorium at 413 SE Morrison St. were both popular locations for parties, dances, and musical gatherings in the early twentieth century.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ For additional information on the Golden West Hotel and the types of activities it hosted, see Context II, *Business and Employment*.

⁴³⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 45.

⁴³¹ See Context VI, *Religion and Worship*, for more information on African American churches in early twentieth-century Portland.

⁴³² Mt. Olivet Baptist Church was located at NW 7th Avenue between Everett and Flanders streets from 1902 to 1921 and at **1734 NE 1st Ave.** from 1921 to 1994. Bethel AME Church was located at 226 NW 10th Ave. from 1898 to 1916 and at 1239 N Larrabee Ave. from 1916 to 1959.

⁴³³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 31. Some visiting Black leaders also spoke at places of worship that were not organized for or typically patronized by members of Portland’s African American community. In 1913, Booker T. Washington spoke at St. David’s Episcopal Church, the Unitarian Church, and Temple Beth Israel (“Negro Educator Due Next Week,” *The Oregon Journal* [Portland, OR], March 16, 1913).

⁴³⁴ “Pickens Triumphs: Crowds Pack Bethel to Hear Famous Orator,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 24, 1930.

⁴³⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 45.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Semi-Professional Athletic Activities and Entertainment

The same discriminatory practices that deterred African American Portlanders from recreating in White-owned venues also prevented many Black athletes from participating in mainstream athletic leagues in the early twentieth century. The University of Oregon did not see its first African American football players until the 1929 season, when it recruited Portlanders Bobby Robinson and Charles Williams,⁴³⁶ and Portland's own Minor League Baseball team, the Portland Beavers, remained segregated until after World War II.⁴³⁷ In response to racial discrimination in baseball, Portlander Lew Hubbard established the Portland Giants (variously the "Portland Colored Giants," "Colored Giants," and "Hubbard Giants") in 1910.⁴³⁸ The team played regularly at McKenna Park in North Portland (**N Princeton Street and N Wall Avenue**) and seems to have been popular with a diverse group of spectators.⁴³⁹ On various occasions in its five-year history, the Giants were celebrated by Portland's White-owned newspapers as "a bunch of fast ballplayers" and "an attraction everywhere because of their fast, clean playing."⁴⁴⁰ The team recruited from all over the country and fielded a fair share of talent. Near the end of the Giants' five-year run, owner Lew Hubbard signed southpaw pitcher Jimmy Claxton, who would later gain a reputation as the West Coast's best Black baseball player.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁶ "Bobby Robinson, the great Oregon...", *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), November 30, 1929; Jennifer O'Neal, "Bobby Robinson and Charles Williams: First African American Athletes at the University of Oregon," *Untold Stories: The Hidden History of the University of Oregon*, accessed April 26, 2020, <https://hiddenhistory.uoregon.edu/items/show/2>.

⁴³⁷ Amy Essington, "Portland Beavers (baseball team)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/portland_beavers_baseball_team_/#.XqYFTy-z3Vo.

⁴³⁸ Hubbard worked primarily as a mail clerk for an insurance company in Portland but was also an amateur boxer and boxing promoter, and he raised funds for his team's uniforms by hosting annual galas that featured "singing, dancing, rag-time piano playing, wrestling, boxing and pipes and tobacco for all" ("Giants to Hold Smoker: Baseball Team Plans Entertainment to Get New Uniforms," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 7, 1911; "Giants to Have Smoker," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1912). Unsanctioned boxing matches such as these were called "smokers," and although they were publicly advertised and widely attended, they were looked upon with distaste by City officials. In late 1910, Hubbard and several White boxers and boxing promoters were arrested on charges of arranging prize fights; a local newspaper reported that these men "were selected to make test cases of boxing in this city." However, the undeniable popularity of the sport seems to have won out, and the City decided to not prosecute after Hubbard and another boxer, Paddy Maher, "promised to be good hereafter" ("Fight Promoters Escape Trial," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), October 3, 1910). Throughout the ordeal, Hubbard continued to successfully manage the Giants, and despite his promise in circuit court, returned to boxing and organizing "smokers" shortly thereafter.

⁴³⁹ "Minor Baseball Games," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 10, 1911; "Minor Baseball," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), August 7, 1911; "Colored Giants to Play at Chehalis," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 13, 1914.

⁴⁴⁰ "Young Ball Tossers Are Angling after Bingles," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), June 26, 1910; "Amateur Athletics," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 13, 1914.

⁴⁴¹ After leaving Portland in 1915 or 1916, Claxton briefly played for the Oakland Oaks of the Pacific Coast League. Although organized baseball was segregated at this time, Claxton presented himself as Native American and pitched two games before he was identified as African American and summarily removed from the team's roster. Before his removal, however, he was photographed for a series of trading cards produced by the Collins-McCarthy Candy Company. In this way, he became the first African American player to be pictured individually on an American baseball card (Tom Hawthorne, "Jimmy Claxton," *Society for American Baseball Research*, accessed April 26, 2020, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/43c05f0c>; Rich Mueller, "Consignment of the Week: 1916 Zeenuts Claxton a Piece of History," *Sports Collectors Daily*, November 28, 2019, <https://www.sportscollectorsdaily.com/1916-zeenuts-claxton-a-piece-of-history/>).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portland's African American Music Scene in the 1920s

The 1920s in America witnessed the rise of mass entertainment and a consumer-oriented economy, circumstances born of the prosperity and globalization that followed World War I. The resultant "revolution in morals and manners" was evinced in changing tastes in American popular culture, particularly in fashion, dance, and music.⁴⁴² Audiences of all colors were taken with genres such as ragtime, big band jazz, and swing, which feature syncopated rhythms and exuberant tunes well-suited to dancing. These musical stylings had their roots in African American music traditions that originated in the Southern United States during the nineteenth century. However, they were commonly performed by both White and Black musicians in the twentieth century.⁴⁴³

Within Portland's small African American community, the growing popularity of these genres gave rise to a new class of local musicians and performers. These men and women were rarely full-time entertainers; instead, they were often employed by the railroad and hospitality industries, the two most common career paths for African American Portlanders in the early twentieth century, and they operated their musical groups and orchestras in addition to their primary occupations.⁴⁴⁴ The Brown Strutters Band, for example, was organized in 1925 with Portland Hotel hat checker and *Advocate* newspaper founder E.D. Cannady as its president.⁴⁴⁵ In 1926, another group of Portland Hotel employees joined Downing's Orchestra, led by African American porter and shoeshiner Charles "Speck" Downing.⁴⁴⁶ Local church groups also played a prominent role in the African American musical community, leading to the development of ensembles such as the Olivet Mixed Quartette and Mt. Olivet Jubilee Singers at the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church (**1734 NE 1st Ave.**) in the 1920s.⁴⁴⁷

Portland's amateur Black musicians formed and reformed their orchestras and musical ensembles, frequently maintaining involvement in multiple musical pursuits at any given time. For example, D'Oracie Oliver, a Portland Hotel bellhop, was a saxophonist in Tom's Dixie Tavern Dance Orchestra as well as a member of the Chanters Orchestra, led by *Advocate* typesetter Yancy Franklin; pianist Donald Anderson, a member of Speck Downing's orchestra, also featured in Berg's Chalet Orchestra;⁴⁴⁸ and Bert Turner, director of the Brown Strutters Band, also formed the Coconut Grove Orchestra in 1926 with his wife Ethel at the piano.⁴⁴⁹ Ethel Turner too participated in multiple ventures, leading the Oregon Belles Marching Team in the 1929 Merrykhanna Parade (precursor to the Starlight Parade) at the Portland Rose Festival.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴² Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2015): eBook.

⁴⁴³ Campbell, *Popular Music in America*, 49-52, 63-64.

⁴⁴⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 45-46. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information about African American employment trends in the early twentieth century.

⁴⁴⁵ The Brown Strutters Band was organized in 1925 in the home of Edward Conway, a Seward Hotel engine room worker, at **78 NE Stanton St.** The band played in two Rose Festival parades alongside the Dahlia Temple drill team.

⁴⁴⁶ Octavia Williams, "Mt. Olivet Baptist Church," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 8, 1926. Downing's last home at **724 NE Sumner St.** is extant.

⁴⁴⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 47.

⁴⁴⁸ Donald Anderson's late 1920s home at **3936 NE 10th Ave.** remains extant as of early 2019.

⁴⁴⁹ The Turners' 1930s homes at **2326 NE Rodney Ave.** and **1308 SE 49th Ave.** are extant. The Coconut Grove's banjo player, Texas-born J.O. Jamison, lived in an apartment at **131 NE Martin Luther King Jr Blvd.**

⁴⁵⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 46; "Enters Merrykhanna Parade in Rose Fete," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), June 15, 1929.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

As Americans' taste in popular music broadened in the late 1920s, the vitality and variety of Portland's African American musicians began to acquire regional fame and attain recognition from White and Black audiences alike. The Mt. Olivet Jubilee Singers embarked on a 3,000-mile tour of the Pacific Northwest in 1927,⁴⁵¹ and the Olivet Mixed Quartette performed at a prologue to the showing of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" at Portland's Oriental Theater (828 SE Grand Ave.) in 1928.⁴⁵² African American band leader Billy Webb, who formed the Billy Webb Orchestra with fellow Elks Lodge members in the 1910s, played local shows (including fundraisers for the Portland Giants) as well as on a steamship line that operated between Seattle and Los Angeles in the 1920s.⁴⁵³ One local vocalist, Frieta Shaw, was even selected to sing at the NAACP National Convention of 1928. Shaw later moved to Los Angeles, where she won a film industry contract to train African American singers for Vita Phone Movies, beginning with "Hearts in Dixie" in 1929.⁴⁵⁴

African American Entertainment and Recreation in World War II and Beyond: 1941-1973

World War II drastically altered demographic counts and race relations in Portland, which saw a tenfold increase in its African American population between 1940 and 1945.⁴⁵⁵ African Americans in-migrants brought with them different cultural patterns, attitudes, and aspirations, introducing new entertainment forms and musical genres while also challenging established racial dynamics in the city's mainstream entertainment industry. The relatively well-paying and stable defense industry jobs that employed many African Americans during World War II provided the community with capital to establish and support Black-owned businesses, social clubs, and other entertainment options in the early 1940s. Fostered by the interests and purchasing power of the growing community, a small and talented group of professional African American entertainers, musicians, and athletes also emerged in Portland during this period.

⁴⁵¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 47. One member of the Jubilee Singers, Shirley McCanns, went on to head the Music Department at Morgan College in Baltimore; her home and music studio at 440 NE Roselawn were demolished in the 1990s.

⁴⁵² Edgar Williams, "Olivette Jubilee Singers Return after Long Tour," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 8, 1927; Edgar Williams, "Olivet Jubilee Singers' Tour," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 15, 1927; "The Olivet Mixed Quartette are...", *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), September 1, 1928. Three of the quartette's members' homes of that era are extant. Clarence Ivey, a porter at Northern Pacific Terminal, lived at **3120 SE Tibbetts**; Timothy Tillman, a plumber, resided at **3956 NE 10th Ave.** from 1930 until at least 1944; and William Bowers, also a porter, lived at **27 NE Ivy St.** from 1923 through the 1940s. Edgar Williams's 1920s residence has been lost, but his 1930 through 1963 residence is extant at **2726 NE Going St.**

⁴⁵³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 46; "Doings of the Elks," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), November 1, 1924; "Giants to Hold Smoker: Baseball Team Plans Entertainment to Get New Uniforms," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 7, 1911. Billy Webb died in 1925 after a prolonged illness, and the 1912-1925 home of Webb and his wife Laura at 429 NW 13th Ave. is no longer extant. The Billy Webb Elks Lodge, housed at **6 N Tillamook St.** since 1959, was named for the musician and bears testimony to his stature in the local community. See Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, for more information on the Billy Webb Elks.

⁴⁵⁴ "Friends of Frieta Shaw...", *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 18, 1929. Shaw's family home at **8031 NE Couch St.** remains extant as of early 2019. In 1925, while still living in Portland, she organized the Shaw Quartette and performed for the Episcopal Church banquet at the Portland Hotel.

⁴⁵⁵ Millner, "Blacks in Oregon." See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for further information regarding race relations in Portland during and after World War II.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Entertainment Venues and the African American Experience After World War II

African American Portlanders enjoyed a broader and more accessible range of entertainment venues in the postwar years than they had in the early twentieth century. The city's expanded African American population was capable of supporting a number of new Black-owned clubs, and some White-owned and -operated venues began to accept African American patrons, as well. While no formal declaration exists to explain this change in White clubs' previously discriminatory policies, the increased purchasing power of the expanded African American community may have been an important factor. Larger mainstream venues such as Murlark Hall at 4 NW 23rd Ave., Cotillion Hall at **406 SW 14th Ave.**, and McElroy's Ballroom at 426 SW Main St. all began hosting social events for African American patrons in the 1940s.⁴⁵⁶

These few accepting White-owned venues were neither the sole nor the primary entertainment options available to African Americans in postwar Portland, however. A vibrant strip of Black-owned entertainment venues emerged along N Williams Avenue in this period, established primarily to serve the expanded African American community living in the Albina neighborhood.⁴⁵⁷ The 1956 Polk City Directory indicates that the two-mile stretch of N Williams Avenue between Clackamas and Killingsworth streets featured more than 135 businesses and churches at the time, and many were owned or patronized by Portland's African American community.⁴⁵⁸ The Williams Avenue entertainment venues were varied in nature and included meeting halls, taverns, cocktail lounges, jazz clubs, and billiard halls. The Rinehart Building at **3037 N Williams Ave.** was home to several of these business types in the postwar period, including Cleo's Tavern and Rudy's Billiards beginning in 1957 and the Cleo-Lilliann Social Club beginning in 1968.⁴⁵⁹ Founded in the 1950s as a charitable and social organization, the Cleo-Lilliann Club was a multifaceted, membership-based organization that provided recreational and social opportunities as well as social support programming. Social clubs like the Cleo-Lilliann had a long tradition of emphasizing community connection through card-playing, food, and music; after moving to the Rinehart building, the Club also served liquor, offered gambling and billiards, and hosted nationally-famous African Americans such as boxer George Foreman and musical artist B.B. King.⁴⁶⁰

Other Black-owned and -operated entertainment venues operating along N Williams Avenue in the 1940s and 1950s included the Fraternal Hall ("Frat Hall") at 1412 N Williams Ave., which featured a bar downstairs and a ballroom and women's lounge upstairs, and the Williams Avenue YWCA at **6 N Tillamook St.**, which

⁴⁵⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 72. Cotillion Hall, now called the Crystal Ballroom, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 (National Register of Historic Places, Cotillion Hall, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #79002130).

⁴⁵⁷ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for a discussion of the forces that concentrated a large percentage of Portland's African American population into this limited geographical area.

⁴⁵⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Rinehart Building, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #13000982, 15. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, and Context VI, *Religion and Worship*, for information on other African American businesses and churches that located near or on N Williams Avenue during the postwar era.

⁴⁵⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Rinehart Building, 16. Rudy's Billiards was established in the building's south storefront by Rudolph "Rudy" Young, and Cleo's Tavern was established in the north storefront by his sister Cleo Hampton. In 1962, the establishments became Danny's Billiards and Ray's Tavern, respectively. Danny's became Rudy's Cardroom in 1965 and Rudy's Billiards & Cards in 1967, and Ray's Tavern became Rudy's Tavern by 1967 as well. The Cleo-Lilliann Social Club took over the south storefront from Ray's Billiards & Cards in 1968.

⁴⁶⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Rinehart Building, 16-18. The Cleo-Lilliann Social Club remained in business through 2001 and is individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its association with Portland's African American history.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

sponsored community dances, lectures, and other social events.⁴⁶¹ Like the Cleo-Lilliann Social Club in the Rinehart Building, these two venues were founded under the auspices of African American community groups. See Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, for additional information on these types of African American social organizations and the types of events and entertainment that they sponsored.

A large number of Black-owned and -operated nightclubs, many of which fostered a vibrant jazz scene, provided an additional form of recreation and entertainment in postwar Portland. Popular clubs that opened on and near N Williams Avenue in the 1940s and 1950s included the Savoy Billiard Parlor at 1508 N Williams Ave., Li'l Sandy's at 1516 N Williams Ave., Paul's Paradise at 19 N Russell St., and the Cotton Club at **2125 N Vancouver Ave.**⁴⁶² The most celebrated nightclub in this entertainment strip was the Dude Ranch, a Western-themed venue at **240 N Broadway.**⁴⁶³ The club was co-owned by African Americans Sherman "Cowboy" Pickett and Charles "Pat" Patterson, as well as two White men.⁴⁶⁴ "Pic and Pat," as the African American owners were known to patrons, booked both local talent as well as nationally famous acts including Lionel Hampton, Jack McVea, Art Tatum, Louis Armstrong, Thelonious Monk, and the Nat "King" Cole Trio.⁴⁶⁵ Although the club was open less than two years, it was popular amongst both White and Black citizens and was one of the few locations with an interracial staff. An officer-involved shooting, open gambling, or perhaps the mingling of races on the club's dancefloor led Portland city officials to shut down the Dude Ranch in 1946, but it is still remembered for the quality and variety of bop, boogie-woogie, and jump performed within its walls.⁴⁶⁶

Several of these venues changed hands among members of the local African American community in the postwar years. The Savoy was purchased by newspaper publisher and amateur jazz pianist William McClendon and reopened as McClendon's Rhythm Room in 1949.⁴⁶⁷ Both the Cotton Club and Paul's Paradise were purchased in 1963 by Paul Knauls, who hosted a vaudeville-inspired show at the Cotton Club so popular that *The Oregonian* claimed it "could not draw more people if he were to give ten dollars away

⁴⁶¹ Robert Dietsche, *Jumptown: The Golden Years of Portland Jazz, 1942-1957* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2005), 105; Fred Leeson, "Billy Webb Elks Lodge," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/billy_webb_elks_lodge/#.Xl8Xoi3MzLY. See Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, for additional information on the Williams Avenue YWCA.

⁴⁶² Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 50, 54, 189, 199.

⁴⁶³ Of all Portland's notable African American jazz clubs, only the Cotton Club and Dude Ranch remain extant as of early 2019. The Dude Ranch's name may have been inspired by a 1938 *Life* magazine article featuring African American boxing champion Joe Lewis learning to ride a horse at an all-Black dude ranch in Victorville, California (Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 2).

⁴⁶⁴ Pickett's former homes at 2028 NE Rodney Ave and 1326 N Benton Ave. are no longer extant. Patterson's 1950s-1970s home at **3566 SE 38th Ave.**, where he lived with wife Susie Anderson (divorced from pianist Donald Anderson) is extant.

⁴⁶⁵ Michael McGregor, "The Dude Ranch," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 8, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/dude_ranch_the/#.Xe4Poi2ZPV0; "Dude Ranch to Bring Top Flight Shows," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), June 29, 1945; "Coming to the Dude Ranch," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), February 1, 1946.

⁴⁶⁶ Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 9, 16; "Dude Ranch Doorman Wounded," *Portland Inquirer* (Portland, OR), December 28, 1945. The Dude Ranch's African American doorman, Joseph Walter Brooks, was shot by African American Deputy Sheriff Sam Blanchard in an apparent robbery attempt on Christmas Eve, 1945.

⁴⁶⁷ Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 94; Fonseca, "William McClendon (1915-1996)." Under a pseudonym, McClendon wrote column on jazz in his newspaper, the *People's Observer*.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

after each number.”⁴⁶⁸ The tenure of these businesses was relatively short-lived, however. Increasing tension and race riots were a factor, as were the urban renewal programs that swept Lower Albina in midcentury Portland.⁴⁶⁹ Although the Cotton Club building still stands at **2125 N Vancouver Ave.**, McClendon’s Rhythm Room, Fraternal Hall, Li’l Sandy’s, and many other night spots were demolished for the construction of Memorial Coliseum in 1960. Paul’s Paradise fell to Emanuel Hospital’s planned expansion a few years later.⁴⁷⁰

Jazz and Portland’s Postwar African American Music Scene

The thriving entertainment scene that developed along N Williams Avenue during and after World War II owed its vitality not only to the jazz clubs and dance halls, but also to the local artists who played in them. Jazz music, which originated in the African American community of New Orleans, Louisiana, during the late nineteenth century, was likely introduced to Portland through the musical acts that performed on steamships traveling along the West Coast in the early twentieth century. Despite the genre’s roots in African American music traditions, Portland’s early jazz scene was dominated by White musicians; in the 1930s, the city’s most popular local jazz ensemble was the Castle Jazz Band, a group of White men who played in the Dixieland style.⁴⁷¹ The massive influx of Black in-migrants that occurred during World War II, however, brought with them a tradition of uniquely African American jazz music. As a result of these newcomers’ interests and talent, a large community of jazz musicians and appreciators developed in postwar Portland. The city’s music scene developed an even more unique and local character than in the prewar years, and Portland became known regionally for its professional jazz performers.

As Portland’s local jazz community developed in the postwar years, and as the city’s growing population developed a collective appreciation for the genre, internationally famous jazz musicians were booked at local venues along N Williams Avenue, in downtown Portland, and in Jantzen Beach, where they played for Black, White, and mixed crowds. Some of the larger, White-owned venues did not admit Black patrons at the time, resulting in performances by Black artists before all-White crowds; in 1952, when segregation of public spaces remained commonplace, four African American couples were turned away from a performance of Lionel Hampton at the Jantzen Beach Ballroom. Hampton responded by refusing to perform until the couples were admitted, and as an internationally famous Black jazz performer, his actions garnered immediate results. However, it is unlikely that local African American musicians and ensembles wielded similar influence within Portland’s White-owned venues of the period.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁸ Quoted in Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 199; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 93-94; Martha Gies, “Profile: Paul and Geneva Knauls,” *Eliot News* (Portland, OR), Summer 2003, reproduced at <http://marthagies.com/portlandhistory/paul-geneva-knauls/>; Paul and Geneva Knauls, interview by Catherine Galbraith and Kimberly Moreland, 1996. Paul Knauls came to Portland from Spokane, Washington, where he had worked as a wine steward at the city’s Davenport Hotel. He and wife Geneva Knauls later opened Geneva’s Lounge, another nightclub, at 4228 N Williams Ave. The couple lived at **2300 NE 7th Ave.**, then at **1928 NE Bryant St.** during this period. As of 2018, Paul Knauls owned and operated the unisex barbershop Geneva’s Shear Perfection (**5601 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.**), established by his late wife.

⁴⁶⁹ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on urban renewal programs in Portland during the 1960s and 1970s. See Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for background on the race riots that occurred during the same time period.

⁴⁷⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 94.

⁴⁷¹ Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 17.

⁴⁷² Dietsche, *Jumptown*, 153; “Lionel ‘Pops’ Hampton and His Great Orchestra,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 11, 1952.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Although prominent Black jazz artists were appreciated for their talents by Black and White audiences alike, many visiting performers still found it difficult or impossible to secure lodging in most White-owned downtown hotels. Instead, they were frequently put up in the homes of African American Portlanders in Albina. They made formal and informal appearances at clubs along Williams Avenue, dined in Black-owned restaurants, and inspired the local African American musicians with whom they interacted.⁴⁷³ One Portland artist, James “Sweet Baby James” Benton, facilitated these interactions by regularly hosting an informal, after-hours jam session out of his home at **317 N Shaver St.** in the 1960s. At Benton’s “The Backyard,” local musicians played with world-renowned artists such as Sammy Davis, Jr., honing their performance skills and incorporating new influences into their art.⁴⁷⁴

The synergy between Portland’s popular jazz clubs, visiting performers, and local talent produced a musical community that attained regional fame in the postwar era. The city produced an abundance of accomplished African American musicians during this era, many of whom are profiled in detail in Robert Dietsche’s *Jumptown: The Golden Years of Portland Jazz, 1942-1957*.

African American Athletes in Postwar Portland

As had been the case with music venues and social clubs, prejudice and segregation necessitated that Portland’s African American community create their own avenues for athletic opportunity and enjoyment.⁴⁷⁵ This took the form of separate, African American-only sports leagues and clubs, such as the Leisure Hour Gold Club and the short-lived Negro League Baseball Team, the Portland Rosebuds. Near the end of the period of significance, as an increasing number and variety of activities and public spaces were formally integrated, African American athletes found success in previously White-dominated sports and athletic leagues in Portland.

In 1944, African American golfers who had long been prohibited from playing on Portland’s many White-only golf courses organized their own Leisure Hour Golf Club.⁴⁷⁶ This founding group included prominent local businessmen such as Stephen Wright, who co-owned an African American-owned taxi company in Portland,⁴⁷⁷ public figures like Mallory Walker, a social worker who later served as a Multnomah County

⁴⁷³ *Jazz Town*, directed by Eric Cain (2016; Portland, OR; Oregon Public Broadcasting), <https://www.opb.org/television/programs/oregonexperience/segment/jazz-town/>.

⁴⁷⁴ James Benton, interview by Catherine Galbraith; Cain, *Jazz Town*.

⁴⁷⁵ The Williams Avenue YWCA and the gymnasium of the Golden West Hotel were early sites of African American physical recreation in Portland (see Contexts V and II, respectively).

⁴⁷⁶ African Americans were prohibited from playing on Portland’s privately-owned golf courses but could play on public courses. This led to an interesting discussion in 1929, wherein an *Oregonian* article discusses the second-place finish of an African American man in a local golf tournament. *The Oregonian* article raises multiple racially insensitive points, including a Black person’s seeming inability to become successful at golf or tennis due to the “social restrictions” of the game, and ends by saying that no racial restriction has been placed on such competitions (Bunker Green, “Fore! Maybe More,” *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR], July 13, 1929). *The Advocate* responds to the article claiming that it nearly calls upon clubs to put in place a racial restriction or transition tournaments to players at private-clubs so as to prevent an African American from winning a tournament, as Herman Crawford almost did (“Protest against Limitation in Future Golf Tournaments,” *The Advocate* [Portland, OR], July 27, 1929).

⁴⁷⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 55. A graduate of Washington High School, Wright lived with his family at **3344 SE Yamhill St.** following his mother Ruby’s marriage to Deputy Sheriff George Hardin. He later moved into his own home at **2906 SE Tibbetts St.** With his business partner Benny Hamilton, Wright co-owned Apollo Cab, which was dispatched from the Medley Hotel (no longer extant).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Deputy Sheriff and eventually an Assistant United States Attorney;⁴⁷⁸ and men who worked in traditional service positions with the railroads and local hotels.⁴⁷⁹ The Leisure Hour Golf Club's first annual tournament, the "Pacific Northwest Negro Amateur Golf Tournament," was held in 1944 at Eastmoreland Golf Course (**2425 SE Bybee Blvd.**). The event was reprised at this location for the next several years, moving to the Tualatin Country Club from 1951 to 1966.⁴⁸⁰

Portland's last Negro League Baseball Team, the Portland Rosebuds, was formed in 1946 and owned by African American Olympic sprinter Jesse Owens.⁴⁸¹ The team played in the West Coast Baseball Alliance, a new league established by Harlem Globetrotters founder Abe Saperstein. Saperstein envisioned large audiences, given the West Coast's influx of African American workers during World War II, but attendance was a persistent and ultimately ruinous challenge for the Portland Rosebuds. The team played their first game on June 4, 1946, before a crowd of 1,500 people in Vaughn Street Park, a 12,000 person stadium in Northwest Portland.⁴⁸² By the end of the month, the Rosebuds held second place in their league, but lagging attendance forced the team to disband in July, having played only a fraction of their 110 scheduled games.⁴⁸³ Major League Baseball and its affiliate Minor League teams integrated in 1947, and Portland's Minor League team, the Portland Beavers, signed Black Panamanian Frankie Austin two years later.⁴⁸⁴ The Beavers' most renowned African American player was Artie Wilson, a Portland transplant who played for the team in the 1950s and was inducted into the Negro League Baseball Hall of Fame in October 1995. In his honor, the Portland City Council proclaimed November 15, 1995, "Artie Wilson Day."⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 96. Walker and his step-father Walter Ricks came to Portland from Kansas City to work with the Union Pacific Railroad. Mallory Walker was first a social worker and Deputy Sheriff for Multnomah County and later worked for the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Bureau and as an Assistant United States Attorney. He eventually accepted a judgeship in California.

⁴⁷⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 96; Harold Gaskin, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1996-97. Other charter members include brothers Harold and Vernon Gaskin, Walter Ricks, Harry Hardy, Billy Law, Charles Rawlins, and Boyce Strain. Harold Gaskin and Vernon Gaskin came to Portland as youths circa 1930. Harold first worked for the Union Pacific railroad, but later graduated from Fisk University and went to work as a physicist for Bonneville Power. In 1951, he purchased a home on 29th Avenue from Dr. DeNorval Unthank. Vernon Gaskin worked as a waiter for Union Pacific and then Southern Pacific. Harry Hardy was a Union Pacific waiter who came to Portland in 1927. Billy Law was a University of Oregon graduate and a railroad clerk who later worked for Bonneville Power and the Bureau of Land Management. Charles "Chick" Rawlins, the son of Edward and Jane Rawlins, came to Portland from Barbados in the 1910s. He worked as a Northern Pacific Terminal porter and became a recruiter for the Urban League's Project Outreach. Finally, Boyce Strain was a footman at Meier and Frank and doorman at the Heathman Hotel.

⁴⁸⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 95-96. The Leisure Hour Golf Club's reason and/or ability for hosting the tournament at Eastmoreland Golf Course and the Tualatin Country Club is undetermined as of this writing. The Club remains active in the Pacific Northwest today ("About Us," *Leisure Hour Golf Club*, accessed December 10, 2019, <http://leisurehourgolf.org/lhg/about-us/>).

⁴⁸¹ Jesse Owens was born in Alabama and, though he likely visited Portland in connection with his Negro League team, never resided in the city. Rosebuds players included pitcher Al Jones, infielder Collins Jones, and first baseman Blue Dunn, all of whom had previously played for other Negro Leagues across the country (Ryan Whirty, "The 1946 Portland Rosebuds," *Portland Monthly*, June 3, 2013).

⁴⁸² "Local Negro Nine Wins Home Tilt," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 5, 1946.

⁴⁸³ Whirty, "The 1946 Portland Rosebuds," *Portland Monthly*.

⁴⁸⁴ Essington, "Portland Beavers (baseball team)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*.

⁴⁸⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 97; *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 1995 [copy in possession of Bosco-Milligan Foundation/Architectural Heritage Center]; Kelly House, "Negro Leagues star and former Portland Beaver Artie Wilson has died at age 90," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 31, 2010. In his prime, Artie Wilson played for the Negro League in Birmingham, Alabama. Going on to play for the Cleveland Indians and New York

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

As racial restrictions lifted, a number of athletically talented African Americans who resided in postwar Portland went on to find success in professional sports careers. Mel Renfro, who had excelled in both track and football at Jefferson High School (**5210 N Kerby Ave.**) in the 1950s, attended the University of Oregon. In 1964, Renfro left college early to play professional football for the Dallas Cowboys, and in 1996 he was inducted into the NFL Hall of Fame.⁴⁸⁶ Charles "Pat" Patterson, who went on to co-own the aforementioned Dude Ranch nightclub, graduated from Benson High School (**546 NE 12th Ave.**) and attended the University of Oregon; he was the first African American to play in the Northern Division of college basketball and also played professionally for the Bellingham Indians.⁴⁸⁷ Jimmy "Bang Bang" Walker, who moved to Portland with his family in 1955, enjoyed a long and popular boxing career before turning his attention to a myriad of professional pursuits; in addition to working as a radio DJ, inventing a household cleaner, and establishing the multiracial "Miss Tan Portland Beauty Pageant," Walker founded, edited, and published the *Northwest Defender* in 1962 and eventually assumed ownership of the *Northwest Clarion* in 1967.⁴⁸⁸

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*, are mostly likely to belong to Property Type II, *Commercial and Professional Buildings*, Property Type III, *Entertainment Venues*, and Property Type V, *Civic and Social Organization Buildings*. Some resources belonging to Property Type I, *Residences*, may also be significant for their associations with significant figures discussed in this context and/or entertainment and recreation activities that occurred in private homes. Because relatively few examples of African American entertainment venues and social organization buildings remain extant, residences may be the only (and therefore the best) resources associated with a significant individual or group. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD. Refer to Section F, *Property Types*, for additional information regarding properties' potential eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

Yankees, he eventually moved to the Pacific Coast League where he played for Oakland and the Seattle Rainiers. After his retirement from baseball, Wilson worked as a car salesman at Gary Worth Lincoln-Mercury in Gladstone until the age of 85.

⁴⁸⁶ Mel Renfro, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1996; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 97. During WWII, Mel Renfro's family moved to Portland from Texas to work in the shipyards, leaving Vanport six weeks before the 1948 flood. Eventually they bought a home at **51 NE Fargo St.** Renfro played for the Dallas Cowboys for 14 years.

⁴⁸⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 97.

⁴⁸⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 208. Jimmy "Bang Bang" Walker lived in a variety of homes over his fifty-year residency in Portland, including at **4642 N Vancouver Ave.**, **4318 N Vancouver Ave.**, and **4403 N Concord Ave.** See Context III, *Journalism*, for more information about his publications.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT V: BENEVOLENT AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

Summary

Benevolent and fraternal societies have long existed to provide benefits to their respective memberships, including financial support, social networks, business connections, leadership experience, and political backing.⁴⁸⁹ While their legacies have become closely intertwined over time, benevolent and fraternal societies have historically differed in both mission and membership. A benevolent society is a voluntary association of individuals formed to further a social cause, creating a sense of shared commitment amongst members, while a fraternal society is a self-selecting institution providing mutual aid to members based in shared values and identities.⁴⁹⁰ While benevolent societies were generally inclusive and transparent in their efforts and practices, fraternal societies typically relied on secrecy and ritual.⁴⁹¹

Benevolent and fraternal societies came into existence in United States shortly after the arrival of Europeans. These early organizations admitted White members only, and they are known to have fought the establishment of formalized Black societies due to the resources and influence that such organizations could provide to their members and beneficiaries.⁴⁹² Despite the objections of White-dominant benevolent and fraternal societies, however, African Americans were successful in creating formal institutions similar in structure to dominant benevolent and fraternal societies and with missions unique to the lived experience of African Americans.⁴⁹³

The first African American fraternal organization and the first nationally-recognized African American benevolent society were both founded in New England in 1787, although unrecognized and unchartered African American benevolent societies existed as early as the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁴ After emancipation,

⁴⁸⁹ Peter Feuerherd, "The Strange History of Masons in America," *JSTOR Daily*, August 3, 2017, <https://daily.jstor.org/the-strange-history-of-masons-in-america/>; Bayliss J. Camp and Orit Kent, "'What a Mighty Power We Can Be:' Individual and Collective Identity in African American and White Fraternal Initiation Rituals," *Social Science History* 28, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 440. The first fraternal lodge in the United States was founded in Boston in 1733. Fraternal organizations were extremely influential in early American society as they were in number and membership only second to churches amongst American voluntary associations.

⁴⁹⁰ Robert L. Harris, Jr., "Early Black Benevolent Societies, 1780-1830," *The Massachusetts Review* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 613. Differences amongst members span a variety of inherent and socially-constructed paradigms, including race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, age, and political beliefs. In the case of African American benevolent societies in Portland, it is likely that members identified with different ethnicities, geographic origins within the United States, educational backgrounds, religious denominations, income level, and fraternal affiliations.

⁴⁹¹ Theda Skocpol and Jennifer Lynn Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations," *Social Science History* 28, no. 3, Special Issue: African American Fraternal Associations and the History of Civil Society in the United States (Fall 2004): 367. Various terms are used when describing fraternal societies, organizations, or associations. A fraternal "society," "organization," or "association" refers generally to an unspecified group. The term "fraternal order" refers to a specific group, such as the Elks or the Odd Fellows. The term "fraternal lodge" refers to a specific subset of an order and refers to the members within that community and not the building utilized. For example, the Rose City Elks Lodge #111 describes the members in Portland who are one chapter of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, which is a fraternal order.

⁴⁹² Camp and Kent, "'What a Mighty Power We Can Be,'" 457. When White fraternal organizations refused to integrate or allow for parallel African American organizations, African Americans petitioned "mother" groups in England to gain legitimacy and used somewhat devious methods such as spying on ceremonies and stealing manuals to learn the rituals of fraternal organizations.

⁴⁹³ Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 369.

⁴⁹⁴ Paul Lawrence Dunbar, "Hidden in Plain Sight: African American Secret Societies and Black Freemasonry," *Journal of African American Studies* 16, no. 4 (December 2012): 632; Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 383-384.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

African American benevolent and fraternal societies expanded nationally and worked to mitigate the rights and opportunities denied to them by implicit racism. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, African American fraternal and benevolent societies became second in number only to religious institutions in terms of locations and membership.⁴⁹⁵

The creation of African American benevolent and fraternal societies in Portland during the period of significance of this MPD built community among African American Portlanders and connected the relatively isolated local population to organizations with national membership and influence. Many participated in multiple organizations, and local leaders in the business, newspaper, entertainment, and religious communities were often leaders in benevolent and fraternal societies, as well. These societies united Portland's small African American community prior to World War II, integrated in-migrants into local politics during the 1940s, and continued to build community through the Civil Rights Era.⁴⁹⁶

African American Benevolent Societies in Portland

Although few in number throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Portland's African American benevolent societies worked to mitigate the oppression of Black residents and provide valuable services that were frequently denied by the city's White-dominated power structure. These societies were broadly accessible to members of the African American community, differing from religious institutions and fraternal organizations in that oftentimes no profession of faith or monthly dues were required to join or receive the societies' services.⁴⁹⁷

Benevolent societies sponsored various community initiatives, and the missions of long-running societies often changed over time. Early Portland organizations sought to acclimate newcomers to the city and build community sentiment, while later organizations worked within Portland's established African American population. African American women's clubs, which formed parallel to the White women's clubs that emerged in the Progressive Era, were particularly popular within the Portland African American community and proliferated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These and later organizations in the mid twentieth century would emerge as bastions of the civil rights movement, merging

America's first Black fraternal order was the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge founded in Boston, and its first nationally-recognized Black benevolent society was the Free African Society founded in Philadelphia. This and other early benevolent organizations often highlighted the African roots of their members and focused on means of liberation for enslaved people.

⁴⁹⁵ Dunbar, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 623-624. Many recent historians, including Dunbar, argue a historical underrepresentation of the importance of Black fraternal societies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historians over time have emphasized the Black Church as the center of African American life in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, citing the Church as the genesis of the civil rights movement. A more nuanced argument is emerging in national scholarship, portraying the interplay of fraternal organizations, benevolent societies, and Black churches as equal contributors to the African American experience and emergence of the civil rights movement. Historians cite a variety of reasons for the previous lack of scholarship regarding the importance of fraternal organizations, including the secretive nature of the societies, decline of fraternal societies in the twentieth century, and hyper-focusing on religious institutions. In fact, it is estimated that membership in the four dominant African American Fraternal organizations (Odd Fellows, Pythians, Masons, and Elks) nationwide was 774,000 in 1910. Contrarily, historians have long argued that White fraternal organizations were not only paramount in society but arguably the cornerstone of the American Revolution.

⁴⁹⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 51.

⁴⁹⁷ Harris, "Early Black Benevolent Societies," 614. Many Black benevolent societies did have their roots in a religious tradition, such as the YWCA, and early Black benevolent societies in the northeastern United States often established congregations shortly after their creations, such as the Free African Society and Bethel AME in Philadelphia.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Christian moral obligations with social justice initiatives. Although often overlooked in both local and national histories, African American benevolent societies spanned divisions within the Black community to offer compassionate assistance, leadership opportunities, shared experience, and recreation.

Portland Colored Immigration Aid Society (1879-ca.1891)

Portland's earliest known Black benevolent society was the Portland Colored Immigration Aid Society (PCIAS). The organization was formed in 1879 by a group of prominent local African American men who desired to provide assistance and encouragement to Black refugees from the Southern states.⁴⁹⁸ Among the activities advanced by the PCIAS was the active recruitment of Black Southerners through Southern newspapers. *The Morning Oregonian* reprinted two circulars originally published by the PCIAS in the American South and Southwest: one original advertisement published in December 1879, and a secondary advertisement with further instructions that followed in February 1880.⁴⁹⁹ According to these articles, the PCIAS's mission was "compiling and diffusing useful information on the products, resources and climate of the state of Oregon, for the benefit of such persons in other states as may desire to come and settle among us."⁵⁰⁰ The February 1880 reprint responded to the success of the first circular and even included the address of the PCIAS Secretary for further correspondence.⁵⁰¹ Census data shows a significant increase in the African American population of both Portland and Oregon between 1880 and 1890, possibly highlighting the effectiveness of organizations like the PCIAS in recruiting new African American residents.⁵⁰²

The PCIAS assisted African American in-migrants in their initial relocation to Portland and in the months of adjustment that followed. According to the organization's own mission statement printed in *Morning Oregonian* articles, the PCIAS was committed to providing "encouragement, available and material aid as may be necessary," "securing cheap fares," making temporary arrangements for newcomers and advising them "in the selection of lands," and furnishing "such other services as may be needed."⁵⁰³ The PCIAS's

⁴⁹⁸ Chandler, *Hidden History of Portland, Oregon*, 89. African American Portlanders Allen Flowers, William H. Glasee, and Henry Stone were named as founders. Although a specific date is not provided, an article in *The Morning Oregonian* from December 17, 1879, states the society formed approximately three months prior ("Colored Immigration Society," *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR], December 17, 1879). President Hayes's withdrawal of troops from the Southern states in 1876 ended the Reconstruction period and generated national concern for the vulnerability of African Americans.

⁴⁹⁹ "Colored Immigration Society," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 17, 1879; "Colored Immigration: A Circular Letter Penned by the Portland Colored Immigration Society," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 14, 1880.

⁵⁰⁰ "Colored Immigration Society," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 17, 1879; "Colored Immigration: A Circular Letter Penned by the Portland Colored Immigration Society," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 14, 1880.

⁵⁰¹ "Colored Immigration," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 14, 1880. The Secretary of PCIAS at this time was identified as Alexander Ferguson with a mailing address of 30 Stark St. (note that this address dates before the renumbering of Portland addresses that occurred in 1931).

⁵⁰² Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Table 51; Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38. In Portland, the African American population jumped from 192 persons in 1880 to 480 persons in 1890. In an even bigger swing, Oregon's African American population jumped from 487 persons in 1880 to 1,186 persons in 1890, the largest increase of African Americans in the state during the nineteenth century. The growth of the railroad industry and the proliferation of career opportunities for African American men in Portland, discussed in Context II, *Business and Employment*, was likely an important factor in the increase.

⁵⁰³ "Colored Immigration," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 14, 1880.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

services provided potential in-migrants with the social and practical resources necessary for establishing a life in Portland. The organization's work demonstrates the cohesion and solidarity of Portland's small Black community during the late nineteenth century.

The historical record does not clearly indicate the reception that the PCIAS's activities received from Portland's White residents. One contemporary article in *The Oregonian*, the city's primary White media outlet, seems to portray the organization very positively, reporting "the society, we are gratified to state, is in a flourishing condition, and the secretary is in receipt of numerous applications for immigrants."⁵⁰⁴ However, the larger narrative of African American suppression at the hands of Portland's dominant White power structure during the nineteenth centuries suggests that African American in-migrants were not universally welcomed into the city.⁵⁰⁵ The PCIAS continued their recruitment and assistance programs through at least 1891, by which time Portland's African American community numbered nearly 500.⁵⁰⁶

The Oregon Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (1912-present)

A byproduct of Progressive era social reform, women's welfare clubs proliferated around the nation at the turn of the twentieth century. Although these clubs took many forms, they were generally composed of White Protestant women and focused on education, child labor rules, food and drug regulations, and the temperance movement. The rise of parallel organizations for African American women, much like the rise of Black churches and fraternal organizations, was fraught with debate and rejection by dominant White institutions. Between 1900 and 1905, *The Oregonian* printed multiple stories regarding the "debate on color" within the National Federation of Women's Clubs, including a discussion about whether to allow African American delegates at the Lewis and Clark Exposition held in Portland in 1905.⁵⁰⁷ Although the debate over inclusion in the National Federation would be largely silenced during World War I, welfare clubs continued to differ greatly between White and Black women: White women's clubs tended to focus on aiding those outside of their own membership circle, including racially marginalized groups, while Black women's clubs generally focused insularly on the African American community.⁵⁰⁸ This national pattern also held true in Oregon, where Black women's groups exerted their influence for the advancement of the state's small African American population.

African American women's clubs proliferated in Portland and Oregon in the early twentieth century, and in January 1917, fourteen separate organizations united to form the Oregon Federation of Colored Women's

⁵⁰⁴ "City," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 31, 1879.

⁵⁰⁵ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, and Context VII, *Civil Rights*, for more information on the treatment of African American in-migrants to Portland, a predominantly White city, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁵⁰⁶ Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38. Similar recruitment and assistance campaigns brought African Americans from Southern states to Portland in the late 1890s to staff the Portland Hotel and in the 1940s to work in the Kaiser Shipyards and other war-related industries. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, and Context II, *Business and Employment, Business and Employment*, for further information about African American in-migration during World War II and the Portland Hotel, respectively.

⁵⁰⁷ "A Debate on Color," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 4, 1901; "Among the Clubwomen," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 2, 1901; "Clubwomen are to Meet," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 24, 1902.

⁵⁰⁸ Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945," *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (September 1991): 562-566.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Clubs.⁵⁰⁹ Collectively, these clubs focused on “charitable work among their own people, educational and uplift projects among the colored race, and efforts to bring about a better understanding between the better class of the negro and white races,” according to one Springfield, Oregon newspaper.⁵¹⁰ Within Portland, club women established kindergartens, nurseries, reading rooms, youth clubs, camp programs, and homes for orphaned or dependent children, the elderly, and young working women. In conjunction with other African American community institutions, many of these women’s clubs were also involved in advocating for women’s suffrage, fighting discriminatory public accommodations practices, advancing educational initiatives, and promoting the temperance movement. The Federation’s member organizations included the Lucy Thurman Women’s Christian Temperance Union (a local branch of the national Women’s Christian Temperance Union), which was founded in Portland in 1912 and advanced Christian ideals of domesticity and philanthropy; the Rosebud Study Club, which composed an Oregon history and studies on food conservation and nutrition in the 1910s;⁵¹¹ and the Colored Women’s Republican Club, which was formed in 1914 to advocate for the Republican Party and to further Black women’s interest and participation in politics.⁵¹²

Many African American women in Portland were members of multiple clubs, and they were often leaders (or wives of leaders) in the city’s Black community. Although club activity was strongest prior to the Great Depression, African American women’s clubs endured through the mid-twentieth century, evolving alongside membership trends and prevailing social issues in the decades before and after World War II. For example, junior clubs emerged in the 1920s to expand the number and range of African American Portlanders involved in women’s clubs.⁵¹³ The theme of the Oregon Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs’ 1941 convention was “Success through Harmony and Tolerance,” a reference to the tense race relations in Portland during World War II,⁵¹⁴ and in 1946, the Federation created a race relations committee to promote better understanding of racial problems following the war.⁵¹⁵

The Oregon Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and its member organizations provided an information-sharing network and a source of support to the African American women of Oregon, focusing

⁵⁰⁹ “Colored Women Form State Federation of Clubs,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 21, 1917. The fourteen founding clubs were the Colored Women’s Council, the Roxanna Club, the Rosebud Study Club, the Clover Leaf Club, the Montavilla Industrial Club, the Ladies of the Twentieth Century Club, the Lucy Thurman Women’s Christian Temperance Union, Colored Women’s Republican Club, the Swastika Club, Salem Colored Women’s Club, Pendleton Art Club, Women’s Civic Club, Alpha Delphan Club and Hermonie Club. The first meeting was held at 1742 N Williams Ave. in the Twentieth Century Clubhouse.

⁵¹⁰ “Colored Women of State Unite,” *The Springfield News* (Springfield, OR), January 22, 1917. This newspaper out of Lane County, Oregon, highlighted the significance of such an organization by placing the article on the front page of its bi-weekly paper.

⁵¹¹ Edith Knight Holmes, “Women’s Clubs,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 1, 1916; Edith Knight Holmes, “Women’s Patriotic Service,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 18, 1917; Edith Knight Holmes, “Women’s Clubs,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), December 2, 1917.

⁵¹² “Colored Folk Join Republican Force,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), October 14, 1914; “Republican Club is Busy,” *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 25, 1915. An Oregonian article claims that the Colored Women’s Republican Club had 350 members in 1915. The New Port Republican Club, an African American men’s Republican organization, was founded in 1892 by a group of Portland Hotel waiters.

⁵¹³ “Social Events,” *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), June 15, 1929.

⁵¹⁴ “Convention Date Set,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 3, 1941. This convention, along with others in the 1930s and 1940s, was held in the Williams Avenue YWCA at **6 N Tillamook St.**

⁵¹⁵ “New Groups Created,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 10, 1946.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

on improving the lives and education of women, children, and the community in general.⁵¹⁶ The Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs continues today as the Oregon Association of Colored Women's Clubs (OACW).⁵¹⁷

The Colored Young Women's Christian Association (1921-1959)

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) is an international women's organization formed in 1855 to address the practical and spiritual needs of single women working in London during the Industrial Revolution.⁵¹⁸ The first YWCA chapters in the United States were established shortly after, opening in New York in 1858 and in Boston in 1866, and the organization subsequently spread across the nation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the beginning, YWCA membership was segregated by race, with separate clubs for African American, Japanese, Chinese, Southern European, and American-born White women.⁵¹⁹ The first African American chapter of the YWCA opened in Dayton, Ohio, in 1889.⁵²⁰

Portland's White YWCA was established in 1901, but its African American branch was not formed until two decades later.⁵²¹ African American women in Portland began to campaign for a dedicated YWCA branch soon after World War I had ended, and after three years of raising public support and funds, the "Colored" YWCA opened in a portable facility at **6 N Tillamook St.** in October 1921.⁵²² This temporary structure was replaced by a permanent building in 1926, funded by contributions from African American organizations and a donation from Mary Collins, a White woman active in the local YWCA.⁵²³

⁵¹⁶ Elizabeth McLagan, "Sober, Industrious, and Honest," in *Reading Portland: The City in Prose*, ed. John Trombold and Peter Donahue (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2006), 221.

⁵¹⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 49. Many of Portland's prominent African American women served as presidents of the Federation, including Jessica Coles Grayson (president 1935-1937), who was active in the NAACP's 1925 campaign for a Public Accommodations bill; Letitia Brock (president 1941-1944), whose family was honored as the 1967 National Urban League's "Family of the Year"; and Marie Smith (president 1944-1945), who went on to become the first female president of the NAACP in 1949.

⁵¹⁸ "Young Women's Christian Association," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 20, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Young-Womens-Christian-Association>.

⁵¹⁹ YWCA," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; "Young Women's Christian Association," *VCU Libraries Social Welfare History Project*, accessed November 20, 2019, <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/youth/young-womens-christian-association/>. Even prior to the existence of Portland's African American YWCA, a national debate emerged within the YWCA organization regarding segregated facilities. In the 1930s, the national organization condemned lynching and mob violence against African Americans.

⁵²⁰ "YWCA Dayton, Ohio: Our Legacy," *YWCA*, accessed November 20, 2019, <https://www.ywcadayton.org/who-we-are/our-history/>.

⁵²¹ "Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Portland, Oregon: Papers, 1901-2001, Historical Note," *Archives West*, accessed November 20, 2019, <http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv57126>. The YWCA would not be incorporated into a national organization until 1907, so outlets such as the Portland YWCA were known as "city associations." The founders of Portland's YWCA (Corbett, Failing, Ladd, and Honeyman) were all wealthy White women from politically prominent families.

⁵²² The "Colored YWCA" did not come without significant resistance from community members and neighbors, as evidenced by an *Oregonian* article objecting to "construction of any building by negroes," ("Right of Negroes to Build Upheld: City Lacks Power to Curb Construction, Attorney Gives Opinion," *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR], August 30, 1921).

⁵²³ "Mrs. E. S. Collins Donor of Branch Y.W.C.A.: \$12,000 Building Being Provided for Negro Members," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 31, 1926.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The organization housed at the **6 N Tillamook St.** building, commonly known as the Williams Avenue YWCA, became a prominent force within the local African American community. It organized classes and recreational activities, assisted young African American women in finding housing and employment, provided office space for the NAACP, and hosted an annual “Negro history week” in its building.⁵²⁴ Although the national YWCA was strictly a women’s organization, the Williams Avenue branch also provided programming for African American men and boys, who did not have a comparable facility available to them in Portland at this time.⁵²⁵ By 1923, almost 200 individuals were members of the Williams Avenue YWCA, and it is estimated that far more took part in the organization’s various activities.⁵²⁶

The Williams Avenue YWCA frequently coordinated its programs with local African American church congregations, fraternal societies, and social organizations, as many of the YWCA’s patrons were also active in the greater Black community of Portland. The building was briefly loaned to the United Service Organizations (USO) for the use of African American soldiers during World War II, but it was returned to YWCA use in 1946 and was the site of meetings held by the NAACP, the OACW, the Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality during the late 1940s and 1950s. Following passage of the Oregon Public Accommodations Law in 1953 and the completion of a new downtown YWCA headquarters in 1959, Portland’s YWCA integrated its segregated branches and sold the **6 N Tillamook St.** building to the Billy Webb Elks Lodge, a local African American fraternal organization.⁵²⁷

Other African American Benevolent Societies in Portland

Benevolent societies helped to build and sustain Portland’s growing Black community by advancing educational, recreational, and political programming, and by providing practical and social support. The benevolent societies described in this MPD were almost certainly not the only African American benevolent societies in Portland during the period of significance; it is very likely that many more existed to serve the diverse needs of Portland’s Black community, but additional research is required to determine their identities, missions, and impacts. While the variety and breadth of African American benevolent societies in Portland is undetermined, those that have been identified played a demonstrably important role in the history and development of Portland’s African American community.

African American Fraternal Societies in Portland

Fraternal organizations played an immensely important role in the lives of African Americans, second only to the Church and arguably more important than benevolent societies.⁵²⁸ Often called “secret societies,”

⁵²⁴ Steve Law, “Walking with Civil Rights Pioneers,” *Portland Tribune* (Portland, OR), last March 14, 2013.

⁵²⁵ “Negroes Should be Asset, Says Mabel Bird,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 4, 1923.

⁵²⁶ “Negroes Should be Asset, Says Mabel Bird,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 4, 1923; “Cornerstone to be Laid: Ceremony Will be Held at New YWCA Branch,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 21, 1926. The “Cornerstone” article estimates that over 5,000 individuals had used the Williams Avenue YWCA by 1926, but this number is suspect as less than 2,000 African Americans resided in Portland at the time of the article.

⁵²⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 51; Fred Leeson, “Billy Webb Elks Lodge,” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018,

https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/billy_webb_elks_lodge/#.Xl8Xoi3MzLY.

⁵²⁸ Ariane Liazos and Marshall Ganz, “Duty to the Race: African American Fraternal Orders and the Legal Defense of the Right to Organize,” *Social Science History* 28, no. 3, Special Issue: African American Fraternal Associations of Civil Society in the United States (Fall 2004): 486-487. The loss of voting rights and disintegration of the Republican Party in

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

historians have struggled to define the breadth and power of fraternal organizations due to inaccessible records and an overemphasis on more familiar and transparent institutions, such as those associated with religious institutions. However, scholarship has demonstrated the interrelation of fraternal organizations with other African American institutions such as benevolent societies, churches, and civil rights organizations. In Portland and across the country, these societies were multifaceted and served educational, political, charitable, and social functions within Black communities. Additionally, the formalized, multi-tiered structure of fraternal orders (local lodges, state grand lodges, and national orders) facilitated mobilization and unity in times of change.⁵²⁹

Nationally, the creation of African American fraternal organizations was resisted by White society for more than a century.⁵³⁰ An early example is the experience of Prince Hall, an African American from the West Indies who joined a British military lodge of Masons in Boston in 1775. Following the American Revolution and in light of continued discrimination toward African Americans, Hall requested a separate charter for a Black fraternal lodge from the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts. However, he was refused. Hall circumvented the refusal by petitioning the Grand Lodge of England directly, receiving a charter in 1787 and establishing what would later become the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge.⁵³¹ The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, established by members of an African American literary club in New York City in the early 1840s, would follow a similar course. After being refused an affiliation by the all-White Independent Order of Odd Fellows in New York, they applied for and received a charter through the Grand United Order, an English branch of the organization, in 1843.⁵³²

In other cases, African Americans were able to gain access to White orders and their secret rituals only through subterfuge. For example, light-skinned Black men surreptitiously joined the Knights of Pythias fraternal society to learn the rituals of the order; in 1880, they left the organization to establish their own parallel lodge, the Supreme Lodge of Knights of Pythias of North America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceanica.⁵³³ In 1898, another group of African American men obtained a copy of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks' secret ritual through unknown means; finding that it was not copyrighted through the Library of Congress, the men obtained their own copyright, claiming the ritual for themselves and establishing the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World later that year.⁵³⁴

the South meant that fraternal orders and churches remained the only regional organization available to African Americans by the twentieth century.

⁵²⁹ Liazos and Ganz, "Duty to the Race," 485.

⁵³⁰ Liazos and Ganz, "Duty to the Race," 487. Many scholars assert that the formation of parallel fraternal orders directly challenged the superiority of the dominant White society by calling into question the fraternal codes of morality, dignity, brotherhood, and equality.

⁵³¹ Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 383-384. The auxiliary women's group associated with the Prince Hall Masons is the Order of the Eastern Star, established in 1874.

⁵³² Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 386. The auxiliary women's group associated with the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows is the Household of Ruth, established in 1857 (384).

⁵³³ Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 387. The auxiliary women's group associated with the Order of Calanthe, established in 1883 (384).

⁵³⁴ Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 388; "The Black Elks, a Home Away from Home," *African American Registry*, accessed Nov. 23, 2019, <https://aaregistry.org/story/the-black-elks-a-home-away-from-home/>. The auxiliary women's group is the Daughters of the I.B.P.O.E.W. and was established in 1902.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Besides struggling to secure charters from White national organizations, early Black fraternal organizations fought court cases that directly challenged their legality. The formation of African American fraternal orders directly challenged the superiority of White society by equating White and Black adherence to professed fraternal codes of morality, dignity, brotherhood, and equality. In an attempt to eliminate the threat of parallel Black institutions, a coordinated legislative and legal campaign to abolish Black fraternal orders began in 1904 in Mississippi, New York, and Georgia. Eventually spreading to twenty-nine states and leading to U.S. Supreme Court cases in 1912 and 1929, this campaign articulated a blueprint for successful nationwide resistance to discriminatory practices and created a foundation for the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.⁵³⁵

Despite these significant challenges, African American fraternal societies flourished nationally during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Many established women's auxiliary organizations for the wives, daughters, and other female family members of fraternal society members. After decades of prominence and popularity, however, the institutions' membership began to decline slightly in the 1910s and fell rapidly during the Great Depression. This was likely a result of the financial structure and benefit system associated with Black fraternal organizations. As founding members began to age, more money was withdrawn from reserves to assist sick members, fund funerals, and assist widows and children.⁵³⁶ Funds were subsequently depleted, meeting spaces and benefits could no longer be furnished, and the organizations experienced a rapid decline in membership. A small number of African American fraternal organizations have sustained over time and remain prominent today, but they have not regained the volume of membership or the broad community influence that they held in the early twentieth century.

Characteristics of African American Fraternal Societies in Portland

The proliferation of African American fraternal organizations in Portland during the period of significance of this MPD paralleled national trends. In Portland and across the country, small communities developed an overabundance of lodges; members tended to participate in multiple orders simultaneously; and auxiliary orders were formed for women members.⁵³⁷

Most fraternal organizations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had strict criteria for admittance; for example, the Enterprise Lodge of Masons required that its members be "free born," literate, able to pay their dues in cash, and of high moral character. Lodges generally required that men be "settled" (i.e., not "transient"). The annual dues collected from members paid for meeting spaces and social events, but they also provided practical benefits. Lodges often provided financial support for ill or disabled members, paid for cemetery plots and conducted funerary services for deceased members, and contributed financially to the ongoing care of members' widows and children. Members of women's auxiliaries performed charity work and provided nursing care to members who were ailing. Above all,

⁵³⁵ Liazos and Ganz, "Duty to the Race," 487. Oregon was not one of the twenty-nine states.

⁵³⁶ Edward Nelson Palmer, "Negro Secret Societies," *Social Forces* 23, no. 2 (December 1944): 211. Membership within White fraternal orders also declined during this time period for the same reason. Membership increased in both White and Black fraternal orders in the 1940s and beyond although they never achieved the same membership numbers and influence as in the early twentieth century.

⁵³⁷ Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity," 403. To join a women's auxiliary order, one had to be related to a member of the male fraternal order; mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives qualified and remained auxiliary members despite the death of one's male counterpart. Due to the multitude of ways women could join auxiliary orders and increased life expectancy of women, women's membership often outstripped that of the dominant male order.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

brothers and sisters of all orders were expected to uphold a certain moral standard and place of honor in their community; a person could be swiftly evicted for poor behavior.⁵³⁸

In addition to annual dues, African American fraternal orders also relied upon fundraising events and donations to sustain themselves. Sometimes fundraising efforts played to existing racial stereotypes, participating in the popular genre known as “minstrel theater.”⁵³⁹ For example, the Rose City Elks put on a “down South” show in 1928 for White Portlanders in an effort to raise funds for their organization. The performance spanned four days and was advertised multiple times in *The Oregonian*. Highlights listed in advertisements included plantation scenes, real cotton, and the promise that “all performers will be colored people.”⁵⁴⁰ While such events did provide much needed support to fraternal societies, they may have also reinforced the racist attitudes held by their White audiences.

Early Fraternal Societies

Very little information has been preserved and made public regarding African American fraternal organizations in Portland. The Odd Fellows Lodge #2554, established in 1883, is the earliest local African American fraternal organization that could be identified in existing scholarship and primary sources, but little is known about the lodge’s membership and activities. Similarly limited information is available concerning other African American fraternal organizations prior to 1903, when the African American Enterprise Lodge of Masons began to meet in the newly-completed Enterprise Investment Company building at 1022 N Larabee Ave.⁵⁴¹ The Enterprise Masons would eventually merge with other African American fraternal organizations in 1925 to create the “United Grand Chapter of Washington and its jurisdiction, order of the Eastern star,” which met at **128 NE Russell St.** through much of the 1930s.

Dahlia Temple and Billy Webb Elks Lodge

Portland’s first Black Elks Lodge, the Rose City Lodge #111, was organized in 1906 as a branch of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, an African American fraternity established in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1897.⁵⁴² The Rose City Lodge was founded by a Pullman porter named Sam Washington, and *The Advocate* editor E.D. Cannady served as its Exalted Ruler for fifteen years.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁸ McLagan, “Sober, Industrious, and Honest,” 220.

⁵³⁹ See Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*, for information on minstrel theater and cultural appropriation in popular entertainment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

⁵⁴⁰ “Negroes to Entertain,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1928.

⁵⁴¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 51-52. The Enterprise Lodge of Masons moved to 1453 N Williams and then to **128 NE Russell St.** in the mid-1920s. The Russell Street location was later the Grace Collins Memorial Center and currently operates as an entertainment venue. The Enterprise Investment Company was founded in 1903 by eight African American investors, with seven of them employed at the Portland Hotel, including William H. Rutherford, Lewis Goodwin and John Payne. The founders of the Enterprise Investment Company were also likely members of the Enterprise Lodge of Masons. Known members of the fraternal organization include Sherman “Pic” Pickett, Albert A. “Double A” Jones, William H. Jones, John C. Logan, Clarence B. Ramsey, and Avril W. “Sie” Denton; known members of the women’s auxiliary organization include Katie Henderson, Grace Scott Jackson, Clarisse Randolph, and Leola Towne.

⁵⁴² McLagan, “Sober, Industrious, and Honest,” 220.

⁵⁴³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 42. E.D. and his wife Beatrice Cannady published *The Advocate* from 1903 to 1936 and participated in many local social and civil rights organizations (see Context III, *Journalism*, for further information regarding the Cannady family). Known members of the Rose City Elks Club include Micco T. Harjo, Edward Agee, Prince Paries, Cornelius Young, Richard H. Young, Claude Allen, Willie Battle, Bill Benton, John Brown, Ben Chandler, Wilson C. Cochran, Abe Corneal, William H. Jones, Clyde Lamb, Arthur Love, Jr., James N.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Meetings were held at the Elks Club Stag Auditorium (413 SE Morrison St.), which also hosted social gatherings and meetings for multiple fraternal orders. Billy Webb, a well-known band leader in Portland and across the West Coast, was a charter member of the Rose City Elks Club and recruited members to play in his orchestra.

The Rose City Elks disbanded during the Great Depression, although the Dahlia Temple remained solvent. As an auxiliary to the men's organization, the Temple risked losing its charter if a companion Elks Lodge did not reemerge; determined to remain viable, members of Dahlia Temple led the effort to reestablish a men's lodge in Portland. In 1940, they were successful, and the Billy Webb Elks Lodge #1050 received its charter.⁵⁴⁴ The new Lodge met at Fraternal Hall on North Williams Avenue (a venue shared among several local fraternal organizations) until 1958, when the building was destroyed for the construction of Memorial Coliseum.⁵⁴⁵ In 1959, the Billy Webb Elks took ownership of the former YWCA building at **6 N Tillamook St.** The Elks Lodge and Dahlia Temple remain at this location as of 2019.⁵⁴⁶

Other African American Fraternal Societies in Portland

Other pre-World War II African American fraternal organizations included the Prince Hall Masons,⁵⁴⁷ Knights of Pythias's Syracuse Lodge, the African American Fraternal Association (both located at 1412 N Williams Ave.), and a second Elks Lodge (1504 N Williams Ave.).⁵⁴⁸ The Sons of Haiti Lodge (**3503 N Mississippi Ave.**) was established in 1954 and remains one of the few remaining African American-owned businesses along N Mississippi Avenue in Lower Albina. The Sons of Haiti, a Masonic Lodge, and its women's auxiliary, the Sisterhood of Eastern Stars, still retain ownership of the building.⁵⁴⁹

The Lasting Legacy of Portland's African American Benevolent and Fraternal Societies

Throughout the period of significance, Black benevolent and fraternal societies have served significant social, spiritual, educational, and political roles in the lives of African American Portlanders. Benevolent societies performed an important community-building function within the city's relatively small African American population, and fraternal societies supplied their members with brotherhood, leadership skills, and national bonds in spite of White oppression. Although much is still unknown about these social organizations, it is certain that they have left a lasting imprint on Portland's African American community. Several remain active today.

Manley, Fred McClear, Joseph W. Simms, Dr. James A. Merriman, John R. Mills, Eugene J. Minor, Ernest W. Morton, John Mott, Charles Mumford, James S. Scott, Boyce Strain, Daniel W. Tillman, George Washington. Members of the auxiliary Dahlia Temple included Dollie Paries, Pauline Young, Rachael Young, Teresa Benton, Anna Brown, Viola Manley, Lorraine McClear, Etta Tibbs Simms, and Helen Morton.

⁵⁴⁴ Raymond Burell, III, "The Historic Site of the Billy Webb's Elks Lodge Hall, Portland, Oregon" (unpublished, 2019), 69.

⁵⁴⁵ Martha Gies, "Historic Elks Lodge Grateful for Volunteers," *Eliot Neighborhood Association*, July 21, 2009, <https://eliotneighborhood.org/2009/07/21/historic-elks-lodge-grateful-for-volunteers/>.

⁵⁴⁶ Martha Gies, "Historic Elks Lodge Grateful for Volunteers."

⁵⁴⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 52, 90. Known members of the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge include Avril W. "Sie" Denton, Robert Dillard, Roosevelt Anderson, Elijah Graham, James J. Lee, James R. Walkon, Sr., Mack Stanfield, Julius Moore, and Wilson Cochran, and members of the auxiliary organization Order of the Eastern Star include Sallie Stanfield, Viola Moore, and Winifred Cochran.

⁵⁴⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 51; McLagan, "Sober, Industrious, and Honest," 220. These early meeting halls would all be destroyed during the late 1950s construction of Memorial Coliseum.

⁵⁴⁹ "Community Livability Grant (CLG) Program," *Prosper Portland*, accessed November 28, 2019, <https://prosperportland.us/portfolio-items/community-livability-grant/>; "Overlook Neighborhood Update (Jan. 8)," *Overlook Neighborhood Association*, January 8, 2018, <https://overlookneighborhood.org/overlook-neighborhood-update-jan-8/#sons>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, are mostly likely to belong to Property Type V, *Civic and Social Organization Buildings*, although some repurposed meeting halls may also fall into Property Type III, *Entertainment Venues*. Some resources belonging to Property Type I, *Residences*, may also be significant for their associations with significant figures associated with Portland's African American benevolent and fraternal societies, or for their roles as meeting places for these kinds of organizations. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT VI: RELIGION AND WORSHIP

Summary

Religion and spirituality have functioned as unifying sources of hope, strength, and resilience for many African Americans since the arrival of the first people of African origin in the Americas.⁵⁵⁰ Many African Americans, both enslaved and free, practiced forms of Christianity in the years leading up to the Civil War, but White Christian churches were frequently unwelcoming to Black congregants.⁵⁵¹ Prior to emancipation, free African Americans formed two new Christian denominations: Bethel Church in Philadelphia in 1787, which gave rise to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) in 1816,⁵⁵² and AME Zion in New York in 1821.⁵⁵³ During Reconstruction, these two denominations spread from the Northern United States to the South and the West, amassing hundreds of thousands of congregants by 1880.⁵⁵⁴ Bethel and Zion's proliferation united disparate communities across the country through the teachings of Christianity and the unique experience of African Americans in the United States.⁵⁵⁵

Much like the Black-owned newspapers, entertainment venues, and benevolent and fraternal societies described in Contexts III, IV and V, respectively, African American churches nationally and in Portland during the period of significance (1851-1973) assumed multifaceted spiritual and practical roles in their communities. Christian churches and other places of worship offered congregants not only spiritual guidance but also social support, financial resources, and a platform for advocacy.

In Portland, one of the earliest signs of a budding African American community was the establishment of the First AME Zion Church in 1862. This church and others that would follow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were generally located near Union Station, on the west side of the Willamette

⁵⁵⁰ Iulia O. Basu-Zharku, "Slavery and Religion in the Antebellum South," *Inquiries* 3, no. 1 (2011): <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/372/slavery-and-religion-in-the-antebellum-south>.

⁵⁵¹ John B. Boles, *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 4-9. Boles states that Southerners' initial resistance to indoctrinating enslaved peoples to Christianity was cemented in the generalized fear of the "other" and that enslaved peoples would be unable to comprehend the complexities of organized religion. Boles explains how English missionaries were the first to begin converting Southern slaves to Christianity in the 1720s and then later Northern Christian dissenters. By 1750, most Southern enslaved people were practicing a form of Christianity, mainly Baptist and Methodist, and continued to do so after emancipation.

⁵⁵² "American Religion: African Methodist Episcopal Church," *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/African-Methodist-Episcopal-Church>. In 1787, a group of African Americans formally withdrew from St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia because of segregated seating. From this separation came Bethel African Methodist Church, which sued the Methodist Episcopal Church twice in Pennsylvania courts to maintain independence from White Methodists. In 1816, African Methodist Episcopal Church was formalized under newly consecrated Bishop Richard Allen.

⁵⁵³ "American Religion: African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church," *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/African-Methodist-Episcopal-Zion-Church>. AME Zion first formed in 1796 when a group of African Americans left the John Street Methodist Church due to discrimination. For the first twenty-five years, the congregants were still under the branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church and provided White ministers. In 1821, James Varick was elected the first Black Bishop and a new denomination was formed.

⁵⁵⁴ "American Religion: African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church." Bethel AME alone had an estimated 400,000 adherents by 1880.

⁵⁵⁵ Boles, *Masters and Slaves*, 17-18. The acceptance of Black Congregants in Southern evangelical Christian Churches under Methodist and Baptist denominations paved the way for these denominations to be the foundation of the first independent Black Churches.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

River and at the geographical center of the city's small African American community.⁵⁵⁶ Portland's earliest African American churches facilitated relationships between recent African American in-migrants and established residents, who could assist new arrivals in finding homes and employment. As Portland's African American community grew during the early decades of the 1900s, additional Black churches were established—and many existing congregations were relocated—to meet the evolving needs of the Black community, especially as the population largely moved from the west to east side of the Willamette River.

The shifting size and makeup of the Black population during and after World War II greatly altered African American places of worship in Portland. Not only was there a necessity for more places of worship as the population ballooned in size, but many of the new arrivals were younger, less established, and more progressive than the somewhat insular community that had existed prior to World War II. While many of Portland's prewar churches adhered to traditional rituals, a crop of new postwar churches reflected the religious inclinations of African American in-migrants from the South, who trended towards less formal services. The establishment of a small yet defined African American Islamic community in the 1960s was another departure from the conventional Christian tradition that had dominated the years before the war.

During the entire period of significance, African American religious institutions in Portland served not only as venues for spirituality, but as important forces for community, empowerment, and social justice. Beginning as early as the 1920s, Church leaders often held prominent roles in significant civil rights battles and used the pulpit as a platform to denounce racism and advocate for Portland's Black community. Churches such as Vancouver Avenue First Baptist continued this tradition through the tumultuous civil rights movement of the 1960s, playing a significant advocacy and education role within the community.⁵⁵⁷ Although their belief systems and religious practices frequently mirrored those of their White counterparts, African American places of worship were unique manifestations of the experiences and beliefs of their members.⁵⁵⁸

Portland's Early African American Congregations: 1862-1920

Portland's earliest African American congregations were Protestant Christian groups located on the west side of the Willamette River, where the heart of Portland's African American community was concentrated in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁹ The first two Black churches established in Portland were branches of nationally recognized Methodist denominations, and both recruited Black reverends from the American South. After the turn of the century, other Protestant denominations—including those adhering to the Baptist and Episcopal traditions—emerged in Portland and reflected the increasingly diverse interests of the growing Black community. Nearly all of Portland's nineteenth-century Black churches held

⁵⁵⁶ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information regarding the geographical trends in African American settlement in Portland.

⁵⁵⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 77.

⁵⁵⁸ Boles, *Masters and Slaves*, 13-18. As Baptist and Methodist denominations emerged in the South, new congregations were biracial. Unlike dissenting Anglicans, Baptist and Methodist congregants were often from the working class and less educated, resulting in an initial sense of kinship towards newly-freed African Americans. While this biracial harmony would not last past Reconstruction, these two denominations shaped the founding principles of African American churches. In general, "...services are longer, the music is more expressive, emotions are more freely expressed, [and] there is greater congregational participation" than in their White counterparts.

⁵⁵⁹ See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for information regarding the geographical center of Portland's African American community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

their services in the homes of congregants until enough capital had been raised to fund the construction of dedicated spaces for worship.⁵⁶⁰

The First Four Churches

Portland's first African American church was established in 1862 in the home of Mary H. Carr, who owned a boarding house on SW 1st Avenue. Christened "the People's Church" at the time of its founding, in 1869 the church incorporated as the First African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church and relocated to NW 3rd Avenue between Burnside and Couch streets. At this time, the church was led by Reverend J.O. Lodge. In 1883 the congregation moved again, erecting a new building at 1229 SW Main St. in downtown Portland. It would remain at this location until 1916.⁵⁶¹

Portland's second African American church, Bethel AME, was established in 1889. The church was founded by Reverend Shepard S. Freeman and his wife, Lenora, out of a two-story building near Union Depot (this early rail terminal would be demolished and replaced by Union Station a few years later).⁵⁶² During this time, the Freemans also operated a boarding house and restaurant for African American railroad workers at 314 NW Everett St. The capital raised from this business enabled the couple to purchase an old Japanese mission building at 226 NW 10th Ave. for Bethel AME, and the congregation worshipped in that space from 1898 until 1916.⁵⁶³ Bethel AME would eclipse AME Zion—and the other early Portland Black churches—as the largest African American congregation in the city in the years leading up to World War I.

In 1897, the Reverend Robert Jennison established a third African American congregation, First African Baptist Church, near Union Station.⁵⁶⁴ That church disbanded relatively quickly, but by 1902 the Reverend J. L. Allen had revived it under the name "Mt. Olivet Baptist" on NW 7th Avenue between Everett and Flanders streets. According to accounts from the time, the early Mt. Olivet congregation adhered to a stricter religious doctrine than their contemporaries.⁵⁶⁵ Mt. Olivet was the first African American congregation in Portland to fund and build its own sanctuary space, which it did in 1907 on NW 7th Avenue using lumber donated by four separate lumber yards.⁵⁶⁶ Mt. Olivet Baptist Church is believed to be

⁵⁶⁰ There were also fourteen predominantly White Protestant churches, a Catholic Cathedral, two Jewish synagogues, and a Chinese Joss House on the west side of the Willamette River in 1880 (William Toll, "The Making of a Market Town: Religion, Social Clubs, and Education," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2018, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/commerce-climate-and-community-a-history-of-portland-and-its-people/the-making-of-a-market-town/religion-social-clubs-and-education/#.Xcm6A3dFxPY>).

⁵⁶¹ Moreland, *History of Portland's African American Community*, 18.

⁵⁶² Reverend Shepard S. Freeman was pastor of Bethel AME Church from 1895 to 1901. Only the surname of the owner of the building near Union Station is known (Mr. Jenkins).

⁵⁶³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 17.

⁵⁶⁴ Moreland, *History of Portland's African American Community*, 21.

⁵⁶⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604, 33.

⁵⁶⁶ *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), October 9, 1907. This article lists the building permit application.

The Oregon Daily Journal (Portland, OR), October 27, 1907. This article discusses the donation of lumber and the plan to raise the remaining \$2,400 in cost amongst congregants. *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1921, 14. This article discusses the cost of the building and the pledge by congregants and local businessmen to raise the needed funding. It also cites Church membership of 165 people though attendance at services is generally 275 people.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Portland's first church to be built by and for African Americans. All earlier places of worship were located in spaces adapted from previous uses.

St. Philip the Deacon Episcopal Church was the fourth and last known African American congregation established on the west side of the Willamette River during the period of significance. The group were initially served by a White pastor at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, a predominantly White parish, beginning in 1911.⁵⁶⁷ They may have established a dedicated worship space at NW 24th Avenue and NW Savier Street soon after, but they did not have their own pastor during their tenure at this location; instead, services were conducted by White Archdeacons with lay readers and chaplains.⁵⁶⁸

As was the case with African American residences and businesses in twentieth-century Portland, commercial redevelopment following Portland's Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition of 1905 pushed the Black religious community to the east side of the Willamette River in the early first two decades of the twentieth century. After the early African American churches followed their Black congregations to North and Northeast Portland, all of the early African American worship spaces on the west side of the river were subsequently demolished. Each of the four early African American congregations, however, is still active more than a century later.⁵⁶⁹

The Second Generation of African American Congregations: 1920-1941

By 1920, all the African American congregations in Downtown and Northwest Portland had relocated to the east side of the Willamette River. In 1916, Bethel AME Church moved to 1239 N Larrabee Ave., completing a new brick structure in 1922.⁵⁷⁰ The First AME Zion Church followed a similar trajectory, settling at 2007 N Williams in 1916 and completing a full church remodel and construction of a new parsonage by May 1929.⁵⁷¹ Mt. Olivet Baptist Church rebuilt at **1734 NE 1st Ave.** in 1921; the majority of the new building's \$20,000 cost was raised by the congregants.⁵⁷² St. Philip the Deacon, the youngest of

"New Mount Olivet Building Fund Gains \$5824 Over Sunday," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), June 27, 1921. This article discusses the immense fundraising efforts of congregants, including a rally by Reverend J. W. Anderson. At the time of this article, over \$12,000 in pledges had been received.

Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 29.

⁵⁶⁷ L. O. Stone, "St. Philip's Portland," *The Oregon Churchman*, November 1943, in "Vertical File: Churches – Episcopal – Portland – St. Philip the Deacon," Oregon Historical Society Davies Family Research Library.

⁵⁶⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 29. St. Philip the Deacon was not formally incorporated by the Episcopal Diocese of Oregon until 1921, after it had relocated to 242 NE Russell St.

⁵⁶⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 17-18.

⁵⁷⁰ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), July 6, 1929. This new structure was financed by couples William and Lottie Rutherford and Shelby and Sadie Golden who mortgaged their homes to finance the new building. In 1929, Pastor Daniel G. Hill, who had recently moved with his wife Mae after completing their education at Howard University, successfully conducted a Mortgage Rally and raised enough funds to guarantee community ownership of the building. The Bethel AME congregation was again displaced in 1958 for construction of Memorial Coliseum and this building demolished.

⁵⁷¹ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), May 11, 1929. Reverend John F. Moreland arrived in 1925 from AME Zion in Seattle to serve as First AME Zion's new pastor. Moreland was followed by Reverend Walter R. Lovell from Vallejo, CA, in 1928. Both the church and the parsonage were demolished in the 1960s, and the congregation moved to 109 N Skidmore (at Vancouver), where it remains today.

⁵⁷² *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1921. This article discusses the cost of the building and the pledge by congregants and local businessmen to raise the needed funding. It also cites Church membership of 165 people though attendance at services is generally 275 people.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

these congregations, settled in a storefront at 242 NE Russell St. in 1919 and later purchased Rodney St. Christian Church (variably called the Church of Christ) at **2660 NE Rodney Ave.**⁵⁷³

The building campaigns advanced by established African American congregations in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrated the influence and community organization of Black Portland residents at the time. As Portland's African American population was increasingly concentrated in the Lower Albina area during the first decades of the twentieth century, congregations mobilized in order to relocate their churches to the new geographical heart of the community. For the most part, congregations supplied the capital campaign funds for renovations or new construction themselves, further establishing the churches as important cornerstones of Portland's Black community.⁵⁷⁴

Establishment of New Congregations

While the four early congregations grew in number and adapted to serve the needs of Portland's African American community in the 1910s and 1920s, new parishes were also formed during the period. These new parishes responded to the increasing diversity of Portland's African American population, many of whom adhered to religious traditions other than those espoused by the first four Black churches and some of whom lived in small African American enclaves outside of Albina.

One such example was Shiloh Baptist Church, which opened in 1915 at 7533 NE Everett St. in Portland's Montavilla neighborhood. The church occupied a small wood-frame building owned by Ida Thompson and Sarah Campbell James.⁵⁷⁵ Although a newspaper article from the period stated that the congregation included only nine members in 1920, the small enclave of African American residents in Montavilla managed to sustain the Shiloh Baptist Church for over forty years.⁵⁷⁶ It faltered and closed briefly several times in its first few years of operation, but the Shiloh Church revived itself with new members and new pastors in the 1920s. In 1929, with Reverend James Anderson as its spiritual director, it rejected requests

"New Mount Olivet Building Fund Gains \$5824 Over Sunday," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), June 27, 1921. This article discusses the immense fundraising efforts of congregants, including a rally by Reverend J. W. Anderson. At the time of this article, over \$12,000 in pledges had been received.

Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 29. Mt. Olivet Baptist Church is not only the earliest extant resource associated with African American places of worship but is believed to be Portland's first church to be built by and for African Americans. All earlier places of worship were located in places adapted from previous uses.

⁵⁷³ "Church History Location Profile," n.p. Chris Peterson, "Carl Deiz – Oral History Interview," transcript of an oral history conducted May 30, 2012 by Chris Peterson, Oregon Multicultural Archives Oral History Collection, Portland, Oregon, 2012, <http://oregondigital.org/catalog/oregondigital:df70bk88d#page/1/mode/1up>. Of these second-generation church buildings, only Mt. Olivet still stands. However, Mt. Olivet's growing congregation moved to larger quarters on North Chautauqua in 1994. Mt. Olivet's 1921-1994 home is the oldest African American church building in Oregon or Washington constructed by its congregation. St. Philip the Deacon razed the Rodney St. Christian Church in the 1940s and replaced it with a new church covering the original property and an adjacent parcel purchased in 1944; this building is extant at 120 NE Knott St. and still used by the congregation as of late 2019. Bethel AME's Larrabee location and the First AME Zion Church's Williams building were both demolished in the 1960s.

⁵⁷⁴ "New Mount Olivet Building Fund Gains \$5824 Over Sunday," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), June 27, 1921. This article discusses the immense fundraising efforts of congregants, including a rally by Reverend J. W. Anderson. At the time of this article, over \$12,000 in pledges had been received.

⁵⁷⁵ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 30.

⁵⁷⁶ "Portland Times-1920" (1920), *Portland Times* (Portland, OR), <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/portlandtimes/1>. This incomplete edition of *Portland Times* includes a section of happenings at African American churches, including information about the size of congregations, addresses, and times of services.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

to merge with Mt. Olivet and proudly announced it was “the first of the local Colored churches to pay itself out of debt.”⁵⁷⁷ Shiloh Baptist Church remained active at 7533 NE Everett St. until the mid-1960s, when the site was commercially developed.⁵⁷⁸

The House of Prayer for All Nations was founded in 1920 by Pastor Robert Searcie as a Pentecostal Mission of the Church of God in Christ.⁵⁷⁹ First located at 28 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd., the House of Prayer relocated to a substantial church building at **2205 SE 10th Ave.** in 1929. It remained here until the 1960s, at which time it relocated back to North Portland, settling at **731 N Mason St.**⁵⁸⁰

The Mallory Avenue Christian Church was founded in 1922. The congregation undertook to build a church at **126 NE Alberta St.**, meeting in the basement beginning in 1925. The Great Depression and World War II prevented the completion of the church for many years, during which time the design for the building was modernized to reflect changing architectural tastes and trends. Two additional floors were added in the early postwar years, at which point the congregation moved out of the basement.⁵⁸¹ The church building remains extant and currently operates as a studio space and performance venue.⁵⁸²

A Seventh-day Adventist mission operated for several years in the 1920s, holding services at 220 N Russell St. It possessed a small, exclusively female membership and operated without a pastor.⁵⁸³ By the late 1920s, the mission had stopped holding services at the N Russell Street location, and in 1929 the new Stewart Park Colored Church began serving African American Seventh-day Adventists at **3828 SE 62nd Ave.**⁵⁸⁴

The Expanding Role of Black Churches in Prewar Portland

Beginning in the 1920s, and possibly earlier, Portland’s African American churches and their pastors began to speak out publicly on issues of racial discrimination and civil rights, frequently offering church

⁵⁷⁷ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 19, 1929.

⁵⁷⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 30. The 1925 through 1930s home of Shiloh Baptist Church’s 1927 pastor, Reverend George Gardner, and wife Susie stands at **6208 SE 70th Ave.** Reverend Gardner then took over as Supply Pastor for a growing African American church in Vernonia, Oregon. He was succeeded at Shiloh by Reverend W.T. House, who lived with wife Hazel at **117 NW Trinity Pl.** In 1929, Gardner left to pastor the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Helena, Montana.

⁵⁷⁹ Pastor Searcie and his wife, Rosa, lived on SE 66th Avenue from 1925 through the 1940s. Their home was demolished in the 1990s and the lot redeveloped.

⁵⁸⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 30.

⁵⁸¹ Rose M. Murdock and Patricia A. Schechter, “African-American Women: Biographies,”

African-American Women and the Portland YWCA, accessed June 18, 2019,

<http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/portywca/aawomen/aabios.htm>. The Mallory Avenue Christian Church became home to a branch of the YWCA after the organization integrated and sold its dedicated African American branch building at **6 N Tillamook St.** in 1959. In the 1970s, church leader Audrey Sanders launched her “People are Beautiful” program, which offered summer activities for local teams as well as outreach to women living in the Dekum Court housing project.

⁵⁸² “About Us,” *Alberta Abbey*, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://www.albertaabbey.org/about-us/>. The building is also a City of Portland Local Landmark (“Alberta Abbey Landmark Designation,” Case File LU 18-263653 HL, EA # 18-210168 PC, Portland, OR: City of Portland Bureau of Development Services, January 7, 2019).

⁵⁸³ The leaders of the congregation were Katie Johnson and Pearl Stafford.

⁵⁸⁴ Moreland, *The History of Portland’s African American Community*, 30. The property has since converted into a residence.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

spaces for presentations, meetings, and rallies with major civil rights leaders of the day.⁵⁸⁵ For example, in 1924, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church hosted Marcus Garvey, the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and its “Back-to-Africa” movement.⁵⁸⁶ A. Philip Randolph, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, also spoke at mass meetings at Mt. Olivet and Bethel AME Churches in the 1920s. Other major speakers included Ben Wilson, a national and international lecturer on labor relations for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Mrs. Addie Hunton, an internationally-known race relations leader from Brooklyn, New York, who spoke on behalf of the NAACP.⁵⁸⁷

Also during this time, African American newspapers kept locals informed of happenings at the Black churches, including times of worship, guest speakers, events, capital campaigns, and social events. For example, *The Advocate* regularly published a column announcing worship services on one page and a separate, more editorial section on weekly church happenings on another page.⁵⁸⁸ As described in Context III, *Journalism*, sermons and choral performances were also some of the first radio broadcasts offered by Portland’s African American community.⁵⁸⁹

African American Churches in Portland During and After World War II: 1941-1973

World War II marks an inflection point in the history of Portland’s Black congregations, similar in magnitude to relocation of African American churches from the west side of the Willamette River that occurred in the 1910s. New congregations of different denominations, including non-Christian denominations, arose to serve the rapidly growing and increasingly diverse Black population. Although most African American Portlanders settled in Albina after World War II, during the war more geographically-distant communities like Vanport included Black places of worship, as well. Postwar preachers advocated for civil rights legislation locally and nationally, utilizing sermons to inspire congregants and continuing to open their doors as meeting spaces. The proliferation of Christian churches and their increasingly prominent role in local politics spawned the formation of the Albina Ministerial Alliance in 1958 to combine the social justice messages of the various congregations and form a united religious front against prejudice.

The Postwar Proliferation of African American Churches

During World War II, new congregations formed in the African American communities that emerged in wartime housing projects. Mount Sinai Community Baptist Church was founded in 1941 in Guild’s Lake Courts, and the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church was formed in the Burton Homes project of Vancouver, Washington, in 1944. The latter congregation, which initially offered only a Sunday school for children sporadic services for adults, became more formalized when Reverend Oliver Booker Williams and his wife joined the ministry in 1945; he was quickly installed as senior pastor. Reverend Williams catered to the Kaiser war industry workers with a Sunday afternoon service and programs to improve working

⁵⁸⁵ See Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*, for additional information on African American churches as venues for traveling lecturers.

⁵⁸⁶ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), October 18, 1924, 1. Local UNIA Chapter President Robert D. Bird, Sr. presided over the gathering. Bird’s house at **3614 NE Grand Ave.** is extant.

⁵⁸⁷ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), September 18, 1926, 1.

⁵⁸⁸ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), various, including March 7, 1925, 1, 4. In this example, the first page of *The Advocate* features three stories related to African American churches, two of the stories were national coverage of the denomination and one was a discussion of an interior renovation at Mt. Olivet. The fourth page of *The Advocate* features the regular section “News of the Churches,” and included the addresses and times of services for various churches.

⁵⁸⁹ *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), January 15, 1927, 1, 2. This advertisement for a broadcasting event to take place on January 30, 1927, highlighted that Rev. E.C. Dyer would provide a sermon and Lola McCants would direct the choir.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

conditions for African Americans. When Burton Homes closed in 1946, the church moved around to other war housing projects including Bagley Downs in Vancouver, Washington, and Vanport until finally settling in Albina. It would be another five years before the parish could purchase its own space, the former Central Methodist Episcopal Church at **3138 N Vancouver Ave.**⁵⁹⁰ Mount Sinai Community Baptist Church moved into a former Orthodox Jewish synagogue at **602 NE Prescott St.** in 1952

Like the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, many of these new congregations would be housed in buildings that had previously served predominantly White congregations. Mount Sinai Community Baptist Church eventually moved out of Guild's Lake Courts and into a former Orthodox Jewish synagogue at **602 NE Prescott St.** in 1952. Another example is St. Paul Church of God in Christ, which was founded in the 1940s in Vernonia, Oregon, and replaced the Rodney Avenue German Methodist Episcopal Church at **2859 NE Rodney Ave.** in 1960.⁵⁹¹

Many existing congregations also relocated or constructed new buildings during the postwar period, likely because of the city's increased African American population and the growing size of their congregations. St. Philip the Deacon demolished the old Rodney Street Christian Church and constructed a new building at the site, now addressed 120 NE Knott St., in 1946.⁵⁹² Bethel AME Church moved to 5828 NE 8th Ave. in 1959, and the First AME Zion Church moved to 109 N Skidmore St. in the 1960s.⁵⁹³

The Albina Ministerial Alliance

To help administer the abundance of Christian churches that came into existence in the 1940s and 1950s, Rev. Eugene Boyd organized a fellowship of African American clergy called the Albina Ministerial Alliance in 1958. The Alliance worked to identify needs in the African American Christian community and then organized resources to meet those needs.⁵⁹⁴ The Alliance quickly evolved into a delegation for the African American community to City officials. For example, Alliance members met with the Deputy Police Chief and Mayor Terry Schruck in 1967 following riots in Albina, urging the outside community to empower Albina's residents

⁵⁹⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604, 18-20. This church was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its association with Portland's African American history, including its use by and support of civil rights groups.

⁵⁹¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 78.

⁵⁹² Rev. Lee Owen Stone to "friend," Portland, OR, May 11, 1946, Lee Owen Stone Papers (Mss 2423-2, "Cor: Church Finances, Insurance, and Building Fund"), Oregon Historical Society Davies Family Research Library. St. Philip the Deacon started an interracial and interfaith drama group, the St Philip's Players, in 1951 under the direction of African American woman Geneva Franklin. While they were broadly identified as an endeavor of St. Philip's Church, they also performed for other audiences of other faith denominations. The St. Phillip's Players' work included performance of "Queen Esther" at Temple Beth Israel, St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Gresham, and The Portland Music Association ("Acting Pleasures, Thrills Bind Director, Players," *Portland Challenger* [Portland, OR], November 28, 1952).

⁵⁹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, A17, A65.

⁵⁹⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, A3. Bishop Willie McKinney, Jr., was a president of the Albina Ministerial Alliance, as was Rev. Wendell Wallace.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

instead of isolating them.⁵⁹⁵ The Alliance was formally incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1971 and continues to represent 125 churches in North and Northeast Portland today.⁵⁹⁶

Islamic Congregations in Postwar Portland

While the vast majority of new and existing African American congregations during the postwar period were Christian denominations, two Islamic congregations emerged in the 1960s. Charles CX Debiew and his wife, Sister lantha, opened the Temple of Islam at their home at **4056 N Williams Ave.** in the early 1960s; however, due to strong opposition from African American Christian church leadership, Debiew was unsuccessful in his efforts to establish a Muslim community. A second African American Muslim congregation, which began in the mid-1960s with informal meetings in members' homes, established a dedicated worship space at **707 NE Fremont St.** in 1969. Later known as the Nation of Islam Temple #62, community members operated a school, bakery, fish market, and café by the 1970s.⁵⁹⁷

A Second Calling: African American Churches and the Civil Rights Movement

African American churches were often at the center of civil rights advances in Portland. For example, the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church held job fairs, adult education courses, voter registration fairs, and provided advice about housing discriminatory practices during the 1950s and 1960s.⁵⁹⁸ Many prominent figures visited Portland and chose to engage with the public in church settings; Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, visited the Vancouver Avenue Baptist Church in 1961.⁵⁹⁹ Along with individuals, conferences such as the National Baptist Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress attracted more than 5,000 visitors and facilitated dialogue between Portland and other communities.⁶⁰⁰

African American pastors, often seen as leaders in the civil rights movement, were occasionally recognized by local government officials and included in decision-making processes, even if in a limited capacity. For example, Reverend O. B. Williams of Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church was invited to lead the Portland City Council in an opening prayer on February 18, 1953,⁶⁰¹ and Reverend Jesse L. Boyd of Bethel AME Church was appointed to the Commission of Evangelism by the Portland Council of Churches in March 1953.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁵ Leanne C. Serbulo and Karen J. Gibson, "Black and Blue: Police-Community Relations in Portland's Albina District, 1964-1985," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 114, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 8. This article refers to areas like Albina and similar inner-city neighborhoods across the country as "internal colonies, dependent on outsiders for political and economic resources and subject to the authority of white-dominated institutions such as the school district, police, and welfare bureaucracy."

⁵⁹⁶ Rich Mealey, "Albina Ministerial Alliance," *Black Past*, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/albina-ministerial-alliance-ca-1964/>. In more recent decades, the Albina Ministerial Alliance has partnered with other community organizations to tackle AIDS epidemic in Portland, homelessness, gun violence, and police brutality.

⁵⁹⁷ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 108.

⁵⁹⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church.

⁵⁹⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church.

⁶⁰⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church.

⁶⁰¹ "Minister Leads Prayer," *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), February 20, 1953.

⁶⁰² "Pastor Gets Post," *Portland Challenger* (Portland, OR), March 6, 1953. This commission served as chaplains for county hospitals, state tuberculosis hospitals, the city jail, and rest homes. The commission also helped Portland congregations at Easter time with the four daily services on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Vigil, and Easter Day.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

While Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church is often the congregation most associated with the civil rights movement in Portland, many other African American worship centers were also meaningfully involved. Context VII, *Civil Rights*, provides further detail on civil rights advances in Portland, including additional examples of church involvement.⁶⁰³

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context VI, *Religion and Worship*, are mostly likely to belong to Property Type IV, *Religious Facilities*. Some resources belonging to Property Type I, *Residences*, may also be significant for their associations with significant figures associated with African American congregations and/or religious activities that occurred in private homes, particularly during the early years of the period of significance. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD. Refer to Section F, Property Types, for additional information regarding properties' potential eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

⁶⁰³ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

CONTEXT VII: CIVIL RIGHTS

Summary

While the Civil Rights Era generally refers to the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, a national movement for African American civil rights has existed since people of African origin were first enslaved and forcibly removed to the United States. Throughout the history of the United States, African Americans individually and as a group have challenged structural racism, asserted the equality of the races, and systematically resisted discriminatory legislation. This fight was manifest in Portland during the period of significance of this MPD through the persistence, leadership, and achievement of African American residents, visitors, and allies.

Jim Crow laws passed by Southern states in the decades after the Civil War established rigid, legal systems of segregation in many parts of the country. Oregon also instituted legal mechanisms for segregation in the years leading up to statehood, including a provision in the original 1857 State Constitution prohibiting African American settlement and later legislation including limitations on ownership of property, the use of public accommodations, and interracial marriage.⁶⁰⁴ In addition to legal structures, casual and routine racism were implicit in Portland daily life during the nineteenth and early twentieth century and arguably longer.

As described in detail throughout this MPD, Portland's Black community responded to implicit and explicit acts of discrimination by establishing a range of institutions that paralleled those controlled by the city's majority-White population. Despite the many obstacles limiting their quality of life in Portland, African Americans built a small but vibrant community in the nineteenth century. Parallel institutions including businesses, media outlets, civic institutions, fraternal and benevolent societies, and churches worked to circumvent and challenge the discriminations imposed by the city's White-dominated power structure.

The rapid and significant expansion of Portland's African American population during World War II elevated the local and regional discourse on race relations at a time when many high-profile civil rights battles were playing out across the country. The city's greatly-expanded postwar Black population lobbied for a public accommodations bill, advocated for equal rights, advanced fair housing practices, and resisted destructive urban renewal projects.

Although many victories were won by Portland's African American community during the Civil Rights Era, the campaign for civil rights did not end in 1973, the close of the period of significance of this MPD. To this day, organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League of Portland, and Albina Ministerial Alliance continue to advocate for African Americans and other historically underrepresented populations. In addition to organizations founded during the period of significance, new advocacy organizations and social movements continue to be established as of this writing, challenging the discriminatory policies and behaviors in Portland, Oregon, and the United States.

Early Civil Rights Advances: 1851 through World War II

Portland's African American population was relatively small in the first half of the period of significance, numbering fewer than 800 individuals at the turn of the twentieth century and capping at approximately 2,000 by the time of the 1940 census.⁶⁰⁵ However, the struggle to circumvent or eradicate discriminatory policies

⁶⁰⁴ See the Historical Background for further information on the African American experience in Oregon through Reconstruction.

⁶⁰⁵ Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States*, Table 38.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

and advance civil rights has been an important facet of the African American experience in Portland since the very beginning of the period of significance. This is illustrated by the experience of Abner and Isaac Francis, a pair of brothers who emigrated to Portland in August 1851 and established a mercantile store at the corner of SW Front and Washington streets.⁶⁰⁶ In September of that year, while Abner Francis was away on business, Isaac was arrested under the provisions of Oregon's 1849 Black exclusion law. Abner Francis later wrote to his friend, the abolitionist and writer Frederick Douglass, that this law was "unjust and devilish in all its features," noting bitterly that Oregon was a "free" territory only in name.⁶⁰⁷ Both brothers were ordered to leave Oregon within four months, and began to liquidate their commercial stock in preparation of the move. However, some of Portland's White citizens campaigned on the Francis brothers' behalf, and a petition with over two hundred signatures was presented to the territorial legislature in December 1851. Abner and Isaac Francis were subsequently permitted to stay in Oregon, and they continued to operate their mercantile business in Southwest Portland for roughly another decade.⁶⁰⁸

A more comprehensive battle for public accommodation was won in the 1860s, when African American Portlanders were promised an opportunity for public education for their children. This was qualified, however, by the fact that the Portland school system refused to immediately integrate and instead established a "Colored School" at SW 4th Avenue and Columbia Street. Eventually the added cost of maintaining a segregated school eventually proved too onerous for the school system, and African American children were integrated into Portland public schools in 1872.⁶⁰⁹ Although additional reforms would be necessary to fully integrate Portland's public school system in the years following World War II, this early victory eliminated the segregated school systems that became entrenched in many other communities within Oregon and across America. Although few other civil rights victories are known to have occurred in Portland during the nineteenth century, the struggles fought in the early years of the twentieth century would prove foundational for future campaigns to advance African American interests in Portland and Oregon.

Portland's Early African American Advocacy Organizations

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several African American advocacy organizations were organized to challenge the limitations imposed upon the community's geographic and social mobility.⁶¹⁰ One of the earliest advocacy organizations was the New Port Republican Club, organized among Portland Hotel waiters in 1892. While the club was initially formed to support the reelection of President Benjamin Harrison, the men also endorsed African American candidates for employment in Portland's local government. Through their efforts, Moody E. Scott was hired as a typist clerk at the Multnomah County auditor's office, and George Hardin and John Harry Hooper were hired as patrol officers by the Portland Police Bureau.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ Marta Cieslak, "Abner Hunt Francis (1812?-1872)," *Black Past*, January 28, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/francis-abner-hunt-1872/>.

⁶⁰⁷ Quoted in Hawkins, "Abner Hunt 'A.H.' Francis (c. 1812-1872) and Isaac 'I.B.' Francis (1798-1856)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*.

⁶⁰⁸ For additional information on the Francis brothers, see the Historical Background and Context I, *Settlement Patterns*.

⁶⁰⁹ Brooks, "The Politics of Forgetting," 48-50.

⁶¹⁰ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 21-22.

⁶¹¹ Chandler, *Hidden History*, 89. Hardin, whose home from 1917-1939 at **3344 SE Yamhill St.** still stands, went on to become a County Deputy Sheriff and then Assistant County Jailer until his death. His wife Ruby remained in the family home well into the 1970s. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for further information regarding African American employment in early Portland.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Other Portland advocacy groups were founded as local chapters of national organizations. The Portland chapter of the Afro-American League, founded nationally in 1887, was established in 1900 by a group of African American men who desired to advance the organization's ideals of self-advocacy and equal citizenship.⁶¹² A Portland chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was chartered in 1913. This organization would attract a broad membership and effect meaningful changes within the city and state throughout the period of significance, using legislation, court cases, and battles to remedy discriminatory laws. Still active at the time of this writing, the NAACP's Portland branch is only four years younger than the national organization and holds the oldest continuous charter west of the Mississippi.⁶¹³

Portland's NAACP chapter did not have a dedicated meeting space for the first several decades after its establishment. It frequently held meetings in African American churches and, after 1926, the Williams Avenue YWCA (**6 N Tillamook St.**).⁶¹⁴ An editorial in the African American newspaper *The Advocate*, possibly written by *Advocate* assistant editor Beatrice Cannady, criticized the relocation of meetings to this building, which was also known as the "Colored YWCA." Although the editorial opined that the segregated YWCA branch was a "jim-crow place," meetings and events continued to be held in the space through at least the early 1960s.⁶¹⁵ Beginning in the 1940s, the NAACP also held meetings in the Multnomah County Central Library (**801 SW 10th Ave.**) in downtown Portland.⁶¹⁶

The Portland NAACP chapter annually campaigned the legislature to remove the vestiges of pioneer racism embedded in the Oregon Constitution, with one of the organization's greatest early victories being the removal of some of that language following a general election referendum in 1926.⁶¹⁷ As the twentieth

⁶¹² Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 24; Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities," 347. The League's founding officers were President William Brady, a tailor; Vice President William Bolds, a Portland Hotel waiter; and Treasurer James Fullilove, who owned and operated Fullilove and Moore Barbers at **230 SW Washington St.** Of the Afro-American League's three founding officers, Fullilove's contributions are best documented and his homes alone remain from the 1910s. Fullilove and wife Mary were living at **4505 NE 14th Ave.** when the Afro-American League was founded. Later in life, Fullilove was a messenger for the U.S. District Court when the Afro-American League sponsored the first Civil Rights Public Accommodations Bill to the State Legislature in 1919. The Fulliloves owned multiple properties in Northeast and Southeast Portland; after James passed away in 1923, Mary remained at their NE 14th Avenue address.

⁶¹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 27. The homes of three founding officers still stand: **2516 NE 26th Ave.**, which was home to Beatrice Cannady (Secretary) and E.D. Cannady (Executive Committee), and **1527 SW 18th Ave.**, where J.S. Bell (Treasurer), a Portland Hotel waiter and photographer, lived in 1914 and 1915. Edgar Williams, an elevator operator at the Portland police station, moved to Portland in 1918 and also held an important advocacy role within the organization. Williams's home from 1928 through 1963 is at **2726 NE Going St.** His wife, Daisy Blanchard Moore, and her first husband, expressman William Moore, owned the house beginning in 1916.

⁶¹⁴ In 1956, the NAACP established its first-ever offices in the Williams Avenue YWCA's basement. "New Headquarters of NAACP Workers," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 29, 1956.

⁶¹⁵ "Local N.A.A.C.P.," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), November 6, 1926; "Negro Leader Coming: Williams Pickens to Speak before Colored People's Association," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 25, 1928; "Civil Rights Group Meets," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 15, 1949; "NAACP Books Tacoma Lawyer," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 16, 1957; "Judge to Speak," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 18, 1961.

⁶¹⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 27. The Central Library was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 (National Register of Historic Places, Central Building/Public Library, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #79002129).

⁶¹⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 27; Elaine Rector, "Looking Back in Order to Move Forward: Timeline of Oregon and U.S. Racial, Immigration and Education History," *Coaching for Education Equity*, last modified 2010, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/article/412697>; "Free Negroes and Mulattoes," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR),

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

century advanced, the Portland branch of the NAACP would be one of the most important players in the African American community's persistent drive for equality and access to education, housing, and public accommodations.⁶¹⁸

Taylor v. Cohn

The 1906 Oregon Supreme Court case *Taylor v. Cohn* stands as a prominent example of Portland's prevailing racial prejudices in the early 1900s.⁶¹⁹ In 1905, an African American man named Oliver Taylor brought a suit against S. Morton Cohn, the owner of a downtown Portland theater, who refused to seat him on the main floor of the theater during a show for which he purchased tickets. A Multnomah Circuit Court judge ruled in favor of Cohn, upholding widely practiced forms of illegal segregation.⁶²⁰ *The Oregonian* also supported Cohn's "right" to discriminate, arguing, "it is obvious that any place of public amusement would speedily lose patronage if it were not understood that certain discriminations might be made with reference to certain classes of people."⁶²¹ The paper did not attempt to disguise its racial bias, instead insisting that "colored people are wise who accept conditions that they cannot change or control, and go their way cheerfully, realizing that after all, their condition in this country is much improved over that of their ancestors of a century or two ago."⁶²² In 1906, the case was appealed to the Oregon Supreme Court; McCants Stewart, the state's first African American attorney, argued the case on behalf of Taylor.⁶²³ Marking a significant legal milestone for civil rights in Oregon, the State Supreme Court overturned the circuit court's ruling by declaring the seating restriction a breach of contract. Despite this resolution, however, African Americans continued to experience bias at theatres and other public venues for decades.⁶²⁴

World War I and the Codification of Discriminatory Housing Practices

All over the country, Americans treated World War I, the "Great War," as a patriotic crusade from which there could be no dissent. In Portland, ethnic intolerance was not only socially acceptable, but fashionable. Distrust of immigrants, especially Germans, ran high; German-born residents had to carry a registration card to work near the waterfront, and Portland's Brooklyn neighborhood showed its loyalty by finding new names for Bismarck and Frankfurt streets.⁶²⁵

August 28, 1926; "Oregon to Wipe Out Obsolete [sp] Laws," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), February 12, 1927. There were a series of failed attempts to remove racist language from the Oregon Constitution in 1883, 1895, and 1916. The affirmative general election vote in 1926 amended Oregon's Constitution and removed the clause prohibiting African American residency in the state; a subsequent 1927 amendment removed the prohibition against African Americans voting.

⁶¹⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 26.

⁶¹⁹ Robert G. Morrow, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon, Volume 47* (Salem, OR: J.R. Whitney State Printer, 1906), 539.

⁶²⁰ "May Revoke Ticket – Theaters Have That Right, Says Judge Frazer," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 19, 1905.

⁶²¹ "Color Line in Theaters," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 20, 1905.

⁶²² "Color Line in Theaters," *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 20, 1905.

⁶²³ Smith, *Emancipation*, 515; Broussard, "The Struggles of a Black Attorney," 161. Stewart was admitted to the Oregon bar in 1903. See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for more information on Stewart's life and career.

⁶²⁴ For example, both William Allen, the owner of the successful Golden West Hotel (**707 NW Everett St.**), and James McArthur, a Spanish-American War veteran, were rebuffed from White-owned theaters in 1929 ("Theatre Refuses Admittance to Negro," *The Advocate* [Portland, OR], August 24, 1929; "Theatre Draws Color-Line," *The Advocate* [Portland, OR], October 5, 1929).

⁶²⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 21-22.

**African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973**

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The advent of World War I also brought rapid and unanticipated commercial growth to Portland, creating an immediate and desperate housing shortage. In the early postwar period, the turmoil in the housing market prompted the Portland Realty Board to supplement private restrictive racial covenants by adopting a formal ethics policy instructing members not to sell properties to Asians or African Americans in “white residence districts.”⁶²⁶ The Realty Board disclaimed racial prejudice, maintaining that their motivation was purely the good business of protecting property values—coded language for racial discrimination that remained until the reforms of the midcentury period.⁶²⁷ Portland’s rapid population growth during the period was also a primary impetus for city planning efforts that would culminate in Portland’s first zoning code in 1924. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on discriminatory real estate practices, restrictive racial covenants, and Portland’s early zoning code.

Following World War I, White America demonstrated its discomfort with the pace of economic and social change by following wartime intolerance with a series of regressive movements.⁶²⁸ Ostensibly intended to better social conditions in communities across the nation, these efforts ultimately looked backward rather than forward. Examples included the repression of left-wing political dissent, the restriction of immigration, the enactment of Prohibition, and the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The growing unwillingness of African Americans to slip quietly back into the second-class position that had been relegated to them before the war also triggered a national spate of race riots in 1919, characterized by White mobs invading and plundering Black communities, burning, looting, assaulting, and wantonly killing African Americans.⁶²⁹ However, possibly because of the relatively small size of Portland’s African American community, Portland did not join the long list of American cities that experienced race riots in the late 1910s.

The Ku Klux Klan

The “Invisible Empire” of the KKK reemerged and spread across the South, Midwest, and West in the early 1920s, appealing to White Americans who feared that their familiar small-town world was disappearing under the pressures of social change.⁶³⁰ Klansmen blamed people of color, immigrants, and members of the Jewish and Roman Catholic religions for what they perceived to be unsettling changes in American society, such as inflation, unemployment, rampant industrial growth, and a perceived decline in moral standards.⁶³¹ The Klan desired to protect the benefits and privileges bestowed upon the country’s

⁶²⁶ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 142.

⁶²⁷ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 142.

⁶²⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 22.

⁶²⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 22.

⁶³⁰ Shawn Lay, *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004): 1. The first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan began in Tennessee in 1866 as a direct reaction to the defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War. Membership was predominantly in the Southern states and peaked between 1868 and 1870. This first iteration of the Klan ended in the 1880s as the organization’s mission to restore White supremacy in the South had all but been achieved through Jim Crow laws (“Ku Klux Klan,” *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed December 8, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ku-Klux-Klan>). Although there was not a chartered branch of the Klan in Oregon during this period, an editorial in *The Oregonian* from April 1868 openly questioned whether a local branch should be formed (*The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR], April 11, 1868).

⁶³¹ David A. Horowitz, “Social Morality and Personal Revitalization: Oregon’s Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 366.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

White protestant population through the preservation of White supremacy that had defined the country's race relations during slavery and the Jim Crow era.⁶³²

The Klan officially came to Portland in 1921, finding fertile recruiting territory in a city that had already proved its racist tendencies. The KKK claimed to have 35,000 members residing in Oregon by the next year, and hundreds of others joined ancillary groups including the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, the Junior Order of Klansmen (for teenagers), and the Royal Riders of the Red Robe (for foreign-born Protestants).⁶³³ Klansmen wielded their alarming rise of political influence to great effect. In 1922, Klan-backed candidates won two of three seats on the Multnomah County Commission and twelve of the county's thirteen seats in the state legislature. It is unclear whether Portland Mayor George Baker himself joined the Klan, but he openly welcomed their political support. Walter Pierce, a Democratic Party progressive from La Grande, Oregon, also tacitly supported the Klan and won the governorship in 1923 with their help.⁶³⁴

African Americans in Portland had resisted the growth of Klan influence in 1915, more than five years prior to the group's official establishment in Oregon. They attempted to ban *The Birth of a Nation*, a pro-KKK motion picture that glorified the birth of the Klan and depicted African Americans in a grossly stereotypical and prejudiced fashion. D.W. Griffith, the son of a Confederate army officer who held the conventional racial views of the South, directed the controversial film which received both praise and admonishment across the country. The film received support from powerful public figures like President Woodrow Wilson, who endorsed it as the true history of the Civil War era and was known to preview it in the White House for visiting dignitaries.⁶³⁵

In Portland, hundreds of African American and White citizens urged the mayor to ban the movie showing.⁶³⁶ He refused. Although their efforts failed to result in a ban on the film, the confrontation energized and organized Portland's African American community and its White allies in a way that had been impossible a generation earlier. Portland's growing African American community, while still small and geographically removed from other African American population centers, asserted that it would not be silent or absent from the racial controversies of the country.⁶³⁷

⁶³² Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 22.

⁶³³ Eckard Toy, "Ku Klux Klan," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified September 24, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/ku_klux_klan/#.XOSviy3MzLY.

⁶³⁴ William G. Robbins, "Walter Pierce (1861-1954)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 14, 2019, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/pierce_walter_1861_1954_/#.XOSxxy3MzLY; "George Baker," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified September 19, 2019, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/biographies/george-baker-biography/#.Xds7VC-ZOt8>.

⁶³⁵ Mark E. Benbow, "Birth of a Quotation: Woodrow Wilson and 'Like Writing History with Lightning,'" *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9, no. 4, (October 2010): 513-515.

⁶³⁶ The Portland Branch of the NAACP condemned the film in the Black press through then-Secretary Beatrice Cannady during its premiere in 1915. When the film returned to Portland's theatres in 1918, Cannady engaged with the public through *The Advocate* and at public speaking events urging Portlanders to boycott the film. In 1922 when the film returned to Portland, Cannady wrote to the NAACP headquarters in New York who wrote to Governor Olcott to ban the film. In 1931, Cannady finally successfully advocated for the film to be banned in Portland forever when a theatre attempted to screen the film again (Mangun, "'As Citizens of Portland we Must Protest,'" 385-399).

⁶³⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 26.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

By the mid-1920s, KKK influence in Oregon faded due to internal conflicts and corruption. But the decline of the Klan as a public vehicle of racial and ethnic hatred did not connote the beginning of a more harmonious environment for Portland's African American residents. The Klan was an extreme form of a pervasive belief in White superiority that continued to manifest itself within twentieth-century popular culture and American society.⁶³⁸

Changing Attitudes Toward African Heritage

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw, for the first time on a national scale, a reconnection of the African American experience with the status and fate of Black people throughout the world. During the nineteenth century, most prominent African Americans attempted to integrate into dominant White society and were hesitant to emphasize their African lineage. Euro-American culture at the time generally identified Africa as a primitive continent, accepting a White-centric narrative dominated by European imperialism and colonial domination.⁶³⁹

By the early twentieth century, new perceptions of Africa began emerging for some African Americans. America itself had come into a more prominent global role as a result of the Spanish-American War, World War I, and the emergence of early multi-national corporations which sourced products from areas with large populations of color (e.g., the Firestone Rubber Company in Liberia, Africa, and the United Fruit Company in Central and South America). Many African Americans began to see America's problems in the larger context of global issues like colonialism. Consequently, many began to envision their future in a global rather than purely national context.⁶⁴⁰

The Pan-African Congress was one result of this emergent vision. Like many African American advocacy organizations of the twentieth century, the Pan-African Congress organized on both national and local levels. Beatrice Cannady organized Portland's local Pan-African Congress in 1927 and also represented Oregon at the national Pan-African Congress's convention in New York City.⁶⁴¹ Portland's Congress was held at the Multnomah County Central Library (**801 SW 10th Ave.**), and the list of local participants reflects Cannady's efforts to bring together prominent members of both the African American and White communities and to create a dialogue reflecting all of Portland. This integrated approach diverged somewhat from that of the national organization, which has been described as more "Black nationalistic" in nature.⁶⁴² Locally, Cannady was able to garner significant coverage of the event in both White and Black newspapers.⁶⁴³

The Pan-African Congress was one of several new movements organized in the 1920s; other expressions of the same dynamic would take such forms as Marcus Garvey's "Back-to-Africa" movement with the United Negro Improvement Association. Because so many new national and local organizations addressing race relations were created in a relatively short time, many African Americans came to believe

⁶³⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 27.

⁶³⁹ Sonia Delgado-Tall, "The New Negro Movement and the African Heritage in a Pan-Africanist Perspective," *Journal of Black Studies* 31, no. 3 (January 2001): 289; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 43.

⁶⁴⁰ Delgado-Tall, "The New Negro Movement," 288-310.

⁶⁴¹ Quintard Taylor, "Beatrice Morrow Cannady (1889 - 1974)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/cannady_beatrice_morrow/#.XQcGnC3Myt9.

⁶⁴² Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 44.

⁶⁴³ "Pan-African Congress Has Many Notables," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), August 27, 1927.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

that some unifying structure should be established so that resources and efforts could be focused on the overarching challenges facing Black Americans.⁶⁴⁴

Toward that end, Beatrice Cannady organized a Race Conference in 1929 to organize Portland's various African American advocacy groups. The event, like the 1927 Pan-African Congress, was held at Multnomah County Central Library and was notable for a few reasons. First was the role played by Mrs. Cannady, a national Urban League speaker. Second, there was a total of thirty Black organizations within Portland's relatively small African American community, demonstrating to the larger White community the potential power and effectiveness of African American organizations, both individually and as a unified societal force. Third, a review of the outcomes and participation demonstrated the central and powerful role played by the church in the events of the African American community. Finally, despite the magnitude of the event, the findings and solutions reached at the conference were very general, lacking in specifics, and essentially impossible to implement.⁶⁴⁵ This frustrating conclusion was not soon rectified, as the economic challenges of the Great Depression would temporarily silence community leaders and stymie racial progress.

Portland's Civil Rights Era: 1945 to 1973

World War II marked a critical point in African American life and race relations in Portland. The wartime industries of the Portland-Vancouver metropolitan area attracted more than a hundred thousand in-migrants to the city in just a few years, and the African American population swelled from a prewar total of about 2,000 individuals to a peak of roughly 22,000 in 1944. In-migrants of all races and backgrounds were faced with a tight housing market and inadequate transportation services, but African Americans and other minorities faced the added challenges of discriminatory housing and employment practices. Barred from joining most labor unions and relegated to the cramped Albina area and the most rudimentary defense housing, African American in-migrants faced a unique and burdensome set of obstacles to securing fair employment and safe, adequate housing. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, and Context II, *Business and Employment*, for a discussion of the discriminatory practices that shaped the African American experience in Portland during World War II.

Despite the additional challenges imposed on African American in-migrants, Portland's rapidly-expanding African American population was resilient and determined. In the postwar years, African American Portlanders and the institutions that they created would make significant gains toward ending the blatant, institutionalized racial discrimination that had historically characterized their experience of life in Oregon. Charismatic and politically active individuals and organizations like the Urban League of Portland, the NAACP, and the Black Panthers would advance meaningful change for African Americans in Portland and

⁶⁴⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 44; "Their Good Will," *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland, OR), November 24, 1927, reprinted in *The Advocate* November 26, 1927. An editorial in *The Oregon Daily Journal* penned by a White Portland resident called for similar gatherings of peoples of all races to occur more frequently in Portland and across the nation.

⁶⁴⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 44; "Findings of the First Annual Conference," *The Advocate* (Portland, OR), June 8, 1929. Findings of the Race Conference include urging religious organizations to be more inclusive; establishing a religious education program; creating an annual meeting of religious leaders to facilitate cooperation; urging further involvement and support of the NAACP; establishing an African American business center with the help of the YWCA and fraternal societies; and forming an Urban League.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Oregon in the 1940s through the 1970s.⁶⁴⁶ Some of the most important achievements of the postwar African American community include the adoption of a statewide Public Accommodations Bill in 1953; the repeal of Oregon's anti-mixed marriage law in 1955; the adoption of the Oregon Fair Housing Act in 1957; the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965; and general advances in labor relations, housing accessibility, and political representation.

The Battle for Public Accommodations and Fair Housing

In the early postwar years, Oregon's prior skirmishes over societal change exploded into a full-fledged battle over public accommodations and equal housing opportunities. In the winter of 1950, the Portland City Council passed an ordinance rejecting prejudicial housing policies and criminalizing race-based discrimination in public spaces within city limits.⁶⁴⁷ Although the majority of Portlanders supported a public accommodations bill at the time of the City Council ordinance in February 1950, the incongruously-named "Civil Freedom Committee," led by an Episcopalian reverend and backed by the Oregon Restaurant Association, initiated a petition to put the ordinance to a public vote.⁶⁴⁸ The Civil Freedom Committee used misleading information to collect signatures, such as stating that they were actually supportive of the implementation of a public accommodations bill, and attempted to frighten White Portlanders by claiming that the city was already too progressive, and that African Americans would "mongrelize" the White race.⁶⁴⁹ The Civil Freedom Committee successfully garnered enough signatures and the public accommodations bill was put on the 1950 general election ballot.⁶⁵⁰ Nine months after it had been supported by the City Council, Portland's first attempt at a public accommodations ordinance was overturned by a solid margin of Portland voters in the November 1950 election.⁶⁵¹

While the ordinance was voided by popular vote, it set in motion a debate about the direction that racial policy would take in Oregon. With an expanded African American population in the postwar years, the NAACP focused its attention on a proposed statewide Public Accommodations Bill for the 1953 State Legislative session. The Urban League, African American churches, fraternal organizations, and others throughout the state joined the effort. NAACP President Otto Rutherford and his wife, NAACP Secretary Verdell Rutherford, printed thousands of informational pamphlets and flyers from their basement mimeograph machine at **833 NE Shaver St.**⁶⁵² Despite concentrated opposition by the Civil Freedom Committee to circulate another petition and force a statewide vote, the Oregon Legislature did adopt a statewide Public Accommodations Bill in the 1953 session. This hard-won piece of legislation ensured that "[a]ll persons within the jurisdiction of this

⁶⁴⁶ See Context II, *Business and Employment*, for additional information on the Urban League of Portland and its efforts to advocate employment opportunity for African Americans in postwar Portland.

⁶⁴⁷ M. Edward Holland, "Oregon Civil Rights Litigation, 1964–1984," *Journal of the West* 25 no. 4 (1986): 28-37.

⁶⁴⁸ Dan Hortsch, "City Rejects Ordinance for Equality," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 8, 1982. This retrospective article from the early 1980s demonstrates *The Oregonian's* efforts to be more inclusive in its reporting (notably, Bill Hilliard became the paper's first African American executive editor in 1982). *Oregonian* coverage in 1950 was not as objective as this article, which also features an oral interview with E. Shelton Hill of Portland's Urban League (see Context II, *Business and Employment*, for further information about the Urban League).

⁶⁴⁹ Hortsch, "City Rejects Ordinance for Equality." Other tactics included preying on racial fears of overrun restaurants and other public venues. The Civil Freedom Committee was supported by many of Portland's less reputable service-industry managers not wanting to lose working-class White patrons.

⁶⁵⁰ "Public Vote Due on Racial Issue," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 31, 1950.

⁶⁵¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 80.

⁶⁵² Otto and Verdell Rutherford, interview by Catherine Galbraith. The house was added to the National Register in 2015 (National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

state shall be entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any place of public accommodation, resort or amusement, without any distinction, discrimination or restriction on account of race, religion, color or national origin.”⁶⁵³ Private examples of racial discrimination in public accommodations would linger throughout the state for decades, but these now lacked the weight and power of public policy. Also in the 1950s, the State Legislature repealed the anti-mixed marriage law adopted in 1866, bringing Oregon one small step closer towards equality.⁶⁵⁴

The next major civil rights battle faced by African Americans in Portland was that of fair and equal access to housing. With origins in the Black exclusion and homestead laws of Oregon Territory, attempts to control where and under what conditions African Americans could live were deeply entrenched in Oregon social practice and legislation. As school desegregation and bus boycott confrontations lit up the national scene, Oregon’s African American population chafed under the restraints imposed by the private prejudice and discriminatory public real estate practices that prevented their economic resources and personal preferences from determining where they could live.

In 1953, *The Oregonian* published a series of articles that refuted the perceived negative impact of African American residency in majority-White neighborhoods.⁶⁵⁵ The articles profiled Black families already living in these neighborhoods and plied White readers with the reassurance that these residents had not precipitated an African American “invasion.”⁶⁵⁶ Among the African American Portlanders featured in the *Oregonian* articles were Roy and Estella Gragg, who had owned their home at **4903 NE 29th** since 1921. This encouraging feature was sadly contrasted with a contemporary article headlined “Cross Marks Negro Lawn,” which discussed the police investigation of the cross burning at the Parkrose home of Charles Gragg, son of Roy and Estella Gragg, at 11261 NE Knott.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵³ Joshua Binus, “Signing Oregon’s Civil Rights Bill, 1953,” *The Oregon History Project*, last modified March 17, 2018, accessed May 22, 2019, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/signing-oregon39s-civil-rights-bill-1953/#.XOX1YS3Mxdh>; “Change of Heart,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 20, 1953.

⁶⁵⁴ Sara Paulson, “Act to Prohibit the Intermarriage of Races, 1866,” *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2018, https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/act-to-prohibit-the-intermarriage-of-races-1866/#.Xe8_sHdFxPY. In 1921, the Oregon Supreme Court ruled that the state’s miscegenation law did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment since the law applied equally to all persons regardless of race entering into a marriage with a person of a different race. The law was repealed in 1951.

⁶⁵⁵ No information regarding the origins or inspiration of this three-part series could be located by the authors of this MPD. Although *The Oregonian* regularly asserted discriminatory views in editorials through at least the 1950s, the 1952 appointment of William Hilliard, the first African American employee in the paper’s newsroom, was an important milestone and may have been indicative of broader reform in the racial biases of Portland’s dominant press outlet. See Context III, *Journalism*, for additional information on racial bias in *The Oregonian* and on Bill Hilliard’s career.

⁶⁵⁶ “African American Family in White Neighborhoods,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), November 14, 1953; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 83-84. Among the African American Portlanders featured in *The Oregonian* articles, those whose homes still stand include Fred and Dessie Jackson, a Union Pacific waiter and his wife who had moved from **206 N Page St. to 835 NE 30th Ave.**; Scott Brown, a gardener, and his wife Ida at **516 SE 34th Ave.**; Edward Jackson, a Pullman Company porter, and his wife Willa at **6909 SE 42nd Ave.**; Mrs. Mary Duncan, who had lived with her late husband, Clem Duncan, at **2216 SE 37th Ave.** in the 1930s and 1940s and who moved to **4024 NE 15th Ave.** after his death; and Roy and Estella Gragg at **4903 NE 29th Ave.** Roy Gragg was a maintenance man at Pacific Department Store and the brother of William Gragg, who had lived at **4902 NE 30th Ave.** for the same period.

⁶⁵⁷ “Cross Marks Negro Lawn,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), May 11, 1953; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The 1953 *Oregonian* series openly discussed the long-denied real estate practice of restricting the homes that were shown to African American buyers dating. This form of racial discrimination had been institutionalized by the local real estate industry in their code of ethics as early as 1919.⁶⁵⁸ The practice was brought into the open after the experience of William “Tony” Anthony, an African American railroad waiter turned steward, and his wife Marie, who was of Cherokee descent. The couple were living at **2817 SE 48th Ave.** by the early 1940s, and in 1949 purchased a home at **1524 SE 32nd Pl.**⁶⁵⁹ The White real estate agent who facilitated the sale, Clarence Enders, was expelled by the Portland Realty Board for violating what *The Oregonian* called “both national and local realty board codes of ethics in the sale of southeast district property to other than Caucasian persons.”⁶⁶⁰ The Urban League protested the expulsion of Enders to no avail. The Anthony family remained on 32nd Place until at least 1965, eventually moving to **2011 NE Knott St.**⁶⁶¹

In addition to discriminatory real estate practices that limited their ability to freely select housing, some African American Portlanders also faced open hostility when attempting to settle in predominantly-White neighborhoods. In 1954, the *Portland Challenger* and *The Oregonian* both ran stories on the ordeal of Izella Kimmons, who had moved to Vanport with her family in 1944 seeking shipyard work.⁶⁶² Kimmons and her four children moved to 217 NE Weidler St. in 1952, and then in 1954 attempted to rent a house at **425 NE San Rafael St.** in a predominantly White neighborhood.⁶⁶³ Within three days, anonymous telephone threats drove Kimmons back to her previous home on NE Weidler Street, where she remained until 1963.⁶⁶⁴ The house on San Rafael Street was ironically already owned by another African American woman, Malinda Bradwell, who had also been driven away from the neighborhood.⁶⁶⁵ “People threw garbage and junk on my porch,” Bradwell told *The Oregonian* in 1954. “One woman rang my doorbell at 2 o’clock in the morning to wake me up.”⁶⁶⁶ Bradwell’s neighbors also prevented her from opening a children’s nursery in the home, which led her to rent the property.⁶⁶⁷

After years of advocacy, the Oregon Legislative Assembly adopted the state’s first fair housing legislation in 1957.⁶⁶⁸ The Oregon Fair Housing Act made it illegal for property owners or agents receiving public funding to discriminate “solely because of race, color, religion, or national origin,” in the sale, lease, or rental of any

⁶⁵⁸ McLagan, *Peculiar Paradise*, 142; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 59; Binus, “National Association of Real Estate Boards Code of Ethics.”

⁶⁵⁹ Anthony had lived at **6835 SE Boise St.** and then **4904 N Williams Ave.** in the 1920s. He lived in Seattle prior to his residence at **2817 SE 48th Ave.**

⁶⁶⁰ “Realty Board Expels Agent in Sale to Non-Caucasians,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), January 13, 1949.

⁶⁶¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84.

⁶⁶² “Telephone Calls Frighten Negro Owner, Tenant,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 10, 1954.

⁶⁶³ Actor Paul Winfield also lived here as a college student. The house was moved in 1996 to **425 NE Tillamook St.** as part of the Albina Corner project.

⁶⁶⁴ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84. Izella Kimmon remained at 217 NE Weidler St. until 1963, when she moved to **4207 N Gantenbein Ave.** In 1970, she moved again to **5305 N Williams Ave.**

⁶⁶⁵ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84. Malinda Bradwell’s son, Charles Bradwell Jr., was a member of the U.S. Air Force’s first exclusively African American unit and went on to work for the Albina Office of Economic Opportunity. He lived at **4045 N Commercial Ave.** after leaving the house on San Rafael Street.

⁶⁶⁶ “Telephone Calls Frighten Negro Owner, Tenant,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 10, 1954.

⁶⁶⁷ “Telephone Calls Frighten Negro Owner, Tenant,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 10, 1954.

⁶⁶⁸ Oregon’s Fair Housing Act predated the 1968 amendment to the national Civil Rights Act which included fair housing legislation.

**African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973**

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

“dwelling place for a person or family...in a building containing five or more such apartments or units.”⁶⁶⁹ It was amended in 1959 to apply to any “person who, as a business enterprise, sells, leases or rents real property,” and a contemporary companion bill amended Oregon’s real estate code so that realtors acting in violation of the law might have their licenses revoked.⁶⁷⁰

This hard-won legislation was an important step toward equal rights for the African American community, but it lacked enforcement provisions and did not immediately result in universal housing access for African Americans. Several examples illustrate this. In 1960, the *Oregon Journal* newspaper featured a set of articles that quoted Portland Mayor Terry Schrunk as “shocked and embarrassed” over the burning of the partially-completed Parkrose home of Rowan Wiley, a Benson Hotel waiter and Purple Heart recipient, under construction at **1630 NE 140th Ave.** (despite the intimidations aimed at the family, the Wileys completed their home and settled at their new address).⁶⁷¹ A year later in 1961, LaVerne Bagley Brown filed a complaint with the Civil Rights Division after being evicted from her apartment at 1906 NE Multnomah St. because of her race. An Oregon Public Welfare Commission child supervisor, Bagley Brown had been the first African American to attend Marylhurst College in Clackamas County.⁶⁷² And in 1965, when John Whitesides, a Tektronix department manager, and his wife Janet, who was a bookkeeper for Dr. Unthank, moved from 8844 N Hamlin Ave. to **2933 NE 16th Ave.**, they received a torrent of hate letters leading to a police investigation.⁶⁷³

Despite the intimidation and racism these families suffered, the Fair Housing Act and its companion bill removed the mantle of legality from those in Oregon who continued to discriminate in housing matters. The legislation accelerated the rate at which Portland’s African American residents could emulate their White predecessors in the flight to the suburbs. Many did take this path, primarily those African Americans who had found some level of professional and economic success despite prejudice against their race. African American suburban flight—a significant departure from the settlement patterns seen before the midcentury period—contributed to a steadily-growing list of challenges that would face the Black community in Albina during the second half of the twentieth century.

National Changes and Community Resistance

The 1960s were a decade of extraordinary change, both nationally and in Portland. African Americans won fundamental victories with the federal Civil Rights Act (1964) and Voting Rights Act (1965), yet American cities exploded with racial violence and new voices that called for African Americans, Latinxs, and Native Americans to pursue separation rather than integration. The war in Vietnam also began to escalate in 1964, and by 1968 more than 500,000 American troops were serving in South Vietnam. Disillusionment with the American role fed an antiwar movement and contributed to the growth of a counterculture among the young. Indeed, 1968 was a year of widespread gun violence, the Vietnamese Tet Offensive, the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, and rioting in front of the television cameras at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

⁶⁶⁹ Joshua Binus, “Fair Housing in Oregon Study,” *The Oregon History Project*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/fair-housing-in-oregon-study/#.XOYrAi3Mxdg>.

⁶⁷⁰ Binus, “Fair Housing in Oregon Study.”

⁶⁷¹ “Partially Completed Home Burned,” *The Oregon Journal* (Portland, OR), July 16, 1960.

⁶⁷² LaVerne Bagley Brown, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997. Bagley was the daughter of Donald and Bessie Bagley.

⁶⁷³ Janet Whitesides, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

In a somewhat more restrained way, Portland reflected the national temper in the 1960s and 1970s. Racial violence along Union Avenue (now Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.) rocked Northeast Portland and negatively impacted local business.⁶⁷⁴ A local chapter of the Black Panthers challenged Portland's downtown establishment and older African American leadership, as well. Hippies congregated around the new Lovejoy Fountain and Forecourt Fountain downtown, challenging social mores surrounding public bathing and affectionate displays.⁶⁷⁵ The invasion of Cambodia in 1970, which sparked campus shutdowns and strikes across the nation, prompted Portland State University students to occupy the South Park Blocks for several days before police violently cleared the park. As these events demonstrate, Portland was the site of an increasingly vocal, organized resistance to perceived injustices in the mid-twentieth century. In many ways, this environment fostered the civil rights battles fought by the city's African American community in the 1960s and 1970s.

Advances in Labor Equality

Hazel Hays, the Community Services Director of the Portland Development Commission, was an NAACP officer and a strong figure in Portland's early Civil Rights Movement. Calling for greater minority employment in the U.S. Postal System, she walked in picket lines at the U.S. Post Office where her husband Chauncey was employed. Thomas Vickers, the first African American teacher at Marshall High School and an NAACP president, was also involved in the picketing event.

In 1963, two African American Lewis and Clark College students, Nathan Jones and Samuel Macon, charged the Portland City Parks Bureau with discrimination in hiring practices.⁶⁷⁶ Their grievance was upheld. Macon worked for the City,⁶⁷⁷ and by 1965, Jones was a teacher at Woodstock Elementary School in Southeast Portland (**5601 SE 50th Ave.**).⁶⁷⁸ A few years later, Jones would join the coaching staff at Roosevelt High School (**6941 N Central St.**) and later become an NFL referee and principal at Franklin High School (**5405 SE Woodward St.**).⁶⁷⁹

Generational Transitions

The children of the war-era in-migrants began to come of age in the 1960s, and their goals, objectives, and strategies for racial change differed markedly from their parents'. They moved from childhood to adolescence to young adulthood having great influence on the course of events of the era. The 1960s

⁶⁷⁴ Joshua Joe Bryan, "Portland, Oregon's Long Hot Summers: Racial Unrest and Public Response, 1967 - 1969," (MA thesis, Portland State University, 2013), 16-36; Santi Elijah Holley, "Burn the Town Down," *Portland Mercury* (Portland, OR), June 21, 2017. Rioters particularly targeted White merchants on Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. during the 1967 riot as they felt that they were draining profits from African Americans. The riots, which went on for two days, left many storefronts along Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. boarded up, furthering disinvestment and the perception of Albina as a "blighted" community.

⁶⁷⁵ Ada Louise Huxtable, "Coast Fountain Melds Art and Environment," *New York Times*, June 21, 1970; Randy Gragg, "The Visionary Parks Designer Who Transformed Portland," *Portland Monthly*, November 23, 2015, <https://www.pdxmonthly.com/news-and-city-life/2015/11/the-visionary-parks-designer-who-transformed-portland>.

⁶⁷⁶ "City Action Offers Race Hiring Solution," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 31, 1963.

⁶⁷⁷ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 91. Samuel Macon lived at **4523 N Albina** in the 1960s.

⁶⁷⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 91. Nathan Jones lived at **1336 SE Haig St.** by 1965, at which time he had taken a teaching job at Woodstock Elementary. In 1962, Jones had filed a complaint with the Civil Rights Division in a case brought against the landlord of a westside fourplex by Mark Smith, Civil Rights Administrator (**411 N Shaver St.**). The apartment owner was ordered to "cease and desist" from discrimination after he solicited negative votes from the other apartment tenants concerning Jones as a potential tenant.

⁶⁷⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 91.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

were a period of great youth activism and agitation, and these young people were generally much less patient with the pace of progress than their parents and grandparents had been. They were also much more likely to partake in acts of civil disobedience than the previous generation.⁶⁸⁰

In June 1967, *The Oregonian* called attention to the frustration of African American youth in an article that discussed the long-simmering tensions and discontent that had reached boiling point in other cities. Frank Fair, a youth worker for the Church-Community Action Program (C-CAP) who had grown up in the Albina area, stated: "When you get to feeling locked in, that's when the frustrations start."⁶⁸¹

In late July 1967, these frustrations were demonstrated in confrontations with the police which escalated into riots in the area of **3507-3511 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** Reverend O.B. Williams of Vancouver Avenue Baptist Church, Reverend Wendell Wallace of Maranatha Church of God and Reverend John Jackson were asked to calm the rioting youth.⁶⁸² Disturbances arose again in 1969. Many African American youth had come to view police as an army of occupation in the African American community. They wanted immediate change, and to achieve it they were willing to disrupt established patterns and social orders. Their actions on Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (then Union Avenue) further depressed the perception of the street as a place where business could prosper.⁶⁸³ Uncertainties about the racial stability of Inner North and Northeast contributed to the economic decline that was associated with the area at the time and persisted for decades.

Black Power Organizations

The 1960s also saw the impact on Portland race relations of new ideologies and racial strategies born in other national locations. These ideas were transported to Portland in the heated atmosphere of social turmoil that characterized the period. The Black Power movement, ignited by the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X and the urban uprisings of the mid-1960s, advanced racial pride, economic empowerment, and the creation of distinct cultural and political institutions. National Black Power organizations including the Black Berets and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense established local Portland branches.⁶⁸⁴ The latter's membership was always small, but its aggressive rhetoric and progressive social programs had a significant impact on the attitudes of young African American Portlanders.⁶⁸⁵ The Panther headquarters was located at 3819 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. Led by founding member Kent Ford,⁶⁸⁶ the Portland Panthers established Fred Hampton's Peoples Health Clinic at 109 N Russell St. in the late 1960s and

⁶⁸⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 107.

⁶⁸¹ Frank Fair was from the Portland pioneer Fair family and had lived at **4216 N Haight Ave.** (1940s), **1455 NE Going St.** (1950s), and then **4623 NE 9th Ave.** (1959-70s). In addition to his work with the C-CAP, Fair was a juvenile court counselor and then a department director at the University of Portland; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 107; "Portland's Teen-Age Negroes Refuse to Bear Frustrations of Parents," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), June 1, 1967.

⁶⁸² Trudy Flores and Sarah Griffith, "Albina Riot, 1967," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified 2018, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/albina-riot-1967/#.XfFX325FyUk>. At the time, Rev. Williams resided at the church parsonage at **3132 N Vancouver Ave.**, Rev. Wallace at **327 N Skidmore St.**, and Rev. Jackson at **2503 NE Liberty St.**

⁶⁸³ Holley, "Burn the Town Down" *Portland Mercury* (Portland, OR), June 21, 2017.

⁶⁸⁴ *The Oregon Journal* (Portland, OR), August 27, 1970. R.L. Anderson, who lived at **4045 N Missouri Ave.** in the late 1960s, led the local arm of the Black Berets.

⁶⁸⁵ Moreland, *The History of Portland's African American Community*, 120-24.

⁶⁸⁶ Ford was a student living at **23 NE San Rafael St.** in 1970 (Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 109).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

1970s, offering free medical care five evenings a week to Portlanders of any race. They also operated a free children's breakfast program at Highland United Church of Christ (**4635 NE 9th Ave.**). Despite their extensive involvement in these social programs, however, Portland Black Panther Party members were characterized as criminals in local newspapers and tracked by the FBI.⁶⁸⁷

The Integration of Portland Public Schools

Arguably the most contentious civil rights issue of the 1960s, integration of schools, was closely tied to the previous battles over housing rights and discrimination. While the Fair Housing Act had enabled some families to move away from the African American neighborhoods circumscribed in the 1940s and 1950s, most African American families could not and did not leave.⁶⁸⁸ The reality of the geographical concentration of the Portland's African American population guaranteed the city's participation in the great debate over school integration that swept the country following the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling in 1954.

There were two kinds of educational segregation in American society. *De jure* forms of segregation were those established and preserved in laws and policies that prohibited racial mixing in school settings. This form predominated in most Southern states. School systems in northern and western areas, however, were often just as segregated as southern *de jure* systems due to *de facto* circumstances, resulting in segregated patterns that existed "in fact" but which had not occurred specifically as a result of laws or policies. *De facto* segregation was an indirect form of separation most often created by neighborhood schools serving segregated neighborhoods. It was the result of the laws, policies, and private practices of prejudice in the housing and real estate industries rather than in educational administrative arenas.⁶⁸⁹

Although Portland schools had been officially integrated since 1872, African American students sometimes experienced special restrictions based on their race and until the 1940s, when Leota Stone and Robert Ford were appointed as Portland's first African American teachers, they were instructed by White teachers only.⁶⁹⁰ The fact that the African American community remained small and introduced relatively few students into the school system made the integrated arrangement tolerable for the White community.

The *de facto* segregation of public schools began to generate tension as the African American community grew after World War II. Settlement patterns created neighborhood schools in Northeast Portland that were nearly all African American, as well as schools in other parts of Portland that were virtually all White. Albeit for different reasons, Portland schools in the 1960s were effectively as segregated as those in the South.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁷ Martha Gies, "Black Panthers in Portland," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, last modified March 17, 2018, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/black_panthers_in_portland/#.WrQNSojwaUk.

⁶⁸⁸ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 84.

⁶⁸⁹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 87. It should be noted that majority-African American schools were not universally rejected by the African American community in mid-twentieth century Portland. As established by "separate, but equal," African American students should, theoretically, have been able to receive a good education given good teachers, good materials, and strong models and support from the school system. Realistically, however, those "equal" educational elements were rarely provided under *de facto* segregation, and they were generally absent in Portland as well.

⁶⁹⁰ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 76.

⁶⁹¹ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 86.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Ideologically, the leaders of the African American community during the 1960s become solidly committed to full integration of the school system. Leaders in the educational community were generally sympathetic to this concept, but many were wary that adjustments could negatively affect the educational experience of White students. However, many White Portlanders vigorously opposed any change to the status quo, for reasons ranging from Southern-style racism to objections based on a theoretical educational philosophy.⁶⁹²

In the 1960s, the NAACP led a local campaign to address what was perceived as a serious problem to African American advancement.⁶⁹³ NAACP President Harry Ward put the Portland School Board on notice that the NAACP expected it to address *de facto* school segregation in 1963.⁶⁹⁴ By 1964, the Portland School District settled on one means of achieving integration: a “pilot relocation assistance project,” in which twenty-five qualified African American families living in Albina would receive financial assistance to relocate out of the area and into other school districts.⁶⁹⁵ In 1965, NAACP president and Bethel AME pastor Reverend Grady Brown, addressed the Portland City Club on the school segregation issue, calling segregation “a dragon with a strong constitution and almost limitless resistance.”⁶⁹⁶

The conflict eventually culminated in the formation of a panel tasked to study the situation and make implementation recommendations to the school board. The commission’s recommendations committed the school district to an approach toward integration that relied on the ultimate dispersal of African American students throughout the district, with the eventual closure of all neighborhood schools in the African American community. A new school superintendent, Robert Blanchard, was hired to implement what came to be known as the “Blanchard Plan.”⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹² Johnson and Williams, “Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools,” 6-37. Portland Public Schools commissioned a study in 1963 and to assess racial isolation and disparities in academic achievement entitled *Race and Equal Educational Opportunity in Portland’s Public Schools*, also known as the Schwab Report. The Schwab Report’s release in 1964 was largely rejected by the African American community who supported the NAACP’s findings from a 1962 report and objected to another study instead of taking action. White residents accepted the report’s findings that Portland’s Public Schools were not adequately meeting the needs of Portland’s vulnerable minority populations but also focused on the Schwab Report’s discussion of “cultural deficiencies” that made equal educational standards or integration of schools impossible.

⁶⁹³ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 86-87. Phil Reynolds, the 1958 NAACP president (living at **3130 SE Brooklyn**) demonstrated a lifetime commitment to promoting education for African American youth. His dedication would be recognized in 1983 with the establishment of the Phil Reynolds Scholarship Fund.

⁶⁹⁴ Ward was a County Public Welfare caseworker and lived at 6625 NE 42nd during his tenure as NAACP president.

⁶⁹⁵ That same year, the school district staff also achieved better integration. In 1964, Robert Hughley became the first African American in an administrative position as Community Services Coordinator for the Albina Model Schools Program. Hughley had been a special education teacher with the School District before taking leave to complete his Ph.D. He lived at **4313 SE Taylor** and later at **3965 SE Oak**. A year later, Jim Winters became Portland Public Schools’ first African American sports coach. He had been a star athlete at the University of Portland and in 1966 accepted a position at Washington High School. Winters lived at **4733 N Kerby** at the time. Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 87.

⁶⁹⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 87. Rev. Brown lived at **6133 NE 8th Ave.** at this time.

⁶⁹⁷ United States Commission on Civil Rights, “School Desegregation in Portland, Oregon,” Staff Report 1977, <https://www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12d4528.pdf>.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Under this approach, the children of the African American community almost exclusively bore the burdens of integration. They often found themselves isolated in hostile environments, cut off from cultural and parental sources of comfort and support, and supervised by teachers who lacked the necessary knowledge, training, or inclination to overcome the disadvantages of this imposed approach to school integration. There were some success stories and much good intention within these efforts. But eventually the inherent flaws, inequity, and destructive effects of this approach became so apparent that a strong reaction arose from within that community and among White sympathizers who wished to overturn the Blanchard Plan for integration.

The tipping point in this controversy came in 1976 when the Portland School Board under the leadership of Jonathan Newman announced its plan to close Jefferson High School (**5210 N Kerby Ave.**).⁶⁹⁸ Jefferson was the designated neighborhood high school for much of Inner North and Northeast Portland and the African American community living in Albina. A firestorm of reaction and resistance erupted, culminating in the creation of a new protest organization called the Black United Front. The Front espoused direct action strategies that included occupations of School Board meetings, threats, and implementation of school boycotts, with a heavy dose of political actions and maneuvers. Finally, after the firing of Superintendent Blanchard in 1980,⁶⁹⁹ the resignation from the Board of Jonathan Newman in 1979, and the hiring of Matthew Prophet, the District's first African American superintendent, in 1982, the Blanchard Plan was shelved and a new approach to school desegregation was designed. The new approach relied more on strengthening neighborhood schools, using magnet schools to attract White students to schools in African American neighborhoods, and retraining the existing teaching pool. This approach generated its own set of conflicts, issues, and problems that sometimes reached the level of national discussion.⁷⁰⁰ Educational issues arising from the patterns of residence and housing created in earlier generations of hostile racial policies continue to linger in the educational environment of Portland into the twenty-first century.⁷⁰¹

A Wholistic Approach to Urban Renewal: The Model Cities Program

In the mid-1960s, the Federal Government added social goals to its mix of urban programs. Model Cities Programs across the nation focused on remedying urban decay and poverty through grassroots organizations and publicly funded improvements, utilizing community leaders instead of elected officials.⁷⁰² The federal War on Poverty was the impetus for neighborhood and community organizing in

⁶⁹⁸ Johnson and Williams, "Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools," 18-28. This was not the first nor the last time the Portland Public School (PPS) Board discussed closing Jefferson High School, although it was the closest the school ever came to closing. After the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968, the school district publicly discussed closing Jefferson High School in 1969 as racial tensions continued to simmer. In 1971, the PPS discussed ways to end segregation at Jefferson High School, including by closing the school entirely. Instead, the school transitioned to a magnet academy in 1974. In the 1980s, Jefferson was again targeted for closure but saved by the closures of Adams and Washington-Monroe high schools instead.

⁶⁹⁹ Johnson and Williams, "Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools," 26.

⁷⁰⁰ Prophet's approach came to be known as the Portland Plan and continued through the 1990s. The Portland Plan's commitment to multicultural education was heralded as a national model for other school districts, although it still had many issues (John O'Neil, "On the Portland Plan: A Conversation with Matthew Prophet," *Educational Leadership* 49, no. 4 (1991): 24-27).

⁷⁰¹ Johnson and Williams, "Desegregation and Multiculturalism in the Portland Public Schools," 27-28.

⁷⁰² Carl Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 183-206.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

both Northeast and Southeast Portland, laying the groundwork for strong neighborhood activism. The Model Cities program, which was applied to a large section of North and Northeast Portland in 1967, had similar impacts in Albina. The program was intended to concentrate and coordinate federal and local resources to make a real impact on targeted neighborhoods. To the consternation of Portland's official leadership, community organization under Model Cities challenged class and racial biases in city programs while building community leadership capacity in the Albina neighborhoods.

Because Model Cities programming focused both public and private attention on the issues and problems of its target community, it became impossible for Portland to continue to ignore the problems and aspirations of a significant portion of the urban community. Although the entire Eliot neighborhood had been slated for redevelopment in the early 1960s, Model Cities uncovered and emphasized residents' desires to rehabilitate and rebuild the area as a residential enclave. While this opinion had already been expressed through programs like the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, the spotlight of a national campaign prevented local officials from tabling the discussion for a later date.⁷⁰³

In addition to the residential programs described in Context I of this document, War on Poverty and Model Cities programming led to the creation of many social programs. The nationally-recognized Low Income Family Emergency (LIFE) Center opened at **321 NE Russell St.** in 1970 with Gertrude Crowe as director; the Center eventually relocated to 6329 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd, where it operated until 2005.⁷⁰⁴ A pre-school Head Start Program started at the Highland Baptist Church in the 1960s would grow into a multi-facility operation that continues to serve the community in the twenty-first century. Ron Herndon, a Reed College alumnus and local educational activist, served as the director of the Albina Head Start School in Northeast Portland and later became chairman of the board of the National Head Start Association.⁷⁰⁵ The Albina Art Center operated at **8 NE Killingsworth St.** from 1964 through 1973, focusing on arts, music, and other cultural programs; Rufus Butler, a former Urban League field director, was the Center's first managing director.⁷⁰⁶ The Albina Youth Opportunity School, Portland's oldest alternative school, opened in 1967 through the efforts of Frank Fair and Rance Spruill. It continues to operate at **3710 N Mississippi Ave.** as of this writing.⁷⁰⁷

One of the greatest achievements of the Model Cities Program was the development of local community leaders and emphasis on citizen participation through neighborhood organizations. Opal Strong, who had come to Portland in 1943 to work in the Kaiser Shipyards and later survived the Vanport Flood, was one resident who gave countless hours as a member of the first Model Cities Planning Board; she extended the same dedication to War on Poverty programs and Albina Tree Planting Program.⁷⁰⁸ Rozelle Jackson

⁷⁰³ Department of Urban Studies and Planning, "History of the Albina Plan Area," *Portland State University* (Winter 1990) 51. See Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, for additional information on the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project.

⁷⁰⁴ Crowe lived at **51 NE Tillamook St.** and then **4074 NE 7th Ave.**; Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community*, 105.

⁷⁰⁵ Debbie Cahill, "Young at Any Age – Ron Herndon," *AARP Oregon*, April 7, 2017, <https://states.aarp.org/young-at-any-age-ron-herndon/>; "Ron Herndon," *The Oregon History Project*, last modified March 17, 2018, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/biographies/ron-herndon-biography/#.XPP6Ny2ZOt8>.

⁷⁰⁶ *The Oregon Journal* (Portland, OR), April 16, 1970 [copy in possession of Bosco-Milligan Foundation/Architectural Heritage Center].

⁷⁰⁷ Sara Perry, "Salute to a Senator Hears Testimonials of Good Deeds," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), April 21, 1996.

⁷⁰⁸ The Strongs' home at 5021 N Williams Ave. is no longer extant (Opal Strong, interview by Catherine Galbraith and Kimberly Moreland, 1996).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Yee, a beautician, also found herself speaking out at countless meetings as clearance plans near her home continued to be proposed.⁷⁰⁹ Charles Jordan, who was hired as the fourth Director for Portland's Model Cities Program (and the first African American to hold the position), became the first African American on the Portland City Council when he was elected in 1974.⁷¹⁰ Finally, Hazel Hays, an officer of the Citizens' Planning Board loaned by PDC to the Model Cities Program, would eventually become the agency's Community Services Director and lead the agency with a new emphasis on housing rehabilitation.⁷¹¹

Civil Rights Beyond the Period of Significance

At the dawn of the 1970s, a new generation of leaders was coming of age in the African American community. These young people would join with established leaders to continue long-standing, community-based initiatives and to begin new ones on many fronts. Yet to come in the early 1980s were the Black United Front (led by Reverend John Jackson and Ron Herndon) and the Black United Fund, two of the many entities which would build community and achieve successes through protest and new initiatives. In the coming decades, African Americans would be elected to new political offices, successful business would be established and grow, and grassroots involvement would continue in meeting rooms throughout the community.

Despite political and economic advances during the Civil Rights Era, Portland's African American residents continued to experience explicit and implicit racism in the years after the close of the period of significance, including at the hands of law enforcement. For example, in 1981, two police officers left four dead opossums outside a Black-owned restaurant, the Burger Barn, on Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.⁷¹² Although the suspected police officers claimed "no intent of racial harassment," a similar occurrence at the Burger Barn the following year could not be so easily denied: a dead chicken with a Ku Klux Klan business card was left outside the restaurant and employees were threatened the same night over the phone.⁷¹³

Today, organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, and Albina Ministerial Alliance continue to advocate for civil rights and equitable treatment of Portland's African American community. New movements such as Black Lives Matter have also emerged on the national and local level, and in this way, the city's African American community and its allies continue the struggle to overcome racial biases and inequalities established in the early days of the United States, Oregon, and Portland.

Context-Associated Property Types

Section F of this MPD lists the predominant property types associated with African American resources in Portland, Oregon, during the period of significance (1851-1973). Resources significant for their association with Context VII, *Civil Rights*, may belong to any property type described in Section F, provided the resource maintains a significant association with a notable event, figure, or trend described

⁷⁰⁹ Rozelle Jackson Yee, interview by Catherine Galbraith and Kimberly Moreland, 1996. Yee's home of the era is extant at **202 NE Graham St.** and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001 (National Register of Historic Places, Lewis and Elizabeth Van Vleet House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #01000937).

⁷¹⁰ Griffin, "Charles Jordan remembered." Jordan's home of the era is extant at **1830 NE Klickitat St.**

⁷¹¹ City Club of Portland, "Report on Urban Renewal in Portland," 50; Hazel Hays, interview by Catherine Galbraith, 1997. From 1960 on, Hays and her husband lived at **3016 NE 14th Ave.** National civil rights leader Medgar Evers stayed in their home during a 1961 visit to Portland.

⁷¹² Benny Evangelista, Jr., "Police Admit Opossum Incident," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 15, 1981. The Burger Barn at 3962 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. was demolished in 2017.

⁷¹³ Tom Hallman, Jr., "'KKK Chicken' Thrown at Burger Barn's Door," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 4, 1982.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

in this context. For example, resources belonging to Property Type I, *Residences*, may be significant for their associations with notable civil rights leaders, for their association with discriminatory or fair housing practices, or for their role as meeting spaces for advocacy groups. Similarly, resources belonging to Property Type IV, *Religious Facilities*, or Property Type V, *Civic and Social Organization Buildings*, may be significant for their roles as meeting spaces. Sites of protest or similar events may be significant under Property Type VI, *Sites (Non-Archaeological)*. Additional research and evaluation of significance and integrity are necessary for any property or group of properties to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under this MPD.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

GENERAL REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS – ALL PROPERTY TYPES

All properties nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places must demonstrate historical significance and integrity. A property that has historical significance, but lacks sufficient integrity to convey that historical significance, is not eligible for the National Register. Similarly, a property that demonstrates high integrity, but cannot be found to be historically significant, is not eligible for the National Register. The four National Register Criteria for Evaluation, the seven aspects of integrity, and the interplay between these, are discussed below.

Significance

All properties nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places must demonstrate historical significance under one or more of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. The Criteria for Evaluation are:

- **Criterion A:** Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- **Criterion B:** Association with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- **Criterion C:** Embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; representative of the work of a master; possessive of high artistic values; representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- **Criterion D:** A source of, or likely source of, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations⁷¹⁴

The National Register program identifies several categories of properties that under ordinary circumstances are generally considered to be ineligible for listing. However, the National Register acknowledges through Criteria Considerations (A through G) that under certain narrow circumstances, properties belonging to these seven categories can be eligible for listing. While any of the Criteria Considerations may pertain, those most likely to be of relevance to properties nominated through this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD) include those concerning religious properties, moved buildings, birthplaces or graves, and properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years.

Area of Significance

All properties nominated for listing in the National Register must identify an area of significance from among the categories established by the National Park Service.⁷¹⁵ All properties nominated under this MPD will have significance under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage through their association with the African American experience in Portland, Oregon. A property nominated for listing in the National

⁷¹⁴ For more detailed guidance on the application of Criteria Considerations, see National Register Bulletin #15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 25-43.

⁷¹⁵ See *National Register Bulletin #16A, How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 40-41 (available at <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/>) or *National Register Bulletin #15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 7-8 (available at <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/Index.htm>).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Register under this MPD may relate solely to the area of significance of Ethnic Heritage to establish eligibility, but may also draw significance through one or more additional areas of significance.

Level of Significance

All properties nominated to the National Register must also be assigned a level of significance proportionate to their prominence and descriptive of their ability to reflect historical themes within local, state, or national history.⁷¹⁶ A property's level of significance is determined by its significance within its historic context, not by the geographical limits of its physical location.⁷¹⁷ The majority of properties nominated under this MPD will have significance at the local level. However, given the scale of certain historical themes (e.g., redlining and racist zoning practices, the civil rights movement, urban renewal programs), some properties may have significance at the state or national level.

Period of Significance

The period of significance defined by this MPD is 1851-1973, which marks the incorporation of the city of Portland, through 1973, the termination of urban renewal programs in Inner North and Northeast Portland. The period of significance for a property nominated to the National Register under this MPD will be based on the period of significant association with the African American experience in Portland. It is common for the beginning of the period of significance for properties considered under this MPD to postdate the original construction of the property, sometimes by decades. It is also common for properties to have been altered during the period of significance, oftentimes in ways that depart from the original design, materials, and workmanship of the property. In such cases, the integrity standards identified in this document should be applied with regard to the property as it was during the period of significance, and not at the time of construction. Therefore, establishing a period of significance that includes the year(s) in which a property was significantly associated with one or more historic contexts is important not just for evaluation of historic significance, but also of integrity.

An example of a property with a period of significance that postdates the property's date of original construction is the Otto and Verdell Rutherford House at **833 NE Shaver St.**, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2015 for its association with individuals and activities significant within the civil rights movement in Portland. While the house was constructed around 1905, the period of significance spans only the 1936-1953 period. The beginning of the period of significance corresponds with Otto and Verdell Rutherford moving into the house and the close of the period of significance corresponds with the passage of Oregon's Civil Rights Bill, which was championed by the Rutherfords in their capacity as leaders within the NAACP.⁷¹⁸

Integrity

For a property to qualify for listing in the National Register, the Criteria for Evaluation require that the property possess significance and retain historic integrity; both qualities are necessary for eligibility.⁷¹⁹ While a property's significance is related to its association with one or more of the historic contexts

⁷¹⁶ National Park Service, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 51.

⁷¹⁷ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 9.

⁷¹⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076. Otto Rutherford had grown up in the house and returned in 1936 following his marriage to Verdell Burdine.

⁷¹⁹ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 3.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

described in Section E, integrity refers to a property's ability to convey its significance.⁷²⁰ Integrity encompasses both tangible and intangible characteristics but is "grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."⁷²¹ To determine whether a property retains sufficient integrity to convey a significant association with one or more historic contexts, the National Register program relies on evaluation of the following seven aspects of integrity:

- **Location:** The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- **Setting:** The physical environment surrounding a historic property.
- **Design:** The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a historic property.
- **Materials:** The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- **Workmanship:** A historic property's physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- **Feeling:** A historic property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- **Association:** The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.⁷²²

Because integrity is based on a property's significance within a specific historic context, an evaluation of a property's integrity can only occur after historic significance has been established.⁷²³ Section E of this MPD provides seven contexts within which a property associated with the African American experience in Portland, Oregon, during the 1851-1973 period of significance may be evaluated for historic significance.

Assessing integrity necessitates an understanding of a property's *character-defining features*. A character-defining feature is a physical feature that comprises an important aspect of the appearance of a property as exhibited during the property's period of significance. Character-defining elements typically include the overall shape of the building, its materials, craftsmanship, and design details; character-defining elements can also include interior spaces and features, as well as various aspects of a property's site and environment. Within this framework, assessing integrity can be understood as evaluating whether or not the character-defining features retained by a given property are sufficient to convey the property's historic significance.

Consideration of the rarity of the property type and area of significance in question is also an important aspect of evaluating integrity. As noted in National Register guidelines:

Comparative information is particularly important to consider when evaluating the integrity of a property that is a rare surviving example of its type. The property must have the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic character or information. The rarity and poor condition, however, of other extant examples of the type may justify accepting a greater degree of alteration

⁷²⁰ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 44.

⁷²¹ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 44.

⁷²² National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 44-45.

⁷²³ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 45.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

or fewer features, provided that enough of the property survives for it to be a significant resource.⁷²⁴

As detailed in Context I, *Settlement Patterns*, Portland's African American community was subjected to multiple waves of displacement during the period of significance and thereafter, typically followed by extensive demolition of properties formerly inhabited or used by African Americans. As a result, extant examples of various property types that were associated with the African American community during the period of significance may be rare. In general, the rarer the resource, the greater allowance for diminished integrity.

Specific to resources considered under this MPD, properties may exhibit physical changes made during the period of significance that reflect the African American community's exclusion from White dominant systems of real estate acquisition, financing, construction, and employment throughout the period of significance. Exclusion from these White dominant systems necessitated Portland's Black community to develop a variety of parallel approaches to building ownership, use, maintenance, and rehabilitation. In certain instances, these parallel structures resulted in alterations to the design, materials, and workmanship of existing buildings in order to allow for the continued use of buildings by African American occupants and institutions. When a property considered under this MPD exhibits changes in integrity that occurred during the property's period of significance, those changes should not immediately be considered a loss of integrity but should be regarded as reflective of the property's significant association with one of more historic contexts described in Section E. In addition to conveying association with the persons, activities, or intuitions associated directly with the property, alterations during the period of significance may also reflect one or more of the parallel structures or approaches that were employed by the African American community during the period of significance.

The Otto and Verdell Rutherford House at **833 NE Shaver St.** serves as an illustrative example of a property that is eligible under this MPD for its significant association with one of the historic contexts, and that was altered during its period of significance. In 1936, Otto and Verdell Rutherford commissioned extensive changes to the interior and exterior of their c. 1905 house. These changes included expanding the size of the living room, replacing windows, constructing a new projecting entry, and obscuring the original siding with asbestos shingles. While these changes diminished the integrity of the house's original design, these same changes acquired significance in their own right because they are directly associated with the Rutherford's occupation during the period of significance of 1936-1951. The 1936 alterations convey association with the Rutherfords and are representative of the parallel structures employed by the African American community throughout the period of significance for this MPD. Rather than engage a contractor to execute the alterations to their house in 1936, the Rutherfords hired Otto's younger brother Donald Rutherford to make the changes. While Donald would later earn a degree in engineering and pursue a career in tool design, the engagement of a friend or family member—including one like Donald, who at the time lacked formal experience in the building trades—to make changes to the design, materials, and workmanship of an existing building was commonplace within Portland's African American community.⁷²⁵ Therefore, even though the original building was altered, the alterations to the Rutherford

⁷²⁴ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 47, emphasis added.

⁷²⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

House physically reflect its association with Otto and Verdell Rutherford, the NAACP activities that took place in the house, and a parallel structure employed by the African American community.

A second example of an eligible property that has experienced physical alteration during its period of significance is the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church at **3138 N Vancouver Ave.**, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2016 for (among other reasons) its prominent position in Portland's Black community during the postwar period and its role in the city's civil rights movement.⁷²⁶ The building was originally constructed in 1909 by the White congregation of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, reflecting the then-predominantly White, immigrant population of the area. As described in detail in the nomination and Section E of this document, discriminatory real estate and lending practices concentrated Portland's African American population into Albina in the 1940s and 1950s, and the neighborhood became predominantly African American in composition. In 1951, the church was purchased by the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church congregation, establishing the beginning of the building's period of significance (1951-1968). To better serve the new congregation, significant remodeling occurred in 1954 and 1956, diminishing the integrity of the original 1909 design. For the purposes of nomination to the National Register, however, the building retains a high level of integrity because the alterations strengthen its appearance remains relative to the relationship to the African American experience in Portland during the period of significance.

Comparative Analysis

Comparative analysis is an important element of most National Register nominations and will be especially important in establishing a property's eligibility for listing in the National Register under this MPD. Comparative analysis can only be employed after a property's associated historic context (or contexts) and property type have been identified, as the analysis should evaluate the property in question against other properties that share a similar association and/or property type.

Comparative analysis may be useful in evaluating the relative significance of a property's association with one or more historic contexts, and in evaluating the relative integrity of a property as compared to other properties of the same type or associated with the same historic context. For example, in nominations submitted under this MPD comparative analysis may be used to:

- Evaluate the relative integrity of an archaeological site when there exist multiple archaeological sites similarly associated with the same historic context.
- Assess which of several historic properties associated with a particular prominent African American civil rights leader is most significantly associated with that individual and retains sufficient integrity to convey the association.
- Compare the relative importance of individuals associated with an important African American newspaper to determine which is most significantly associated with that periodical.
- Weigh the significance of a Black-owned business as compared to other Black-owned businesses operating at the same time, within the same general location, or serving the same general economic function.
- Describe different properties associated with a prominent organization over time to determine which location retains the greatest integrity and/or is most directly associated with the organization's important activities.

⁷²⁶ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

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.

Property Categories⁷²⁷

The National Register classifies properties into five categories:

- **Building:** Buildings are defined as a built entity constructed for the principal purpose of sheltering any form of human activity, such as houses, apartments, churches, commercial buildings, schools, etc.
- **Structure:** Structures are built entities constructed to provide a function other than shelter for human activity, such as bridges, roads, dams, fortifications, etc. Some properties classified as structures can be movable, such as locomotives and aircraft.
- **Object:** Objects are built entities that are primarily artistic or commemorative in nature and intended to be displayed or installed in a specific location and/or setting. Examples are sculptures or other works of art or artistic installations, statues, commemorative monuments, fountains, boundary markers, and benchmarks.
- **Site:** Sites are locations of significant events, activities, or the remains thereof, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural or archaeological value, either with or without identifiable physical remains of the event or activity. Sites can be, but are not always, archaeological in nature. Properties classified as sites include, but are not limited to, archaeological sites,⁷²⁸ battlefields, ceremonial sites, trails, routes, town sites, ruins of historical buildings or structures, and natural features such as springs, rock formations, or land areas having cultural significance.
- **District:** Districts are significant collections of historically associated sites, objects, structures, buildings, or a combination thereof, that share contextual, locational, or physical relationships which together demonstrate greater significance than the individual constituent components can convey when taken separately. Properties defined as Districts include, but are not limited to, central commercial areas, residential areas, industrial complexes, and areas historically associated with specific populations, including ethnicities or people of unified national origin.

⁷²⁷ These five property categories are those defined by the National Park Service to distinguish between the *kinds* of resources the National Register is designed to address. They are variously referred to as “categories” and “types.” This document prefers “categories” in order to clearly distinguish between the broad types of properties defined by the National Register, and property types derived from the original use or function of a property within a category. For example, within the category of “buildings,” this document defines “residences,” “commercial,” and “religious facilities,” among several others, each of which may include one or more sub-types further defining the use or function where these result in a distinguishable design or presentation. When preparing a National Register nomination through this MPD, the property category should be conveyed by selecting one of the five categories in Part 5 “Classification” section of the nomination form. Additionally, the relevant property type should be reflected in the Section 7 Narrative Description, with direct reference to this MPD.

⁷²⁸ Archaeological sites in Oregon are defined as: (A) Ten or more artifacts (including debitage) likely to have been generated by patterned cultural activity within a surface area reasonable to that activity; or (B) The presence of any archaeological feature, with or without associated artifacts. Examples of such features include: a culturally modified tree, cache pit, hearth, housepit, rockshelter, cairn, historic mining ditch, petroglyph, or dendroglyph (Guidelines for Conducting Field Archaeology in Oregon, November 2013 [revised 2016], available at: http://www.oregon.gov/oprd/HCD/ARCH/docs/Master_Final_FieldGuidelines_January2016.pdf).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Eligibility through this Multiple Property Documentation Form

To establish significance through this MPD, a property must demonstrate a close relationship to one or more of the historic contexts identified in Section E and assert the significance of that relationship directly through one or more of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Demonstrating a given property's association with the African American experience in Portland is not, in and of itself, sufficient to establish a property as significant under this MPD; rather, the prominence of an association with one or more of the historic contexts during the period of significance and the scarcity of comparable resources (i.e., those that are similar in property type, function, age, and/or associated context) are important factors in establishing a property's significance under this MPD.

Eligible properties may hold significance under several of the historic contexts presented in Section E; in particular, Context VII, *Civil Rights*, is likely to overlap with one or more other contexts. Properties may also claim significance through multiple National Register Criteria (described below). In some cases, a property may be significant under one or more contexts in Section E of this MPD and under one or more criteria unrelated to this MPD. For example, a property nominated through this MPD under Criterion A for its association with a significant event in African American history could also be National Register-eligible under Criterion C for its architectural merit, despite not being associated with any Section E contexts related to that criterion.

Finally, eligible properties must also be assigned a defined area, level of significance, and period of significance that falls within the 1851-1973 period of significance outlined by this MPD. Sufficient integrity from the period of significance must also be present to convey the property's significance.

Criterion A

All properties nominated through this MPD must demonstrate significance at least through Criterion A, reflecting an element of the broad history of the African American experience in Portland, Oregon. Additional criteria may or may not be relevant depending on the property's association. This association must relate to one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E, and the specific role and relationship within that context must be established in Section 8 of the nomination prepared for the specific property. Significance under Criterion A is derived from either the prominent role played within an identified historic context, or the exceptional ability of a specific property to convey or represent the historical universe of properties associated with a historic context, either through the aggregate of its components or through the loss of a substantial portion of comparable properties associated with that context.

Under Criterion A, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, though most must be sufficiently present to convey the contextual association for which the property is being nominated.

Criterion B

All properties nominated under Criterion B must represent the property most closely associated with a person of historical significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document. In determining whether a person qualifies under this Criterion, it will be important to

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

demonstrate the individual's significance amongst their peers.⁷²⁹ A property determined to be that which is most closely associated with a significant person will be the property that itself most closely represents the specific contribution of that individual with the identified context. If the building that historically was most closely associated with a significant individual is no longer extant, a property closely associated with that individual, but less closely associated with their significant role, may be nominated instead, or, if there are no extant properties the last remaining place associated with a prominent individual's productive life might be a gravesite.⁷³⁰ For example, a property nominated under Criterion B for association with an individual who is significant for their prominent role within a specific profession would most appropriately be the building in which they practiced that profession. A property nominated for association with an individual who is significant for their role in a specific event would most appropriately be the property where the event took place. In both cases, if the most appropriate building related to the significance of that individual is no longer extant, but the residence in which they lived during the period in which they were prominent in their field, or when the significant event took place, is extant, then the residence may be nominated. If none of those resources remain, then the gravesite of that individual may be considered.

Because of the historical impact of urban renewal on African American neighborhoods, and the ongoing gentrification and redevelopment resulting from market forces, it is expected that historically significant individuals will be best represented under Criterion B by properties that may not be as closely related to the significance as those that once existed or through the gravesite of the significant individual.

As with Criterion A, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance under Criterion B than are integrity of design, setting, materials, and workmanship, though most must be sufficiently present to convey the contextual association for which they are nominated. That said, the integrity of design of one or more interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criterion B, if such spaces are directly associated with how the significant person(s) used the building.

Criterion C

Properties eligible under Criterion C will demonstrate aspects of the African American experience through their design or physical character or represent the work of a prominent African American architect, designer, or builder. A property can be eligible if it demonstrates such distinctive characteristics either in its original design, or if it has been modified or adapted from an earlier design to incorporate such characteristics.

Under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself are of primary importance, including design, materials, and workmanship. While still relevant, location, setting, feeling, and association are of less relative importance, unless an aspect of the property suggests a heightened relevance, such as a building whose design responds directly and intentionally to the setting in which it was built.

⁷²⁹ For further information on evaluating the eligibility of the lives of persons significant in our past, please see *National Register Bulletin #32, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons* (available at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB32-Complete.pdf>)

⁷³⁰ In that case, the nomination should justify the decision to nominate a gravesite through Criterion Consideration C. Additionally, a preparer should refer to see *National Register Bulletin #41, Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* (available at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB41-Complete.pdf>)

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion D

Properties eligible under Criterion D will generally be archaeological in nature, but may also include other resource types such as buildings. Archaeological properties eligible under Criterion D will be those that can be clearly associated with one or more historic contexts identified in Section E of this document and that either have, or are demonstrably likely to yield, important information on some aspect of the African American experience that is poorly or not understood. For example, an archaeological site related to the residence of an early African American settler in Portland could be eligible under Criterion D if it has, or is likely to yield information regarding economic networking or purchasing power, measures available or taken for personal protection, interrelationships within the African American community or with other communities, or other related reasons. Potential research questions related to African American archaeological sites may include, but are not limited to the following:

- What was the nature of African American participation in overland migration via the Oregon Trail?
- 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?
- What types of activities were carried out at African American residences during the nineteenth century?
- In what ways were early African American residences different from the residences of other communities of color or from White communities? In what ways were they similar?
- What can be learned about Portland's African American businesses and their customers that is not documented in the written record?
- How did the diets and consumption patterns of African Americans living in Portland during the period of significance compare to those of other population groups living in Portland during the same period?
- When compared to employment settings occupied by other communities of color, how does the material record distinguish itself as primarily associated with the African American population? How does that same material compare to those deposited by White Portlanders?
- When compared to other communities of color in Portland, what does the associated material culture indicate about African Americans' access to goods, purchasing power, consumer choice, or other factors?
- What remains of Guild's Lake and Vanport, and what does it reveal about housing developments and the changing nature of African American settlement patterns during World War II?
- How does the material record account for drastic fluctuations in Portland's African American population (e.g. increase with World War II labor demands; decrease at the end of World War II; displacement of residences from Vanport, and urban renewal and clearance)?
- What remains of African American residences in urban renewal areas that were cleared for development in the mid-twentieth century? What does it reveal about the distribution of African American occupancy within these areas?

Certain aspects of integrity are of particular importance when applied to archaeological sites. Location, materials, and association, especially as they relate to deposition, disturbance, and the ability to distinguish artifacts associated with one or more historic contexts identified in Section E, are critical for eligibility under Criterion D.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

GENERAL REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Properties listed under this MPD must meet the following general registration requirements:

1. The property must be located within the 2019 City of Portland city limits as described in Section G.
2. The period of significance for the eligible property must be within the 1851-1973 period of significance defined by this MPD.
3. The property must demonstrate a close relationship to one or more of the historic contexts identified in Section E and assert the significance of that relationship directly through one or more of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation
4. The property must be eligible at least under Criterion A, in the Area of Significance, Ethnic Heritage.
5. The property must retain sufficient integrity from the period of significance to convey the property's significance.

In addition to meeting these general registration requirements, eligible properties must meet property type-specific registration criteria set forth under the following discussion of the individual property types

PROPERTY TYPES

This section describes nine predominant property types associated with the historic contexts identified in Section E of this document, including historic significance and integrity considerations specific to each type. The identified property types are based on extensive survey work completed in conjunction with each of the historic contexts.⁷³¹

A property's typological classification may not align with its historic use. Due to the nature of Portland's African American community operating within parallel structures to respond to implicit and explicit acts of discrimination, this often necessitated a building to have multiple uses. For instance, a building constructed as a residence may be significant under this MPD for its commercial use, if, for example, the property is associated with an important African American business that was operated out of the proprietor's home during the period of significance; although the historic use of the building was both commercial and domestic, its property type as described by this MPD would be Property Type I, *Residences*. In other cases, there may be overlap between property types. For example, an archaeological deposit associated with an early African American church might be described by Property Type IV, *Religious Facilities*, as well as Property Type VII, *Sites (Archaeological)*. Note that elements of an eligible resource, such as significant interior spaces, may need to refer to multiple property types in order to achieve a thorough discussion of integrity and character defining features.

The predominant property types associated with the historic contexts in Section E are:

- I. **Residences**
- II. **Commercial and Professional Buildings**
- III. **Entertainment Venues**
- IV. **Religious Facilities**
- V. **Civic and Social Organization Buildings**
- VI. **Sites (Non-Archaeological)**
- VII. **Sites (Archaeological)**
- VIII. **Objects**
- IX. **Historic Districts**

⁷³¹ See Section H for more background on existing survey documentation associated with African American resources.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The property type descriptions that follow also identify important subtypes (such as single-family homes) within each property type.

I. Residences

Residential properties are by far the category with the most numerous extant buildings associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance (1851-1973). The vast majority of these are detached, single-family residences, along with a small collection of multiplexes and apartment buildings. Residential properties are most likely to be significant for their association with the *Settlement Patterns* context in Section E, but they may also be significant under other contexts, such as Context II, *Business and Employment*, or Context VII, *Civil Rights*, since residential properties became spaces for African Americans to operate within Portland's racial discrimination that limited their ability to frequent many types of White-owned establishments.

Single-family Homes

The majority of extant buildings associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance are detached, single-family residences. While examples from throughout the period of significance exist, most such houses were built between 1890 and 1930 and are modest examples of residential styles popular in Portland during the period, including Queen Anne, Bungalow and Foursquare. Though some were built by African Americans, most of these houses were built for White owners and later rented or sold to African Americans. As described in Section E, as these houses aged and their original owners relocated, geographic policy restrictions and redlining concentrated Portland's growing African American community into these extant homes in formerly majority-White neighborhoods. Although it is standard practice to name single-family dwellings for their earliest occupants, for properties eligible under this MPD, it is more appropriate to name a significant dwelling for the African American inhabitants associated with the property's period of significance.

Additional information is provided in the Additional Documentation section ("Discussion of Residential Architectural Styles") regarding the most common architectural styles of residences that were occupied by Portland's African Americans during the period of significance. Note, however, that the styles identified in the appendix are not intended to be exhaustive, and that residences would only be architecturally significant under the auspices of this MPD if they were known to maintain a significant association with an African American architect or builder. The appendix is included in order to provide concise background information that will help those submitting National Register nominations in the future under the auspices of this MPD contextualize the architecture of their specific property.

Multi-family Homes

Multi-family residential properties associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance consist of both small-scale multiplexes and larger apartment buildings. Most appear to date from the early-twentieth century. The multiplexes often mimicked architectural styles that were popular for single family homes at the time, including Bungalow, Colonial Revival, Foursquare, and Queen Anne. Examples include **28 NE Fargo St.** (Foursquare, 1907) and **2423 E Burnside St.** (Queen Anne, 1910). Most of these dwellings were originally constructed as multi-family duplexes, triplexes, or fourplexes, often built to look more like single-family residences; only a handful appear to have been converted from single-family homes. These were most likely converted in the effort to house Portland's rapidly growing population during World War II.

Many of the apartment buildings associated with Portland's African American community are brick-clad buildings from the early twentieth century. Examples include **1000 NW 17th Ave.** (1911), **117 NW Trinity Pl.** (1912), and **2322 N Williams Ave.** (1929).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Of the multi-family buildings discussed in Section E, most had documented evidence of individual African American residents with a rental tenure of five years or fewer; only a handful of residents appear to have stayed in one multifamily building for more than five (albeit almost always fewer than ten) years. Many apartment units were home to subsequent African American renters over a long period of time.

Registration Requirements: Residences

Criterion A

A residential property may be eligible under Criterion A for a variety of reasons. For example, a residential property may be significant for its association with a notable African American residential enclave, such as Hawthorne Park, Tibbetts Street, "Sugar Hill" or Montavilla.⁷³² These enclaves are especially important because they were often the only locations where African Americans were permitted to reside in Portland due to a variety of discriminatory housing practices. Similarly, a residential property may be significant for its association with the rapid growth of Portland's African American community during World War II and, in particular, its association with efforts to house that growing demographic group. Other residential properties may be significant for their association with the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Program, which rehabilitated nearly 300 homes in the 1960s and early 1970s and provided a powerful example of community-led neighborhood improvement. A residential property located outside of Lower Albina or one of the known African American enclaves may also be significant as a notable exception to the settlement patterns described in Context I.

Many residential properties identified in this document may be significant for their association with events that were important to the fight for civil rights or other social justice initiatives, including public accommodations, equal housing, school integration, and hiring discrimination. The house at **1524 SE 32nd Pl.**, for example, may be significant for its association with the battle for equal housing. In this example, White real estate agent Clarence Enders was expelled by the Portland Realty Board when he sold the house to African American William "Tony" Anthony and his Native American wife Marie in 1949 (the Anthonys remained in the home into the 1960s.) Other residential properties may be significant for regularly hosting meetings of African American social clubs or civic organizations, which were often held in residences due to African Americans' limited access to office space.

Criterion B

A residential property may be eligible under Criterion B if it is the property most closely associated with a person of historical significance. In evaluating an individual's eligibility under this MPD, one must place their significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document and demonstrate the individual's significance amongst their peers. Persons of historical significance include, but are certainly not limited to, a key figure in one or more benevolent and fraternal societies; a prominent business owner (especially if the building that hosted the business is no longer extant); an important civil rights leader; or a pioneering journalist. For example, the house at **833 NE Shaver St.**, which was listed in

⁷³² In general, such properties do not appear to retain sufficient concentration to be eligible for consideration as a district and would more likely be nominated as individual resources.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

the National Register in 2015, was found significant under Criterion B as the longtime residence of Otto and Verdell Rutherford, important leaders of the local civil rights movement.⁷³³

Establishing the importance of the individual associated with a given property is essential to demonstrating eligibility under Criterion B. As noted in the National Register guidelines:

A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.⁷³⁴

In addition, the figure in question will need to have lived in the associated residential property during the period of significance (1851-1973). In cases where multiple residences are associated with an important figure, the property, or properties, that are most directly associated with the time period of the individual's life during which they achieved significance are most likely to be considered significant. A residence, for example, that was only associated with an important figure before they achieved significance would generally not be deemed significant under Criterion B, unless it was the only remaining property associated with the individual.

Criterion C

To be eligible under Criterion C under the auspices of this MPD, a residential property must demonstrate significant aspects of the African American experience or represent the work of a prominent African American architect, designer, or builder. For example, homes constructed by Shelby Golden, one of a very few African American contractors working in Portland in the early-twentieth century, may be significant under this criterion.

Most of the residences identified in this document were built for White owners and later rented or sold to African American residents. With respect to this MPD, residences that are representative examples of an architectural style but were designed, built, and initially occupied by non-African Americans would generally not be eligible under this criterion.⁷³⁵ A potential exception is a residence that, following its initial construction, was substantially modified by an African American occupant or builder in a manner that appears to be significant in its own right and falls within the building's period of significance.

Criterion D

A residential property may be significant under Criterion D if it maintains a significant association with one or more historic contexts in Section E and either has or is likely to yield important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Portland during the period of significance. Although Criterion D is most often applied to below-ground archaeological resources, it may also be appropriate for standing buildings if they have the potential to illustrate a particular method of construction, the peculiarities, skills, or markers of a builder, or other architectural elements about which little is known. For example, because the written record is sparse regarding Portland's African American building trades professionals, if a residential building yielded

⁷³³ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076. As a primary site for meetings, strategy sessions, and other organizing events, the house was also determined eligible under Criterion A as a key property in the local civil rights movement.

⁷³⁴ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

⁷³⁵ Such properties may be eligible under Criterion C for their architectural distinction, but that significance would not derive from any association with the African American community and thus would not relate to this MPD. See also footnote 10.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

information regarding the peculiarities, skills, or markers indicative of a prominent or significant African American builder, then Criterion D may potentially apply to that residential property for its significance in illustrating important information on the significant builder.

Integrity

Because African Americans were restricted as to where they could rent and buy homes, it was frequently easier for people to improve and update their homes over time than to purchase a new dwelling elsewhere. Consequently, alterations of single-family homes during the period of significance are prevalent. Common alterations include window replacement (typically with aluminum windows set within the original window openings); door replacement; porch enclosures (typically done to add living space); siding replacement; and interior remodels. Some residences have been converted to commercial use and may include a storefront addition. Depending on the extent of the modification, and whether or not it falls within the building's period of significance, such a residence may be more appropriately evaluated via the Commercial and Professional Buildings property type. Typical alterations to multi-family dwellings include modifications to signage, awnings, windows, and exterior stairs and fire exits.

The degree to which such alterations compromise a property's ability to convey its significance depends on the nature of that significance. For residential properties that are significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations will be less likely to render a property ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. That said, the integrity of design of one or more interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criteria A or B, if such spaces are directly associated with significant events (or patterns of events) or with how the significant person(s) used the building. For residential properties that are significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself, including design, materials, and workmanship are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess whether they fall within the period of significance and, if not, the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the property significant. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to properties that are significant under Criterion D include location, materials, and association, especially as they relate to deposition, disturbance and the ability to distinguish artifacts associated with one or more historic contexts identified in Section E.

II. Commercial and Professional Buildings

Extant commercial and professional buildings associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance consist of storefront buildings, midrise mixed-use buildings, and midrise hotels. These buildings are most likely to be significant for their association with Context II, *Business and Employment*, in Section E. Subsets of the buildings may be significant for their association with Context III, *Journalism*, and/or Context VII, *Civil Rights*. Commercial buildings often provided space for community interactions and office locations for African Americans, who in the early- to mid-twentieth century found office space just as difficult to rent or own as residences.

Most of the extant commercial and professional buildings associated with this MPD were constructed between 1900 and 1940 and are representative of the early-twentieth century commercial building style, featuring brick or stucco cladding, ground-floor storefronts divided into individual bays, and offices or apartments above. Good examples of this style include the buildings at **2322 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** (1911), **2525 N Williams Ave.** (1911), **2940 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.** (1922), **2531 N Williams Ave.** (1911), and **3037 N Williams Ave.** (the National Register-listed Rinehart Building, 1911).

Two of the grander commercial mixed-use buildings from this era, the Golden West Hotel (1900) and the Royal Palm Hotel (1913), were residential hotels that catered to both local and visiting African Americans.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Both properties continue to function as residential hotels today. The Second Empire-style Golden West Hotel at **707 NW Everett St.** served African American railroad workers and visiting African American travelers who could not obtain accommodations at Portland's White-owned hotels. In addition, several African American men and couples resided in the building on a more permanent basis. The hotel also leased commercial space to African American-owned businesses, including Richardson's Confectionary and the Golden West Café. The Royal Palm Hotel at **310 NW Flanders St.** included a barbershop, restaurant and other facilities for African Americans after the building was purchased from Japanese owners with the onset of World War II. Because of their significance and integrity, both hotels are candidates for listing in the National Register under this MPD.

In addition to these early twentieth-century examples, there are a handful of associated commercial buildings dating from the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. The 1890 Italianate style two-story building at **806 NE Dekum St.**, for example, housed Woodlawn Cleaners, which was owned and operated by Mrs. Willie Ranson from 1963 to 1986. Examples of Midcentury Modern commercial buildings include **2737 NE Martin Luther King Jr Blvd.** (1955), **215 NE Hancock St.** (1956), **511 SW 10th Ave.** (1956), and **415 N Killingsworth St.** (1967).

While African Americans operated a wide variety of businesses in Portland during the period of significance, barbershops and beauty salons were some of the most common. These commercial establishments were paramount in the community, not just for personal care, but for allowing patrons to maintain social contacts and stay abreast of current events in the community. Examples of these include Dean's Barber and Beauty Salon at **215 NE Hancock St.** (1956), the oldest continuously-operating barber shop and salon in the state of Oregon, and the wood-frame building at **4601 N Williams Ave.** (1910).

Registration Requirements: Commercial and Professional Buildings

Criterion A

A commercial or professional building nominated under the auspices of this MPD may be significant under Criterion A for its association with a longstanding business or group of businesses that were important to the African American community during the period of significance. While these would typically be businesses that were owned by African Americans, they could also include businesses that were important for employing large numbers of African Americans.

Commercial and professional buildings may be significant under Criterion A for a wide variety of other reasons, as well. Specific examples of types of significance include, but are not limited to:

- A significant association with African American employment in the railroad industry during the early twentieth century. While the Golden West Hotel and Portland Union Station appear to be the most prominent (and potentially only) extant buildings associated with this history, there may be others.
- A significant association with the emergence of an African American middle class in the early twentieth century, when de facto segregation gave rise to a small but talented African American professional class in the boom time following the Lewis and Clark Exposition.
- A significant association with the thriving commercial district. For example, the district that extended along N Williams Avenue during the 1950s and 1960s. This district served as the commercial heart of Portland's postwar African American community and featured a wide variety of service-oriented businesses, cafes, and restaurants.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

- A significant association with an organization devoted to promoting African American business interests, such as the Urban League or the Cosmopolitan Club (See also Property Type V, *Civic and Social Organization Buildings*.) For example, the Urban League of Portland formed in 1945, in large part to help with the employment challenges facing many of the 10,000 African American former shipyard workers who remained in Portland after the conclusion of World War II.
- A significant association with an African American-led newspaper, such as *The Advocate*, *The Clarion Defender*, *The New Age*, *The People's Observer*, or *The Portland Observer*, that was influential during the period of significance.

Criterion B

A commercial property may be eligible under Criterion B if it is the property most closely associated with a person of historical significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document. Within the context of commercial and professional buildings, persons of historical significance will likely be an important business owner or otherwise influential business leader. The significance of this individual should be clear when compared with their peers. For example, the 1956 Portland Medical Building (**511 SW 10th Ave.**) may be significant under this criterion as the only remaining office of physician and civil rights activist Dr. DeNorval Unthank. Another example is the building at 3213 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd., where Dr. Hugh Bell opened Portland's first African American dental practice in 1924 (Bell's office was in the American Foursquare residence at this address; the modern storefront addition was built in 1970).

Establishing the importance of the individual associated with a given property is essential to demonstrating eligibility under Criterion B. As noted in the National Register guidelines:

A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.⁷³⁶

In addition, the property's association with the figure in question will need to fall within or overlap the period of significance (1851-1973).

Criterion C

Section E does not identify any extant commercial buildings that maintain a significant association with an African American architect or builder, but such a property, if identified through additional research, would be especially important due to its rarity and may be eligible under Criterion C. The commercial buildings identified in this document were generally built by White architects and contractors for White owners and were later used by African Americans. Such properties would generally not be eligible under Criterion C under the auspices of this MPD. A potential exception is a property that, following its initial construction, was modified in some substantial way specifically to accommodate its use as a commercial building for the African American community. A residence, for example, that was converted to partial use as a hair salon, may have significance under this criterion if the changes made to the building to accommodate that commercial use are intact and considered character-defining.

⁷³⁶ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion D

A commercial property may be significant under Criterion D if it can be associated with one or more historic contexts in Section E and either has, or is likely to yield, important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Portland during the period of significance. Although Criterion D is most often applied to below-ground archaeological resources, it may also be appropriate for standing buildings if they have the potential to illustrate a particular method of construction, the peculiarities, skills, or markers of a builder, or other architectural elements about which little is known.

Integrity

Typical alterations to commercial buildings discussed in this document include paint applied over original masonry and siding; exterior signage, awnings, window alterations or replacements; entry relocations; and interior remodels. Some buildings have had major additions since the period of significance. A property exhibiting these changes may be eligible for listing in the National Register, especially if the changes were made during the period of significance.

The degree to which these physical alterations compromise a property's ability to convey its significance depends on the nature of that significance. For commercial buildings that are significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations will be less likely to render a property ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. That said, the integrity of design of interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criterion A, if such spaces were the location of a significant event or pattern of events, or Criterion B, if they are directly associated with how the significant person(s) used the building; for example, integrity may be an important consideration with regard to an office space in which the work of a significant civil rights lawyer was conducted. For a building that is significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself, including design, materials, and workmanship are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess whether they fall within the period of significance and, if not, the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the property significant. Finally, particularly important aspects of integrity under Criterion D include 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.

III. Entertainment Venues

In response to institutionalized discrimination and the segregation it engendered, African American Portlanders were regularly forced to develop their own entertainment venues. Dance halls and performance venues provided a range of entertainment opportunities for Portland's African American community and fostered the development of a musical community that attained regional and national fame. While essentially a subset of the commercial buildings discussed in Section II, entertainment venues have been addressed in a separate section because their architectural characteristics and historical significance tends to be quite different from that of other commercial buildings.

Extant entertainment venues are most likely to be significant for their association with events, people, and/or themes described in Context IV, *Entertainment and Recreation*. They may also be significant for their association with Context II, *Business and Employment*, and Context VII, *Civil Rights*.

As discussed in Section E, only a handful of buildings that served as entertainment venues associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance remain standing today. Notable examples include:

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

- **128 NE Russell St.** (1914): Hibernia Hall (now the Wonder Ballroom), the site of many balls, dances, and receptions hosted by and for members of the African American community;
- **406 SW 14th Ave.** (1913): Cotillion Hall (now the Crystal Ballroom), where large social events and other entertainment for African Americans were held in the 1940s and 1950s; and
- **240 N Broadway** (1920): former home of the Dude Ranch (now an office building), which was owned by African Americans Pat Patterson and Sherman Pickett and two White co-owners. This is the only World War II-era African American nightclub that is still extant.

These three venues are especially important given their striking rarity.

Registration Requirements: Entertainment Venues

Criterion A

An entertainment venue may be eligible under Criterion A for its significant central role in contributing to the social life of the African American community during the period of significance. Cotillion Hall and Hibernia Hall, for example, served as community halls used by a variety of individuals or clubs to host large parties. More narrowly associated with the African American community, the building at **240 N Broadway** was an important location for Portland's vibrant jazz scene of the 1940s and 1950s and remains as a rare example of an extant jazz venue from the postwar period.

Criterion B

An entertainment venue may be eligible under Criterion B if it is the property most closely associated with a person of historical significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document. For example, an entertainment venue may be associated with a prominent musician, event promoter, club owner, or building owner.

Establishing the importance of the individual associated with a given property is essential to demonstrating eligibility under Criterion B. As noted in the National Register guidelines:

A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.⁷³⁷

In addition, the property's association with the figure in question will need to fall within or overlap the period of significance (1851-1973).

Criterion C

Section E does not identify any extant entertainment venue that maintain a significant association with an African American architect or builder, but such a property, if identified through additional research, would be especially important due to its rarity and may be eligible under Criterion C. The entertainment venues identified in this document were built by White architects and contractors for White owners and were later used by African Americans. Such properties would generally not be eligible under Criterion C under the auspices of this MPD. A potential exception is a facility that, following its initial construction, was modified in some substantial way during the property's period of significance specifically to accommodate its use as an entertainment venue for the African American community.

⁷³⁷ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion D

A property associated with an entertainment venue may be significant under Criterion D if it can be associated with one or more historic contexts in Section E and either has, or is likely to yield, important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Portland during the period of significance. Although Criterion D is most often applied to below-ground archaeological resources, it may also be appropriate for standing buildings if they have the potential to illustrate a particular method of construction, the peculiarities, skills, or markers of a builder, or other architectural elements about which little is known.

Integrity

The degree to which physical alterations compromise a property's ability to convey its significance depends on the nature of that significance. For entertainment venues that are significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations will be less likely to render a property ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. That said, the integrity of design of interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criterion A, where those spaces are directly related to the building's significance, or under Criterion B, if such spaces are directly associated with how the significant person(s) used the building; for example, integrity may be an important consideration with regard to a theater space inside of a significant African American-owned entertainment venue, if that theater space was the location of notable performances by African American entertainers and/or was a regular gathering space for African American audiences. For a venue that is significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself, including design, materials, and workmanship are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess whether they fall within the period of significance and, if not, the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the property significant. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to properties that are significant under Criterion D include location, materials, and association, especially as it relates to deposition, disturbance and the ability to distinguish artifacts that are associated with one or more historic contexts identified in Section E.

Regardless of the relevant criterion, any integrity analysis must take into consideration the marked rarity of extant entertainment venues that associated with the African American community during the period of significance. As noted in the National Register guidelines, "a greater degree of alteration" may be accepted for a property that is a rare surviving example of its type.⁷³⁸ That said, the intactness of important interior spaces or features such as a dance hall or stage may be essential to demonstrating integrity for this property type.

IV. Religious Facilities

Portland includes many churches and a handful of mosques associated with the African American community during the period of significance. Obviously, these properties are most likely to be significant for their association with the *Religion and Worship* context in Section E. Given the multi-faceted roles these institutions often played, however, they may also be significant for their association with the *Civil Rights* context.

⁷³⁸ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 47.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Christian Churches

Throughout the period of significance, churches regularly provided services that extended well beyond their core function as a religious institution, serving as a center of the African American community for moral, social, and psychological support, too. The Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church at **3138 N Vancouver Ave.**, for example, was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2016 in part “for its role in changing the lives of its congregation through its promotion of improved social conditions in the postwar and Civil Rights eras.”⁷³⁹

The church buildings occupied by African American congregations were typically built by and for European American congregations, such as the church at **831 NE Fremont St.** founded as the Deutsch Church, the church at **2903 NE Rodney Ave.** built by Swedish Lutherans, and the church at **4304 N Vancouver Ave.** founded as the Danish Norwegian Church. As the demographics of the residential neighborhoods in Albina changed, several former White-majority churches were adopted by African American congregations. The Mt. Olivet Baptist Church at **1734 NE 1st Ave.** is a particularly significant exception, as it is a rare example of a church built by and for its African American congregation (the building, however, was designed by White architect Morrison H. Vail). This is especially remarkable given the church’s 1923 date of construction, which is early for a specifically African American church to have been built in Portland. A number of important African Americans, including Marcus Garvey, were featured in special appearances here and Portland political candidates regularly visited during election campaigns.

Most of the subject churches referenced in Section E were constructed between 1900 and 1930, with a handful of exceptions built earlier or later. Many of these early twentieth-century churches are of the Gothic Revival style. They are typically of wood-frame construction with clapboard siding, and exhibit characteristics typical of the style: pointed arch stained-glass windows, square pinnacled bell towers, and front and/or cross gabled roofs. Representative examples of the style include the churches at **202 NE Skidmore St.** (1904), **3605 NE Mallory Ave.** (1911), **2902 NE Rodney Ave.** (1907), **602 NE Prescott St.** (1906), and **103 NE Morris St.** (1904). With their squat massing and round arched windows, the churches at **1734 NE 1st Ave.** and **4009 N Missouri Ave.** are interesting examples of brick churches that combine Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival influences. The churches at **731 N Mason St.** (1927) and **2859 NE Rodney Ave.** (1909) include Craftsman elements, while the church at **4635 NE 9th Ave.** (1927) blends Gothic Revival and Tudor Revival influences. The church at **126 NE Alberta St.** (1922) is a Portland City Landmark and a striking example of an ecclesiastical rendition of early Modernism.

All but one of the extant church buildings referenced in Section E are located in North or Northeast Portland. The Stewart Park Colored Church, a Seventh-day Adventist congregation that was located at **3828-30 SE 62nd Ave.** in the 1930s, is the lone exception.

Other Places of Worship

In addition to these Christian churches, there are a handful of extant properties that are associated with two Islamic congregations that emerged in Portland in the 1960s. These include the residence at **4056 N Williams Ave.**, which served as the home of the Temple of Islam in the early 1960s; **707 NE Fremont St.**, where the Nation of Islam Temple #62 was established in 1969; and **4000 N Mississippi Ave.**, where

⁷³⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604, 12.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Temple #62 relocated in 1972.⁷⁴⁰ Additional properties that have historically housed majority African-American congregations in religious traditions other than Christianity or Islam may exist within Portland, but none have yet been identified.

Registration Requirements: Religious Facilities

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties

Unlike the other property types identified in this document, religious properties are subject to special rules regarding their National Register eligibility. According to federal guidelines, properties owned by religious institutions cannot be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places based on “the merits of a religious doctrine.”⁷⁴¹ However, a religious property may be eligible “if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.” Therefore, a religious property can be eligible if it is directly associated with either a specific event or a broad pattern in the history of religion.

Criterion A

Each religious facility nominated under the auspices of this MPD will possess significance under Criterion A for its association with an aspect of the broad history of the African American experience in Portland. In light of Criteria Consideration A, that association should extend beyond a purely religious one. For example, a church may be nominated for a significant association with the rapid growth of the African American community during WWII and the establishment during that time of cultural institutions, including religious ones, to accommodate the expanding population.

In many cases, African American religious properties served as important gathering places for those involved in the fight for civil rights or other social justice initiatives, including public accommodations, equal housing, school integration and hiring discrimination. A religious property may be significant under Criterion A for that association.

Criterion B

A religious property may be significant under Criterion B if it is associated with an important figure in the African American community whose importance extended beyond a purely religious one. For example, the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church at **3138 N Vancouver Ave.** was listed in the National Register in part for its association with Reverend O.B. Williams and his wife Willia Ida Williams, who “over nearly fifty years of leadership...made a significant difference in the lives of the congregation and ultimately in the social consciousness of the city of Portland across racial lines.”⁷⁴²

Establishing the importance of the individual associated with a given property is essential to demonstrating eligibility under Criterion B. As noted in the National Register guidelines:

⁷⁴⁰ In addition, two commercial properties that were associated with Nation of Islam Temple #62 during the period of significance are extant: 3955 N Mississippi Ave., which the Temple operated as a bakery and fish market from 1972 to 1976, and 3213 NE Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, where the Temple operated a storefront café from 1972 to 1975.

⁷⁴¹ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 26.

⁷⁴² National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604, 12.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.⁷⁴³

In addition, the property's association with the figure in question will need to fall within or overlap the period of significance (1851-1973).

Criterion C

Criteria Consideration A does not affect how the *architectural* significance of religious properties are evaluated. As with other property types, religious properties can be significant under Criterion C if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values.

Most of the religious properties identified in this document were built by White architects and contractors for White churches and were later used by African American congregations. An important exception is the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church at **1734 NE 1st Ave.**, which was built by White architect Morrison H. Vail for an African American congregation. Regardless, such properties would generally not be eligible under Criterion C under the auspices of this MPD, unless they were associated with an African American architect or builder.

Criterion D

A property associated with a religious facility may be significant under Criterion D if it can be associated with one or more historic contexts in Section E and either has, or is likely to yield, important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Portland during the period of significance. Although Criterion D is most often applied to below-ground archaeological resources, it may also be appropriate for standing buildings if they have the potential to illustrate a particular method of construction, the peculiarities, skills, or markers of a builder, or other architectural elements about which little is known.

Integrity

Common alterations to religious properties discussed in this document include application of vinyl siding to all or a portion of the building exterior; entry modifications to expand accessibility; addition or removal of stairs; paint applied to stone or masonry; the replacement of built-in seating or sanctuary furniture (e.g., altars); and the addition of elevators and fire sprinkler systems.

The degree to which such alterations compromise a property's ability to convey its significance depends on the nature of that significance. For religious properties that are significant under Criteria A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations will be less likely to render a property ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. That said, the integrity of design of one or more interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criterion A, where those spaces are directly related to the building's significance, or under Criterion B, if such spaces are directly associated with how the significant person(s) used the building; for example, integrity may be an important consideration with regard to a sanctuary space or meeting room within a significant African American church. For religious properties that are significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself, including design, materials, and workmanship, are of primary importance.

⁷⁴³ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess whether they fall within the period of significance and, if not, the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the property significant. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to properties that are significant under Criterion D include 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.

V. Civic and Social Organization Buildings

This section is intended to address the many buildings that, in addition to the religious properties and entertainment venues discussed above, played key roles in the civic and social life of Portland's African American community during the period of significance. Such properties include benevolent and fraternal society halls, social clubs and community centers, social justice organization offices, and educational facilities. By providing important gathering spaces for the community and opportunities to engage in collective action, these properties were central to the African American experience. Properties that hosted these social institutions are most likely to be significant for their association with Context V, *Benevolent and Fraternal Societies*, and/or Context VII, *Civil Rights*.

One property in particular, the Colonial Revival-style building at **6 N Tillamook St.**, illustrates how a single property was often used by many different kinds of organizations. The building was constructed in 1927 by an African American women's association to house a "colored" branch of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The building was designed by architects DeYoung and Roald, who are best known for designing the Heathman Hotel. The building served as a gathering space for women's social clubs, political activities, youth activities, and more, and programs for both men and women were arranged in coordination with African American church congregations and social organizations. Beginning in 1942, the building was used by the United Service Organizations (USO) as a recreation facility for soldiers of color stationed in Portland, before returning to YWCA use in 1947. Throughout the 1950s, the building hosted meetings held by the NAACP, the Oregon Association of Colored Women's Clubs (OACW), the Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Following completion of a new YWCA building in 1959, the YWCA sold the **6 N Tillamook St.** location to the Billy Webb Elks Lodge, a fraternal organization named for a prominent local African American musician and bandleader.

Fraternal organizations played important roles in the lives of African American men, and many possessed auxiliary organizations for women. These societies were multi-faceted and served educational, political, charitable, and social functions within Portland's African American community. In addition, as described above in the Benevolent and Fraternal Societies Context in Section E, these organizations provided a social safety net in the years before Social Security and related governmental programs were established. In addition to **6 N Tillamook St.**, properties associated with African American fraternal halls and benevolent societies include the Italianate building at **116 NE Russell St.** (1907), which housed the Prince Hall Grand Masonic Lodge and Eastern Star Order; and the Mission-style building at **128 NE Russell St.** (1914), which housed the Enterprise Lodge of Masons.

Apart from the building at **6 N Tillamook St.**, few office spaces or related facilities have been identified as associated, during the period of significance, with civil rights organizations like the NAACP or the Congress of Racial Equality that were dedicated to fighting racial discrimination and improving the prospects of Portland's African American community. An affiliated organization, the Albina Art Center, which focused on arts, music, and other cultural programs, was located in the 1929 building at **8 NE Killingsworth St.** from 1964 to 1973. Further research may uncover additional relevant properties.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Registration Requirements: Civic and Social Organization Buildings

Criterion A

In general, properties eligible under Criterion A will be significant as the home of, or the place most closely associated with, one or more prominent organizations during the time those organizations were demonstrably influential within Portland's African American community. The building at **6 N Tillamook St.**, in particular, appears significant under this criterion for its direct association with multiple prominent organizations, including the YWCA, the NAACP, the OACW, the Urban League and CORE.

Criterion B

A social institution may be eligible under Criterion B if it is the property most closely associated with a person of historical significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document. The property's association with the figure in question will need to fall within or overlap the period of significance (1851-1973).

Establishing the importance of the individual associated with a given property is essential to demonstrating eligibility under Criterion B. As noted in the National Register guidelines:

A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.⁷⁴⁴

For example, a property would generally not satisfy this criterion simply by being associated with a prominent Mason. Instead, a nomination of a Masonic Hall under Criterion B would need to demonstrate how that Mason's actions as performed within that building influenced the broader life of Portland's African American community through their role in Masonry.

Criterion C

Most of the properties associated with social institutions that are identified in this document were built for White Portlanders and only came to be used by the African American community after their initial occupants vacated the property. An important exception is the Billy Webb Elks Lodge, which was built in 1927 by White architects DeYoung and Roald to house a "colored" branch of the YWCA. Regardless, such properties would generally not be eligible under Criterion C under the auspices of this MPD, unless they were associated with an African American architect or builder.

Criterion D

A property associated with a social institution may be significant under Criterion D if it can be associated with one or more historic contexts in Section E and either has, or is likely to yield, important information not otherwise readily available regarding some aspect of the experience of African Americans in Portland during the period of significance. Although Criterion D is most often applied to below-ground archaeological resources, it may also be appropriate for standing buildings if they have the potential to illustrate a particular method of construction, the peculiarities, skills, or markers of a builder, or other architectural elements about which little is known.

⁷⁴⁴ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Integrity

Similar to most non-residential buildings in this study, typical alterations to these buildings include paint applied over original masonry and siding; exterior signage and awning additions, alterations, or replacements; window alterations or replacements; entry relocations; and interior remodels.

The degree to which these physical alterations compromise a property's ability to convey its significance depends on the nature of that significance. For institutional buildings that are significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations will be less likely to render a property ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. That said, the integrity of design of one or more interior spaces may be an important consideration for eligibility under Criterion A, where those spaces are directly related to the building's significance, or under Criterion B, if such spaces are directly associated with how the significant person(s) used the building; for example, integrity may be an important consideration with regard to a meeting hall or auditorium used by civil rights advocacy organizations or by a prominent African American fraternal order. For a building that is significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the property itself, including design, materials, and workmanship, are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess whether they fall within the period of significance and, if not, the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the property significant. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to properties that are significant under Criterion D include 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.

VI. Sites (Non-Archaeological)

While most of the discussion in Section E is focused on extant buildings that possess one or more important associations with Portland's African American community during the period of significance, non-archaeological historic sites may also exist that retain similar associations. Potential examples include parks, streets, or other public spaces that were the locations of important events or are associated with important individuals. For example, the intersection of NE Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard and NE Fremont Street could be evaluated for potential significance as the site of a protest by African American youth in July 1967 in response to racial oppression.

Registration Requirements: Sites (Non-Archaeological)

According to National Register guidelines, a site "is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure."⁷⁴⁵

Criterion A

A non-archaeological historic site 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 Portland. For example, a significant non-archaeological site associated with a significant and impactful protest or march that led to a significant change in city policy, may be eligible.

⁷⁴⁵ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion B

A non-archaeological historic site may also be eligible under Criterion B if it, among all extant associated properties, best illustrates a significant individual's important achievements. For example, due to the many properties lost over the years associated with Portland's African American history, the last remaining place associated with a prominent individual's productive life might be a gravesite.⁷⁴⁶ In that case, a nomination must meet the requirements for Criterion Consideration C.

Criterion C

Under this property type this Criterion will not apply.

Criterion D

Under this property type this Criterion will not apply. Archaeological sites eligible under this MPD are discussed in the next property type.

Integrity

Integrity of location is of paramount importance in assessing the integrity of a non-archaeological historic site. Integrity of setting, feeling, and association are also important because they directly inform the extent to which a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today. An eligible property will retain these four aspects. Integrity of materials, design, and workmanship are less relevant when evaluating the integrity of a site.

VII. Sites (Archaeological)

Archaeological sites are the remains of human activity, as represented by the artifacts and features that comprise them. They are by nature associated with the individuals and communities that left them behind, and may be historically significant under one or more of the National Register Criteria for Significance.

An archaeological site associated with some significant aspect of the life or lives of African Americans in Portland, as related to one or more of the contexts in this MPD, will be significant under Criterion A. An archaeological site associated with the productive life of a historically significant African American Portlander will also be significant under Criterion B. An archaeological site that demonstrates an important method of construction, design, or art will also be significant under Criterion C. An archaeological site that has or is likely to provide important information that expands the understanding of a significant aspect of the life or lives of African Americans in Portland will also be significant under Criterion D.

Portland's African American population before and during the period of significance were underrepresented in the written historical record, a reflection of explicit and implicit erasure by the city's White dominant power structure. As a result, significant gaps exist in the historical understanding of the everyday life of Black Portlanders before and during the period of significance. Archaeological sites and the features and artifacts that comprise them, when carefully identified, analyzed, and understood within their historical and cultural context, can add substantially to the understanding of the lives of people in the past. When archaeological sites are identified that are related to communities that are historically underrepresented in the existing academic literature, as is especially the case with the nineteenth-century African American community in Portland, they can provide invaluable information previously unknown, and reveal important insights into their experience, both individually and collectively. Given these

⁷⁴⁶ In that case, the nomination should justify the decision to nominate a gravesite through Criterion Consideration C. Additionally, a preparer should refer to see *National Register Bulletin #41, Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* (available at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB41-Complete.pdf>)

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

circumstances, archaeological sites that provide significant information about aspects of the African American community in Portland that we do not have documented in the literary record may be eligible under both Criterion A and Criterion D, and possibly in combination with one or two additional significance criteria.

Registration Requirements: Sites (Archaeological)

According to National Register guidelines, a site "is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure."⁷⁴⁷

Criterion A

An archaeological site that reflects a significant aspect of one or more contexts that appear in Section E of this MPD and is associated with a significant event related to Portland's African American history within the period of significance is eligible under Criterion A. For example, the archaeological remains of the nineteenth-century home of an African American family found in Northwest Portland may be significant under Criterion A for its direct association with an early African American enclave. Additionally, the archaeological remains of a particularly early African American home site, such as the Flowers property in Northeast Portland, may be eligible under Criterion A for its association with early settlement patterns reflective of a family of Black pioneers who settled in nineteenth-century Portland.

Criterion B

An archaeological site may be eligible under Criterion B if it, compared to all extant associated properties, best illustrates a significant individual's important achievements. For example, the archaeological remains of a prominent African American businessperson may be eligible under Criterion B if no buildings associated with that individual or their business remain extant.

Criterion C

An archaeological site may be eligible under Criterion C if it is the remains of an important or unique example of architecture, design, or art created by an African American, or if it demonstrates the characteristics of a unique type of construction associated with the African American experience, such as a building designed or built by an African American individual or community that is representative of a type or method of construction uniquely associated with Black communities in other regions of the United States.

Criterion D

In addition, an archaeological site 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 African American experience in Portland during the period of significance. To be nominated under Criterion D, some indication of the presence and potential significance of archaeological features should be evident, as determined through research and an understanding of the property's historic composition, or through physical evidence such as remnant buildings, features or artifacts either still visible on the surface or determined present by means of sub-surface archaeological testing. For example, one or more portions of the site formerly occupied by Vanport may retain important features associated with the African Americans experience there during and after World War II. These features could potentially provide new insight into the activities or customs of Vanport's residents. A list of research questions that may be

⁷⁴⁷ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

considered when evaluating an archaeological site can be found in the *General Registration Requirements* section.

Integrity

Since archaeological sites generally rely on Criterion D for consideration of listing in the National Register, the aspects of integrity used to evaluate this property type need to focus on the preservation of the quality of information contained within a site, or excavated assemblage. The assessment of integrity for properties defined for their archaeological significance generally relies on retention of several aspects of integrity, primarily the site's location, design, materials, and association. Archaeological sites almost always have integrity of location. Additionally, the integrity of location can help enhance a researcher's ability to also establish a site's integrity of association. For archaeological sites, integrity of design can establish intra-site artifact and feature patterning, while materials can help identify intrusive artifacts and features, the completeness of the site's assemblage, or the level of preservation. While it is important to consider all seven aspects of integrity, those involving setting, workmanship, and feeling are less relevant for determining the integrity of an archaeological site under this MPD.

An archaeological site with good integrity has archaeological deposits that are relatively intact and complete. Researchers evaluating sites that have been severely impacted by human and/or natural processes may have a difficult time determining the data potential as it may contain elements that are inconsistent with the period of significance or a clear connection to the African American community. Since significant private and public redevelopment has occurred in the locations of many of Portland's African American enclaves dating to the period of significance, careful consideration of site formation processes must be considered during evaluation. Clear definitions of site integrity can be established with careful mapping and documentation of temporally diagnostic artifacts, features, and deposits, thereby removing issues with the intermixing of unassociated debris.

VIII. Objects

Historical objects that are significant for their association with the African American community may exist in Portland. Primarily, objects will be contributing resources to historic districts or other property types. While the requirements below define requirements for individually eligible objects, contributing objects as part of a historic district or another property type should be evaluated under this property type's registration requirements to determine their potential eligibility. To date, no eligible objects are identified in Section E, but future survey work or related assessments may uncover such eligible objects.

Registration Requirements: Objects

According to National Register guidelines, the term "object" is used "to distinguish from buildings and structures those constructions that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale and simply constructed."⁷⁴⁸ Though they are often moveable, an object should be associated with a specific setting or environment to be eligible under this MPD; objects not designed for a specific location are normally not eligible. Examples of objects include boundary markers, monuments,⁷⁴⁹ mileposts, fountains, sculptures and statuary.

⁷⁴⁸ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

⁷⁴⁹ A monument would need to be evaluated under Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties. See National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 39-40.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion A

An object 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 Portland.

Criterion B

An object may also be eligible under Criterion B if it is the only remaining resource associated with a significant individual's important achievements.

Criterion C

An object may be eligible under Criterion C if demonstrates, through its design or physical character, significant aspects of the African American experience or represent the work of a prominent African American artist, designer, or builder.

Criterion D

In addition, a site 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 Portland during the period of significance.

Integrity

For objects that are significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations that have been made to an object will be less likely to render it ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. For an object that is significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the object itself, including design, materials, and workmanship, are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics that make the object significant. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to objects that are significant under Criterion D include 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.

IX. Historic Districts

Historic districts that are significant for their association with the African American community may exist in Portland. Historic districts may include all of the other property types and there may be historic districts with archaeological significance. To date, no eligible districts are identified in Section E, but future survey work or related assessments may uncover such objects. A district may be significant for its association for one or more of the contexts in Section E.

While the majority of properties referenced in Section E are located within North or Northeast Portland, they are dispersed throughout those quadrants. Associated commercial properties, in particular, are both few in number and widely dispersed throughout Portland city limits, making a contiguous commercial historic district unlikely.

The NE Rodney Avenue corridor between NE Broadway and NE Fremont Street, however, includes a comparatively concentrated collection of residences and churches that are associated with the African American community during the period of significance. Most of these properties are within the boundary of the City of Portland's Eliot Conservation District, in recognition of their shared historical and architectural importance. Further study is needed to establish whether extant properties within this corridor (or a portion thereof) exhibit sufficient physical integrity and concentration to be a potential historic district.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

In addition, there may be clusters of residences associated with the African American community in Portland that share historical or architectural significance. As detailed above in the *Residences* property type (Section I), many of the residences associated with the African American community during the period of significance are single-family homes that were built between 1890 and 1930 and are modest examples of popular residential styles of the period. Such properties are more likely to qualify as district contributors than individually-designated National Register listings.

As noted in Context II, *Business and Employment*, black-owned businesses during the period of significance, which were almost exclusively patronized by other African Americans, were generally located within established nodes of African American settlement. As a result, districts including a mix of property types might exist and be eligible under this MPD as well.

In some cases, association with the African American community may be one of several themes that make a potential district significant. Walnut Park, for example, a 1904 residential subdivision covering the 12 blocks immediately northeast of North Williams Avenue and NE Alberta Street, is notable for never having restrictive covenants that expressly excluded African Americans and other ethnic groups from owning a home. As a result, the neighborhood came to include both African American and White homeowners. A recent survey found that, based on age and integrity, approximately 86 percent of the properties within the subdivision boundary may contribute to a possible historic district.⁷⁵⁰ Many, but not all, of these contributors are associated with the African American community.

Registration Requirements: Historic Districts

According to National Register guidelines, a district is a “significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development.”⁷⁵¹ The district contributors may lack individual distinction, “provided that the grouping achieves significance as a whole within its historic context.”⁷⁵² Like an individual resource, a district must be significant under one or more of National Register eligibility Criteria A, B, C, and D. While a district’s significance derives from the shared history of its contributing features, those features can include a wide variety of property types. A district boundary can include both contributing and noncontributing properties. Though National Register guidelines do not cite a specific threshold, typically at least a majority, and often a strong majority, of the properties within a district boundary need to be classified as contributing. Therefore, it is critical to understanding the historic districts integrity and identifying clear character defining features of the historic district, as they relate and are defined throughout this MPD, to determine the potential eligibility of a historic district.

Criterion A

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 Portland.

⁷⁵⁰ Victoria Hensley, “What’s in Walnut Park?,” Reconnaissance Level Survey Final Report, Portland: Restore Oregon, August 2017.

⁷⁵¹ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

⁷⁵² National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 5.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Criterion B

A district may be eligible under Criterion B if its contributing elements are each directly associated with a person of historical significance within one or more of the historic contexts established in Section E of this document. For example, there may be a cemetery, or a portion of a cemetery, which contains the burial places of several prominent African Americans who had a significant impact within the community.

Criterion C

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. For example, a potential district might embody or reflect such a distinct pattern of alterations that occurred within the period of significance that are illustrative of the African American community's adaptation to Portland's discriminatory housing practices. Additionally, a district may be eligible if it represents the work of a prominent African American architect, designer, or builder.

Criterion D

In addition, 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 Portland during the period of significance.

Integrity

According to National Register guidelines, 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...[and] the relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance."⁷⁵³

As further noted in National Register guidelines:

When evaluating the impact of intrusions upon the district's integrity, take into consideration the relative number, size, scale, design, and location of the components that do not contribute to the significance. A district is not eligible if it contains so many alterations or new intrusions that it no longer conveys the sense of a historic environment.⁷⁵⁴

For an individual contributing property to a district that is significant under Criterion A or B, integrity of association, location, and feeling are of a comparatively higher importance than design, setting, materials, and workmanship, so alterations that have been made to an individual contributing property will be less likely to render it ineligible as long as association, location, and feeling are retained. For an individual contributing property to a district that is significant under Criterion C, aspects of integrity that are embodied in the physical nature of the object itself, including design, materials, and workmanship, are of primary importance. Alterations should be reviewed very carefully to assess the extent to which they obscure the design characteristics via which the property contributes to the significance of the district. Finally, aspects of integrity of particular importance to individual properties that contribute to districts that are significant under Criterion D include 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.

⁷⁵³ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 46.

⁷⁵⁴ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 46.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

G. Geographical Data

The geographical area encompasses the 2019 city limits of Portland, Oregon, which is situated along both sides of the Willamette River from the Columbia River at the north and varied streets to the south (bordering the cities of Lake Oswego and Milwaukie), with an irregular boundary to the west near the city of Beaverton and to the east near the city of Gresham.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

The preparation of this MPD was primarily conducted by the Bosco-Milligan Foundation/Architectural Heritage Center and the City of Portland.⁷⁵⁵ The primary author was Catherine Galbraith (1950-2018). Galbraith was the founding director of the Architectural Heritage Center and led the organization's work on the identification and documentation of buildings associated with Portland's African American heritage, beginning in 1993 and culminating in the 1998 document *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History*.⁷⁵⁶ In addition to Galbraith, Valerie Campbell Connerly, Kimberly Moreland, Dr. Darrell Millner Ph.D., Milo Reed, Holly Chamberlain, Matthew Davis, Caitlyn Ewers, and Kerrie Franey assisted with research, writing, and editing this MPD. Brandon Spencer-Hartle of the City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability coordinated the project and provided additional editing services.

In 1993, the Bosco-Milligan Foundation's initial effort to identify Portland's African American built resources documented 325 standing buildings associated with Black Portlanders. By 1998 when *Cornerstones of Community* was published, 1,284 standing buildings with African American associations had been documented and indexed. Research in the 1990s relied heavily on the use of Portland city directories, interviews with key stakeholders, articles in *The Advocate*, and field visits to properties identified as having an association with African Americans. The documented buildings were located throughout the city as follows:

North Portland	54	Mostly residential properties.
Northeast Portland	968	Mostly residential properties, religious facilities, commercial and professional buildings, and civic and social organization buildings.
Southeast Portland	201	Mostly residential properties.
Northwest Portland	24	Mostly commercial and professional buildings and residential properties.
Southwest Portland	37	Mostly commercial and professional buildings in Downtown Portland, and residential properties in Goose Hollow and South Portland.

In March 2017, the City of Portland converted the *Cornerstones of Community* database into a Geographic Information System (GIS) file. The updated database and other research performed for the MPD identified approximately 100 buildings identified in *Cornerstones of Community* that had been

⁷⁵⁵ The Architectural Heritage Center is the exhibition space and public educational center affiliated with the Bosco-Milligan Foundation. The Architectural Heritage Center and Bosco-Milligan Foundation are located at 701 SE Grand Ave., Portland, Oregon.

⁷⁵⁶ Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of Community: Buildings of Portland's African American History, Revised and Expanded* (Portland, OR: self-published, 1998).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

demolished between 1998 and 2019. Only properties identified in **bold** in this MPD remain standing as of late 2019.

Approximately 500 properties were chosen from the 1998 *Cornerstones of Community* index for prioritization in Sections E and F of this MPD. Selections were based on age, location, number and prominence of African American associations, as well as rarity of property type. This list of properties formed the foundation for the contextual research included in Section E, and many of the buildings that were identified through the *Cornerstones* project—both extant and demolished—are mentioned directly in the text or by way of footnotes. The registration requirements in Section F were not part of the 1998 *Cornerstones* project but were completed specifically for this MPD. Specifically, the integrity and property type descriptions within Section F were informed by contemporary review of these resources, including demolished resources which may be eligible for listing as archaeological sites.

The historic contexts identified and described in Section E of this MPD were informed by *Cornerstones* and *The History of Portland's African American Community: 1805 to the Present*, prepared by the Portland Bureau of Planning in 1993.⁷⁵⁷ Similar to these two documents, initial drafts of Section E of this document were organized temporally; however, coordination between the staff of the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office and the contributors to this document resulted in seven thematic contexts, allowing for extensive, interrelated descriptions of the African American experience in Portland during the period of significance. Due to the thematic organization of Section E, many of the property types described Section F may be associated with more than one context.

Since the 1998 publication of *Cornerstones*, a few Portland buildings with African American significance have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. These include the Otto and Verdell Rutherford House,⁷⁵⁸ the Lewis and Elizabeth Van Vleet House,⁷⁵⁹ the Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church,⁷⁶⁰ and the Rinehart Building.⁷⁶¹ This MPD was undertaken, in part, to assist property owners in determining eligibility and nominating properties to the National Register.

In submitting this MPD with a period of significance encompassing 1851 through 1973, the authors acknowledge that the events, trends, and contexts relevant to the history of Portland's African American community extend beyond these dates and continue to develop today. In the future, this document may be expanded to include places, people, and events that hold significance for their association with the African American experience in Portland, but which fall outside of the 1851 to 1973 period of significance or represent themes or property types that have yet to be identified in the documentary or archaeological record. Any of the historic contexts in Section E may also be expanded to include additional evidence from the documentary record and from as-yet undiscovered archaeological sites, which may yield information that was inaccessible at the time of preparation of this MPD.

⁷⁵⁷ Kimberly Moreland acted as Project Coordinator. The City of Portland Planning Bureau is now the City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability.

⁷⁵⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076.

⁷⁵⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Lewis and Elizabeth Van Vleet House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #01000937.

⁷⁶⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #16000604.

⁷⁶¹ National Register of Historic Places, Rinehart Building, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #13000982.

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

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African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

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1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

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1851 to 1973

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- National Register of Historic Places. Laurelhurst Historic District, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon. National Register #100003462
- National Register of Historic Places. Lewis and Elizabeth Van Vleet House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon. National Register #01000937.
- National Register of Historic Places. Otto and Verdell Rutherford House, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, National Register #14001076.
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Archival Collections

The City of Portland Archives and Records

The City of Portland eFiles

Oregon Historical Society Davies Family Research Library

University of Oregon Libraries: Oregon Multicultural Archives Oral History Collection

Newspapers and Periodicals

The Advocate (Portland, OR)

The New Age (Portland, OR)

The New York Times (New York, NY)

The North Star (Rochester, NY)

The Oakland Tribune (Oakland, CA)

The Observer (La Grande, OR)

The Oregon Journal (Portland, OR)

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

The Oregon Mirror (Portland, OR)
The Oregonian (Portland, OR)
The People's Observer (Portland, OR)
Portland Challenger (Portland, OR)
Portland Inquirer (Portland, OR)
Portland Mercury (Portland, OR)
The Portland Times (Portland, OR)
Portland Tribune (Portland, OR)
The Springfield News (Springfield, OR)
Topeka Plaindealer (Topeka, Kansas)
Vancouver Courier (Vancouver, BC)

Oral Interviews

Benton, James
Brown, LaVerne Bagley
Gaskin, Harold
Golden, Shelby Jr.
Hays, Hazel
Kimmons, J.V.
Knauls, Paul and Geneva
Newby, Ross (family members of)
Rawlins, Edward (family members of)
Renfro, Mel
Rutherford, Otto
Rutherford, Verdell
Strong, Opal
Tillman, Timothy (family members of)
Walker, Carmen
Whitesides, Janet
Yee, Rozelle Jackson

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Additional Documentation

(Figures, Maps, Appendices, and other materials. Please include a list of all included additional materials. Reduce file size to 300kb or less for each individual image.)

RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

The majority of extant buildings associated with Portland's African American community during the period of significance are detached, single-family residences. Additional information is provided below regarding the most common architectural styles of residences that were occupied by Portland's African Americans during the period of significance. Note, however, that the styles identified below are not intended to be exhaustive, and that residences would only be architecturally significant under the auspices of this MPD if they were known to be associated with an African American architect or builder. The following information is intended to provide concise background information that will help those submitting National Register nominations in the future under the auspices of this MPD contextualize the architecture of their specific property.

Vernacular and Queen Anne Cottages

Before development of a national network of railroads, modest residences drew on local materials and were thus "more strongly influenced by geography than...architectural styles."⁷⁶² By the later decades of the nineteenth century, however, the ready availability of sawn lumber gave rise to comparatively standardized renditions of traditional folk forms. These residences differed primarily in the amount of ornamentation or stylistic detailing they exhibit.⁷⁶³ Among the buildings discussed in Section E, representative examples of vernacular folk cottages that are largely bereft of any ornamental embellishment are located at **226 N Page St.** (1895) and **6126 NE Halsey St.** (1903).

Many of the modest residences built in Portland during this period feature elements associated with the Queen Anne architectural style, including spindlework, bay windows, wall texture variations (for example, through use of decorative shingling), and prominent porches. Representative examples of Queen Anne cottages are located at **1803** and **1811 NE 1st Ave.** (1885), **1745 NE 1st Ave.** (1890), **3344 SE Yamhill St.** (1891), **1517 SW 17th Ave.** (1894), **2316 N Vancouver Ave.** (1900), **2043 NE Rodney Ave.** (1903), **3956 NE 12th Ave.** (1908), and **546 NE Stanton St.** (1908).

Foursquare

Named for the four square rooms comprising its ground-floor plan, the Foursquare was one of Portland's most popular middle and upper class residences in the housing boom that followed the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition.⁷⁶⁴ The style represented a shift away from Victorian ornamentation and complex floor plans towards less ornate exteriors with larger, boxier interior spaces, a shift that would be further elaborated with the subsequent development of the Craftsman and Prairie styles. In addition to its plan,

⁷⁶² McAlester, Virginia, Suzanne P. Matty, and Steve Clicque, *A Field Guide to American Houses: The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017, 104.

⁷⁶³ McAlester, 398.

⁷⁶⁴ Hubka, Thomas, "Naming Portland's everyday houses: From bungalow to 'Minimal-traditional'," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), August 29, 2014 (available at https://www.oregonlive.com/hg/2014/08/naming_portlands_everyday_hous.html); Hubka, Thomas, "Portland's greatest housing hits: Types of Foursquares," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), September 27, 2016 (available at https://www.oregonlive.com/hg/2016/09/four-square_portland_houses_hu.html).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from
1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

common features of Foursquare homes include hipped or pyramidal roofs, full-width porches, and shed or hipped dormers.

Among the buildings discussed in Section E, representative examples of the Foursquare style are located at **3537 N Williams Ave.** (1903), **61 NE San Rafael St.** (1904), **4207 N Gantenbein Ave.** (1905), **2107 N Vancouver Ave.** (1909), and **1811 SE 35th Pl.** (1912).

Bungalow

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the bungalow was the most popular style for single family homes across the United States generally and Portland specifically. Bungalows typically represent simplified versions of the Craftsman Bungalows developed in Southern California around the turn of the century. Identifying features of these one- to one-and-a-half-story residences include a low-pitched roof with wide eave overhangs and exposed beams; full- or partial-width porches, and decorative beam ends or braces under gables. By the late 1920s, the style had rapidly declined in popularity, largely supplanted in Portland by various period revival styles, including American Colonial Revival and English Tudor Revival.⁷⁶⁵

The four principal subtypes of bungalow are classified according to their roof type: front-gabled, side-gabled, cross-gabled, and hipped. Many of the side-gabled bungalows are examples of what is sometimes called the "Portland Bungalow," noted for its central entry porch flanked by symmetrical windows.⁷⁶⁶ The residences discussed in Section E include representative examples of the front-gabled, side-gabled and hipped-roof varieties:

- Front-gabled: **4749 SE Lincoln St.** (1911), **3203 SE Tibbetts St.** (1912), **4505 NE 14th Ave.** (1913), **827 NE Sumner St.** (1919), and **714 NE Sumner St.** (1923).
- Side-gabled: **2123 NE Rodney Ave.** (1900), **3427 NE Rodney Ave.** (1903), **2923 SE 35th Ave.** (1906), **2027 N Williams Ave.** (1906), **3817 N Williams Ave.** (1908), **3405 NE Rodney Ave.** (1909), **831 NE Holland St.** (1913), **835 NE Jarrett St.** (1913), and **3816 NE Rodney Ave.** (1926).
- Hipped-roof: **5016 NE 14th Ave.** (1909).

Other Styles

While the vast majority of residences discussed in Section E are stylistically modest, larger and more elaborate examples of late nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century architectural styles can also be found, including: **1911 NE Rodney Ave.** (Queen Anne, 1896), **2037 N Williams Ave.** (Queen Anne, 1893), **1507 SE Alder St.** (Craftsman/Colonial Revival, 1902), **5125 NE Garfield Ave.** (Queen Anne, 1907), **5933 NE Flanders St.** (Craftsman, 1911), **2703 SE Tibbetts St.** (Craftsman, 1911), **2936 NE 12th Ave.** (Craftsman, 1913), and **4150 NE Beaumont St.** (Colonial Revival, 1926). In addition, the residences referenced in Section E include a handful that were built after World War II. Most of these are Minimal Traditional, with a few Ranch and Colonial Revival examples.

⁷⁶⁵ McAlester, 567-568; Hubka, "Naming Portland's everyday houses."

⁷⁶⁶ Hubka, Thomas, "The bungalows of Westmoreland: Defining Portland's common houses," *The Oregonian* (Portland, OR), March 3, 2015 (available at https://www.oregonlive.com/hg/2015/03/westmoreland_everyday_houses.html).

African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Oregon

State

Figure 1: Map of 2019 city limits of Portland, Oregon, City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability GIS Map.

