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HST 4/595, Public History Seminar: Understanding Residential Segregation in Oregon

The Portland State University History Department offered this public history seminar in Spring 2019. Six students, whose bios appear on the following page, spent ten weeks investigating race and housing in Oregon's Clackamas County as outlined by our community partner the Community Alliance of Tenants, a statewide tenant-rights organization.

This report is a record of their findings and the culmination of ten weeks of their research into housing deeds, archival collections, census data, historic newspapers, and scholarly work. Throughout the course, students undertook their task with great care, as they understood that this report would be used as a tool to infuse housing policy with a racial equity lens in Clackamas County, Oregon. In a short span of time, students unearthed and analyzed a broad range of evidence—from explicit exclusionary language of racially restrictive covenants and acts of direct violence directed at non-white residents of Clackamas County, to more subtle manifestations of exclusion such as zoning regulations and land-use policy. We believe that the evidence put forth in this report shows that these practices were pervasive and effective in keeping Clackamas County white, and the fact that people of color continue to be underrepresented in the county is indicative of how these policies and practices of exclusion have persisted into the present.

We would like to thank Katrina Holland, executive director of Community Alliance of Tenants and our partner in this course for all she did to support and encourage our efforts. Thanks too to professors James Harrison (History, Portland Community College), Patricia Schechter (History, PSU), and Tim Garrison (History, PSU) for providing us with feedback in this process. The PSU Archaeology Department graciously allowed us to share our findings with the public in their annual Archaeology Roadshow. Katrina Holland organized a staff brown bag for employees of Clackamas County, including members of the Clackamas County Affordable Housing and Homelessness Task Force.

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Katie Bush is a public history graduate student at Portland State University and archivist at the Lincoln High School Archives. Her current research focuses on the policing of impoverished and mentally ill communities in Progressive-era Portland, Oregon. She is also working with Dr. Eugene Freund on a book about the history of Hunt High School, the educational institution located in the Minidoka internment camp.

Carolee Harrison

Carolee is a History graduate student at Portland State University and a member of the Special Collections and University Archives staff at the PSU Library. Her graduate studies have focused on the social and environmental impacts of suburban development in the postwar United States. Her thesis research addresses political and community history of the Johnson Creek floodplain in Lents, Oregon, where she hopes history may serve to foster new connections to the land.

Jacob Hutchins

Jake is a graduate student in public history at Portland State University. His graduate research focuses on the history of federal education policy regarding indigenous people. His thesis examines the legacy of Native boarding schools in Oregon and the present-day conditions of contemporary Indian Education.

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Emily Medica is an undergraduate student majoring in History and Political Science. She is a proud Oregonian who is passionate about history and social issues. She has been incredibly proud and grateful to have worked on a project that allows her to have a positive impact on her home.

Helen Ryan

Helen Ryan is a first-year student in the History MA program. Her research focuses on the effects of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation on the city of Portland, and more broadly on the intersections of public policy and culture in 20th-century American history. She is currently the Rose Tucker Fellow at the Oregon Historical Society.

Nina Wasden

Nina is graduating this spring from Portland State University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History. Having taken a lot of Black and Women's studies courses, Nina's focus in history revolves around the 19th and 20th century U.S. cultural history. After graduating in the spring, she plans on traveling for a bit, then thinking about graduate school.

Project Introduction and Methods Statement

Clackamas County, Oregon, is an environmentally and economically diverse place. A day's drive through Clackamas County could traverse quiet streets through wooded suburbs, a state highway bordered by shopping centers and industrial parks, country roads past farms and orchards, and service roads through the Mt. Hood National Forest, among many other places where people live and work.

Along the Willamette River in proximity to the Portland metropolitan area, the county's first major 19th-century settlements, Oregon City and Milwaukie, are now mid-sized cities which retain their historical roots in industry and agriculture. Along the Clackamas River and Bull Run waterways, roads and rail serving the lumber industry and hydroelectric projects fortified the development of Estacada, Sandy, and many of the county's smaller villages and hamlets during the 20th century. The Willamette Valley was and is home to farming towns and unincorporated communities which have responded to over 150 years of population, economic, and political change. In the Tualatin Valley west of the Willamette, discovery of iron ore in the early 20th century led to the residential development of Lake Oswego, now Clackamas County's largest city.

The county's diverse land uses and developments have expanded and contracted over time in response to changing economic, social, and political environments, but despite decades of growth across a varied landscape, the county's population remains (according to the 2010 census) 91% white. Recognizing that the small percentage of people of color in Clackamas County are at the greatest risk of losing access to affordable housing, we posed the historical question: ***Why is Clackamas County so white?***

Why is this question important to a conversation about housing?

Residential segregation in Oregon is a legacy of exclusionary legislation in the state's history. The region's first profound demographic shift arrived in 1843 with the Great Migration of white settlers from the midwestern U.S. Nearly one thousand white people moved to the Willamette Valley at that time and about a third of them settled in what is now Clackamas County. American settlement soon overwhelmed the Native population. Oregon City, for example, grew from one building occupied by white settlers in 1840 to seventy-five in 1843. American settlers established a "provisional government" to allocate land in the Willamette Valley in 1843. After Oregon became a U.S. Territory, Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act, which protected and extended land claims made under the Provisional Government. The act reserved land claims for white Americans and the children of white fathers and Native mothers (reflecting the fur trade origins of Oregon's non-Native settlement). Historian Darrell Millner calls the Donation Land Claim Act "by far the most devastating anti-black law passed during this era," surpassing even the exclusion laws addressed below because it excluded

African Americans from the land resources that established generational wealth from the outset (Millner, “Blacks in Oregon”).

The newly settled white majority also passed laws excluding African Americans from living in the territory and then the state in the mid-19th century, and a Black exclusion clause was included in the state constitution in 1857. Kenneth Coleman’s book *Dangerous Subjects*, a history of a Black settler living in what is now Clackamas County, explains how white colonists’ racist beliefs, economic anxiety, and xenophobia led to their use of the power of law to prohibit African American residence in the state.

Black exclusion was followed by the exclusion of Chinese immigrant laborers from the United States when Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the first law to single out a nation for such a ban. Anti-Asian sentiment continued in Oregon and in 1923 the state legislature passed the Alien Land Act, which prohibited immigrants not eligible for naturalization to own land in the state. Japanese immigrants and their American-born children were forcibly expelled from Clackamas County during WWII under Executive Order 9066. These exclusionary practices are all in Oregon’s past. But the fact that the Willamette Valley remains white (and that its residents of color are at a disproportionate economic disadvantage) is evidence that exclusionary legislation was the start of an ongoing process. Neither civil rights legislation, nor government programs created to assist Americans to rent or buy property, have undone what decades of systematic exclusion have done to establish racial barriers to housing.

Richard Rothstein’s history of housing segregation in the U.S., *The Color of Law*, provides evidence of *de jure* (legally enforced) racial segregation on a national level and describes its persistence decades after explicit discrimination was prohibited. Using Rothstein’s work as a foundation, we looked for examples of *de jure* segregation in Clackamas County’s past. An important piece of legal discrimination, racial real estate covenants, appeared in property deed records from the first half of the 20th century. Real estate developers, lending institutions, and private sellers used racial covenants to create and maintain segregated neighborhoods. In Clackamas County, some of these became and remain the county’s most affluent areas. Many historic title deeds still contain exclusionary language, although racial covenants were made illegal and unenforceable by Supreme Court order in 1948.

Some examples of de jure segregation

- explicit division of public housing developments by race
- zoning ordinances controlling lot size, value of structures, land and building use, type of housing
- legal recognition of (or failure to prevent) private covenants that exclude people of color
- property tax inequalities that overassess lower-value properties
- lack of state and local government intervention to protect people of color from violence

Some causes of de facto segregation

- racial prejudice leading to “white flight”
- fear of reduced property value
- real estate agents and advertisements steering whites into “exclusive” neighborhoods
- discriminatory lending from mortgage banks, making borrowing riskier and more difficult for people of color
- income and education suppression that concentrates people with lower incomes and educational attainment
- people of the same race “prefer to live with one another”

de facto: practices that happen in reality, even if not officially recognized or regulated by laws

de jure: practices that happen according to the law

A key piece of Rothstein’s argument is that *de jure* segregation also had indirect causes. Government failure to enforce anti-discriminatory laws allowed exclusionary practices to persist. “Race neutral” policies such as zoning ordinances affected housing affordability, while suppression of income and educational attainment based on race limited where people of color could afford to live. Significant parts of our research focused on planning and zoning which underlay how Clackamas County was developed, and on census data demonstrating demographics and income in the county over time.

Segregation is more visible in metropolitan areas with larger concentrations of population, but as Rothstein’s work shows, even small populations of African Americans in rural places have been forced to become even smaller as a result of discriminatory lending, restrictive zoning, and racial prejudice. We also addressed the history of housing discrimination against immigrants and migrant workers in suburban and agricultural Clackamas County.

Previous public history coursework on residential segregation in Portland provided local context and starting points for our archival research of deeds, ordinances, and newspapers.

Our research focused on the legal framework behind housing segregation. The small population of people of color and the geographical spread of communities in Clackamas County made it difficult (*but by no means impossible*) to research social histories.

How and where did we look for answers?

- Archival research of historic real estate deeds in the Clackamas County Recording office, which showed that properties across the county were sold with racially restrictive covenants between 1910 and 1940.
- Research of local and statewide land use and development plans, zoning ordinances, and urban growth boundaries, as well as secondary literature analyzing the effects of these policies on suburban and rural housing in the region.
- Compilation of historical overviews of Clackamas County cities, hamlets, and unincorporated places, with attention to how economic resources and transportation affected population growth and housing development. These included lumber, mining, agriculture, railways, and highways. Our community highlight pieces focus on the larger population centers in the county and were gathered largely from online sources and historical newspaper articles.
- Compilation of a list of historic Clackamas County newspapers which are searchable online. These papers provided key articles on suburban zoning, residential exclusion of Chinese workers, slum clearance, real estate advertisements for whites-only housing developments, and acts of violence against local African American residents.
- Research in Portland State University Library's collection of historic Black newspapers for place names in Clackamas County.
- Newspaper research in statewide papers *The Oregonian* and *Oregon Journal* online.
- Identification of property owners, land divisions, and structures using *Metzker's Atlas of Clackamas County* (1928) and *Sanborn* insurance maps.
- Research, analysis, and presentation of census data between 1900 and 1990, showing shifts in demographics and incomes in the county over time.
- Studies of secondary literature sources on histories of migrant labor in Oregon, the *bracero* program, and Chinese residents in the Pacific Northwest.

The results of our research in this report include:

- How exclusive suburban havens for white property owners were created and marketed in Clackamas County
- Zoning regulations which worked in concert with statewide land use laws to create and preserve low-density suburbs
- Census data demonstrating links between racial demographics, income, and educational attainment in the county
- Segregation, displacement, and exclusion of immigrants and migrant workers
- Restrictive real estate covenants which explicitly prohibited people of color from owning or occupying property

- Property ownership among and residence of people of color in Clackamas County, the use of violence to expel them, and their resistance to housing discrimination

Our inquiries are by no means exhaustive, but invite further questions, such as:

- Where were affordable public housing projects located, and were they integrated into higher-income neighborhoods?
- What neighborhoods had access to transportation and to schools, who lived there, and what housing types did they contain?
- Were property taxes assessed equitably over time, across areas with variations in assessed property value?

May this work be a starting place to investigate Clackamas County's history of residential segregation, so that future policy may help remediate it.

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Timeline

This abridged timeline includes legislation, urban development, and other events which influenced residential segregation in Clackamas County, dating from the 1840s.

1843 “Great Migration” of white settlers to the Oregon Country from the United States. About a third of the 1,000 newcomers move to the Willamette Valley in what is present-day Clackamas County.

1844 Oregon City, Clackamas County’s seat, is incorporated.

1844 Oregon’s provisional government passes the “Lash Law,” penalizing African Americans who continue to live in the territory with corporal punishment. Although the law was repealed in December 1844, Black exclusion laws persisted until invalidated by the 14th Amendment in 1868.

1850 Oregon Donation Land Act is passed, granting 320 acres of land to “every white settler or occupant of the public lands, American half-breed Indians included, above the age of 18 years, being a citizen of the United States, or having made a declaration according to law of his intention to become a citizen.”

1857 Oregon’s Constitutional Convention: Within the Oregon Bill of Rights, the state prohibits slavery while preventing Black people from owning property or living in the state. Exclusionary language remained in Oregon’s constitution until 1926, and it wasn’t until 2002 that all references to “negroes,” “mulattoes,” and “whites” were completely removed.

1859 Oregon Constitution excludes Asian immigrants from owning property in the state.

1882 The federal Chinese Exclusion Act prohibits Chinese immigration to the U.S.

1902 Devastating fires destroy homes along the Clackamas River in September.

1903 The city of Milwaukie is incorporated.

1905 The city of Estacada is incorporated on the Clackamas River. Estacada was originally founded as a camp for workers building a hydroelectric dam on the Clackamas River that would supply Portland with electricity. The Portland Railway Light and Power Company (later PEPCO

and PGE) built an electric rail line to bring workers to the river, which was initially inaccessible by road. After the dams were built, Estacada became a logging industry hub.

1910 Lake Oswego is incorporated. Formerly an industrial city founded after the discovery of iron ore in the Tualatin Valley in the 1860s, Oswego is redeveloped as an affluent suburb by the Ladd company beginning in 1910. The property owner, the Oregon Iron & Steel Company, sells lakefront lots with restrictive covenants prohibiting people of color from owning property or living there.

1911 The city of Sandy is incorporated. A significant part of Sandy's economy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was logging and sawmill operations.

1913 The city of West Linn is incorporated. Originally called Linn City, its major industries were grain and lumber mills and paper production. It was considered a political and commercial rival to Oregon City.

1919 Senate Bill 212 passes in Oregon, establishing a planning and zoning process for the state.

1922 The U.S. Congress passes the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act, which enabled states to pass local zoning regulations.

1922 Oregon City creates a City Planning Commission.

1923 Perry Ellis, an African American operator of a car wash and resident of Oregon City, is run out of town by hooded men.

1923 Oregon's Alien Land Law prohibits residents ineligible for citizenship from owning property or entering into leases. The law, modeled after California's 1913 Alien Land Law, is meant to ban land ownership by Chinese and Japanese immigrants, who are unable to become citizens under the Naturalization Act of 1870.

1933 The Roosevelt administration creates the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) to assist property owners at risk of defaulting on loans. HOLC assessed lending risk by neighborhood according to a color code that reinforced segregation strategies in red or "redlined" neighborhoods.

1933 Establishment of the National Land Use Planning Committee.

1936 Creation of the Clackamas County Planning Board.

1937 McLoughlin Boulevard opens, connecting Oregon City to Portland through Milwaukie and Gladstone, “paving the way” for Clackamas County urban development.

1938 Oregon City receives federal funds for “slum clearance.” Editorials in various Oregon newspapers, however, doubt the existence of slums in Oregon City.

1941 Clackamas Heights public housing construction begins in Oregon City, one of the state’s first federally assisted housing projects.

1942 FDR issues Executive Order 9066, authorizing the internment of Japanese Americans across the West Coast.

1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer*: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that restrictive real estate covenants cannot be legally upheld. While this brought hope that historically excluded groups might obtain access to the neighborhoods of their choice, housing discrimination persisted through other means.

1949 In Linn County, Oregon, 65 African American residents take county officials to court in housing case.

1953 Oregon’s Civil Rights Bill prohibits discrimination based on “race, religion, color, or national origin” in any place of public accommodation, including privately owned businesses. This legislation successfully overturns *Taylor v. Cohn*, 1906.

1953 Passenger and freight rail service on the electric line connecting Portland to Estacada and Cazadero is discontinued.

1956 Clackamas County votes on county zoning program.

1962 The Oregon View Manor public housing project is built in Oregon City.

1968 The federal Fair Housing Act prohibits discrimination during the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, religion, national origin, or sex. As a result, African American populations in urban centers rose from 6.1 million in 1950 to 15.3 million in 1980.

1968 *Jones v. Mayer*: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that housing discrimination violates the 1866 Civil Rights Act. Blacks could no longer be discriminated against in the sale and rental of property.

1968 The North Clackamas Human Relations Council advertises in *OR Advance Times* (a Black-owned press) offering assistance to home buyers in Milwaukie and Oak Grove. This organization appears to be a sibling to the Multnomah County Human Relations Council, which operated similarly to promote housing equity and affordability in Portland, and eventually became part of county government.

1968 The city of Wilsonville is incorporated. One of the first ferries on the Willamette River operated out of Wilsonville, connecting Clackamas County's agricultural economy with the Portland metro area.

1969 The Oregon legislature passes Senate Bill 10, which required statewide participation in land-use regulation.

1970 A 45-acre trailer court with 400 residents incorporates as "Johnson City" in Clackamas County, named for trailer court owner Delbert Johnson.

1973 Clackamas County Housing Committee and the Clackamas County Committee for Progress Through Law are formed.

1973 The Oregon legislature passes Senate Bill 100, which requires Oregon cities and counties to plan for growth using state goals and establishes the institutional structures for planning.

1977 The Oregon Court of Appeals rules on mobile home case out of Clackamas County, determining that a structure is no longer "mobile" once it is affixed to a foundation or cement slab.

1978 Voters in Clackamas, Multnomah, and Washington counties vote to establish Metro, the only regional government in which officials are elected directly. A majority of voters in Clackamas County opposed Metro.

1988 84 migrant workers are stranded in the Willamette Valley, many in Clackamas County, and are bused to Mexico in a privately funded effort (see *Statesman Journal*, Dec 16, 1988: "Church Readies Migrant Buses").

1988 Migrant workers are housed in tents during spring strawberry harvest (Albany *Democrat-Herald*, May 7, 1988: “Oregon may put up tents to house flood of migrants”).

1990 Clackamas County participates in Shatter and Street Night or S Night, a twelve-hour period to count houseless population.

1996 Massive flooding in February affects all regional waterways including the Clackamas River, Johnson Creek, and the Willamette River, damaging property and forcing evacuations.

2004 Responding to Metro’s decision to expand Portland’s urban growth boundary in 2002, Damascus residents pass Measure 3-138 in 2004, incorporating Damascus and Carver to prevent annexation of these communities. Damascus voted to disincorporate in 2016 after its city government proved unstable, with seven city managers in eight years.

2012 Clackamas County voters shift to the right.

Historic Property Deed Research in Clackamas County, Oregon



An image of Clackamas County Records Office, courtesy of Google Maps.

Searching public records of real property transactions in Clackamas County

A covenant is language in a property deed which sets forward the obligations of the owner. In the early 20th century, property developers and homeowners began to include racial covenants into deeds. These covenants, in addition to discriminatory real estate, lending, and zoning practices, prevented non-white buyers from purchasing property. Explicit racial covenants were prohibited by federal law in 1948.

Property deeds are public records available on microform at the Clackamas County Records office, 1710 Red Soils Court #110 in Oregon City, 97405. The office is open Monday through Thursday from 8:30-4:30 and from 8:30-3:00 on Fridays.

It is located in an office park just off Beaver Creek Road, which connects to county highway 213 from Interstate 205. The highway runs through a greenway of rolling oak hills, and the records office is located in a suburban commercial area, with wide streets and shopping centers.

Appointments are not necessary at the records center. There are three microform readers. Since there are no reservations, it is a good idea to bring something else to do in case you need to wait to use the equipment. Laptops are allowed.

Cell phone cameras may not be used to duplicate records. Looking up information on your phone is OK. Saving digital images to a jump drive is also not allowed. Printouts are \$.25 each and fees are collected at the end of your visit. Researchers are allowed to work unsupervised (although help is available at the front desk).

How to look up Clackamas County deed records

Property deed records and mortgage deed records are preserved on microfiche cards. The clerk will provide instructions on how to pull microfiche and how to operate the microform readers. The deed records indexes are separated into two categories: direct deeds (filed by name of deed grantor or the property seller) and indirect (by name of grantee or buyer). These are organized chronologically (1890-1910, 1911-1920, etc.) and then alphabetically by last name. The deed records themselves are organized by book and page number.

To research a *specific* property, you must have the name of either the seller or the buyer to look up in the index, which will lead to the book and page number of the particular deed. Without names, you may skip using the indexes and pick fiche from the books at random. For example, we started early in the first half of the 20th century with Book 168, which contains property records dating from about 1915-1919. The deeds in each book are roughly in chronological order but are from properties all over the county, so page 35 might have a deed for land in Estacada and page 36 in Lake Oswego.

There are thousands of microfiche in every drawer (and each fiche contains about 24-30 pages of deeds), so starting at random is like searching for a needle in a haystack. Restrictive covenants, however, surfaced quickly. Often these covenants included restrictions on land and building use as well as racial exclusion. Frequently, the longer and more detailed the deed, the more likely it is to contain a racial restriction. Most deeds use boilerplate language that becomes easy to recognize and skim through.

Deeds may be printed out directly from the microform readers. Take note of the book and page numbers, which are not always clearly visible on the printouts. Using the names of sellers and buyers, you can use the index to look up additional deeds of properties owned or sold by the same corporations, realty companies, banks, or individuals, to see if a pattern of racial exclusion was connected to those entities.

Make notes of each microfiche card used, so that no card is accidentally reviewed twice.

Researchers don't have to refile the cards, but may leave them in a basket on the desk.

We made three four-hour-long visits with three researchers each time. These searches yielded more than 20 individual deeds, with several additional Lake Oswego properties noted but left uncounted.

Be forthcoming when others ask what you're looking for; you may find information from unexpected sources! A surveyor shared his contact information and offered to send us instances of restrictive covenants that he discovered in the course of his work.

Research journal

April 23, 2019

Most of the restrictive covenants we found were on deeds for properties sold by the Oregon Iron & Steel Company in Lake Oswego. The neighborhood or plat we found most frequently was “Lake View Villas,” but other Lake Oswego neighborhoods included Bryant Acres, Lake Forest, and Rosewood. The list of covenants placed on these properties was longer than average and contained rules about access and use of the lake, prohibitions against the use of the property for making and selling spirits, and restrictions against allowing “Chinese, Japanese, or Negroes” to live there, except as servants. These dated from the 1910s through the 1930s.

Garthwick, a neighborhood of Milwaukie near Sellwood, was another example of a real estate development built for and sold to whites only.

After our first visit, we had a short list of buyer and seller names, including companies and lending institutions that appeared multiple times as sellers of racially exclusive properties, which we could use to look up additional deeds directly in the index.

May 2, 2019

Oregon Iron & Steel Company properties in Lake Oswego remained prominent in our findings. We decided to make notes of the Lake Oswego covenants but not to print any more of them out, since racial exclusion in that city had emerged as a clear pattern established by its commercial founder and needed no more detailed evidence.

However, we noted that restrictions in Lake Oswego were persistent. Properties re-sold in the area in the 1930s contained direct references in later deeds maintaining enforcement of all the same restrictions originally placed on the properties. These restrictions weren’t spelled out in later transactions—the language simply referred back to the previous deed by Book and Page number—but the implication is that racial exclusion was handed down with the property and persisted after the Oregon Iron and Steel Company was no longer involved. In the 1890s, deeds were written out longhand, while by the 1930s the records office had adopted a standardized form with entry blanks for names and property locations, reproducing already codified language in a permanently uniform way. It seemed less likely to find a restrictive covenant of any kind placed on a deed in this format, as most of the specific restrictions including racial exclusion appeared as “fine print.”

One of the fill-in-the-blank forms (from 1923) recorded a property sale from Katherine Gray to the “Harriet Tubman Club, a corporation,” in Bell View, located in Milwaukie. The Harriet Tubman Club was founded by Gray in the early 1900s and is still an active organization

run by and for African American women in Portland.¹ Gray was also founder of the Oregon Association of Women's Clubs, a parent organization for numerous Black women's groups, and owned property in Northeast Portland which has been a focus of historic preservation interest for the Black community. Significantly, her property in Milwaukie was sold to a Black women's organization in 1923 despite evidence of racial exclusion in property sales elsewhere in the city and county. There were no other records for either Katherine Gray or the Harriet Tubman Club in Clackamas County.

May 9, 2019

Searching by name did not always yield results. Of a list of four Japanese American names gleaned from the 1928 Metzker map, only two emerged from a deed index search.² There was no evidence that the sales of their properties coincided with Japanese exclusion during or after WWII or that Japanese Americans were forced to sell at greatly reduced prices. Could their properties still have required sale during WWII, when the owners certainly would have been relocated? Would white proxies or banks have stepped in to sell the properties or would the land have remained in the hands of the original owners? The deeds didn't yield any of this information.

It was just as productive to search at random as to use the indexes to select deeds for specific locations. We found additional evidence of a whites-only development in Garthwick (Milwaukie) and several racial restrictions located in rural forest communities including Mt. Hood Village and Welches. One was for property sold by the Mt. Hood Country Club, which intended to prevent new owners from renting a mountain cabin to non-white visitors.

No restrictions appeared in deeds for property sold by rail or power companies, which were also major corporate owners in early 20th-century Clackamas County, along with logging companies (which we did not find named in any property deeds, but which appear extensively on Metzker's maps of 1928). The few restrictive covenants we found in communities along rail lines or close to dam-building enterprises along the Clackamas River were in private property sales and weren't linked to industry interest.

¹ Triplett, Tasha, "Interview with Pauline Bradford" (2010), *Black United Front Oral History Project*, https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/blackunited_oralhist/1, accessed May 3, 2019.

² The Metzker atlas contains property lines across the county and last names of most property owners, as well as boundaries and owners of historic Donation Land Claims. A search of the 1928 edition revealed four Japanese American property owners by name in Clackamas County, three in Milwaukie and one in Sandy, and two Chinese American owners by name in Damascus and on the Sandy River. (Metzker, Thomas, *Metzker's County Atlas [Clackamas County, Oregon]*, Tacoma, WA: Metzker Maps, 1928, pp.10-11, 18, 24, 38.)



Map showing Clackamas County outline with sites of racially restricted property sales, circa 1914-1931, in Lake Oswego, Wilsonville, Gladstone, Oregon City, Dunthorpe, Milwaukie, Estacada, and Welches.

Findings:

Examples of restrictive language in real estate deeds:

- "...nor shall the same or any part thereof 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..." (Lake Oswego and others)
- "The granted property shall not be sold, nor in any manner disposed of to, or leased or rented or occupied or used by any persons other than of the Caucasian Race." (Estacada)
- "The occupancy or ownership of any part of the property by a Negro or Asiatic is prohibited, except that Negroes or Asiatics may be employed thereon as servants." (Milwaukie)

- "No part of the above described property or any building situated thereon shall in any way or at any time be occupied by any person not of Aryan descent and of good character." (Mt. Hood Country Club)

To have and to hold the land and rights granted to the said grantee, his heirs and assigns forever, but subject to the reservations aforesaid and to the following covenants, to-wit:

1. During the period of twenty-five years from and after the first day of January, 1914, no structure other than detached dwelling houses, and also if desired any out-buildings, which may be necessary or usual (but not in any case including hog-pens) shall be erected on the premises hereby conveyed, nor shall said premises or any building thereon be used or occupied other than strictly for residence purposes (or for church or school purposes or community club houses, and then only with the prior written consent of the grantor, its successors and assigns;) nor shall the same or any part thereof 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; nor shall any old buildings be placed on or removed to said premises; nor shall any building, or any part thereof (except as herein otherwise specified) be erected, maintained, or used for flats, apartments, stores, livery stables, dance halls or business or manufacturing purposes; nor shall any intoxicating liquor be sold or otherwise disposed of as a beverage in any place of public resort on said premises.

Example from Clackamas County Deeds, volume 150 page 355, of a racially restrictive covenant on property sold in Lake Oswego by the Oregon Iron & Steel Company, August 31, 1918. Originally founded as an industry town by the OI&SC after the discovery of iron ore in the Tualatin Valley, Oswego was incorporated in 1910 and developed as an exclusive lakeside community by its corporate owners. Today Lake Oswego is Clackamas County's largest city and one of Portland's most affluent suburbs. Its population in 2010 was 89% white.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That Katherine Gray, married, City of Portland, County of Multnomah, State of Oregon, in consideration of \$100 Dollars, to be paid by Harriet Tubman Club, a corporation duly organized and incorporated under the laws of the State of Oregon, has bargained and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said Harriet Tubman Club, a corporation, successors, heirs and assigns, all the following bounded and described real property, situated in the County of Clackamas, and State of Oregon:

Lot numbered ten (10) in block numbered five (5) in Bell View; according to the duly recorded maps and plat thereof, filed in the office of the Recorder of Conveyances of Clackamas County, Oregon.

.50p' Ill Canceled.

Bell view = Milwaukie OR

together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining, and also all her estate, right, title and interest in and to the same, including dower and claim of dower.

To Have and To Hold, the above described and granted premises unto the said Harriet Tubman Club, a corporation, successors, heirs and assigns forever. And Katherine Gray grantor, above named do so covenant to and with Harriet Tubman Club, a corporation, the above named grantees, successors, heirs and assigns that she is lawfully seized in fee simple of the above granted premises, that the above granted premises are free from all incumbrances and that she, her heirs, executors and administrators, shall warrant and forever defend the above granted premises, and every part and parcel thereof, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons whomsoever.

In Witness Whereof, she the grantor, above named, has hereunto set her hand and Seal this 20th day of February, 1923.

Katherine Gray (Seal)

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on this 20th day of February, A. D. 1923, before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, personally appeared the within named Katherine Gray, who is known to me to be the identical person described in and who executed the within instrument, and acknowledged to me that she executed the same freely and voluntarily. IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and Notarial seal the day and year last above written.

Notary Public for Oregon.
My commission expires April 1, 1925.
J. S. Doe, County Recorder.

Filed and Recorded Mar. 20, 1923, at 11:00 A.M.
C.S.

Detail of Clackamas County Deeds v. 172 p. 40, February 20, 1923, recording the Harriet Tubman Club's purchase of property in Milwaukie from Katherine Gray.³

³ Clackamas County Deed Records, v.172 p.40

Summary

Historic deed records provide evidence that real estate covenants did restrict property ownership and occupancy to whites only in Clackamas County. Even without the names of buyers or sellers that would have allowed direct searches for specific property locations, racially exclusive language still emerged quickly in random searches of countywide deed records between 1910-1940, from Wilsonville to Welches.

Clackamas County's wealthiest places were planned and regulated to be racially segregated. Most of the restrictive covenants discovered in random searches were for residential lots in Lake Oswego, a community developed by corporations to create lakefront property for whites. But our findings also showed that private owners retained the restrictions originally set by the Oregon Iron and Steel Company in successive sales, so that racial exclusion persisted in Lake Oswego for decades after corporate interest had ended.

We also identified racial exclusion in real estate covenants in Garthwick (another example of commercial influence to develop a whites-only community), Milwaukie, Gladstone, Wilsonville, and Estacada, indicating that property ownership and occupancy was restricted to whites in both urban and rural developments across the county.

Deed research, newspaper research, and *Metzker's Atlas of Clackamas County* (1928) also revealed that people of color did own and sell property in Clackamas County during the same period (circa 1910-1940). For example, Katherine Gray, an African American woman, sold property to the Harriet Tubman Club, an African American women's organization which she founded, in Milwaukie in 1923. Japanese and Chinese Americans also owned properties in Milwaukie, Oregon City, and Sandy, according to deed records and to *Metzker's Atlas* of 1928.⁴

⁴ Metzker, Thomas, *Metzker's County Atlas [Clackamas County, Oregon]*, Tacoma, WA: Metzker Maps, 1928, pp.10-11, 18, 24, 38.

The Metropolitan Setting of the Suburban Zone

In order to give a broader view of Clackamas County's history of suburban and community development, we compiled quotes documenting this growth. These quotes help visualize the county's beginnings in 1944 and extend to the 1960s, offering a closer look at how these cities came to be.

“Metropolitan Portland consists of a central city and numerous large and small incorporated places and a broad suburban zone. Scattered around [Portland] are sixteen satellite, incorporated towns and cities. The activities and welfare of the suburban dwellers are inextricably related to the cities and towns of the metropolis.” (Throop, 4)

Lake Oswego:

“Oswego, two miles south of Portland on the west bank of the Willamette River, had a population of 1,285 in 1940. Formerly a center of lumbering operations, the town now is predominantly a suburban service center. A nearby cement mill offers limited industrial employment for few persons, but it does not contribute greatly to the economy of the town.” (Throop, 8)

Gladstone:

“Six miles south of Portland at the confluence of the Clackamas and Willamette Rivers, now functions primarily as a residential town and service center.” (Throop, 8)

West Linn:

“About seven miles south of Portland, lie on the east and west banks of the Willamette River at Willamette Falls. Both places are industrial centers. West Linn is dominated by Zellerbach Paper Company plant.” (Throop, 8)

Oregon City:

“Oregon City, though a more diversified center, derives much support from the Hawley Paper Company mill in that city. Oregon City is the county seat for Clackamas County.” First wave of settlers settled near Oregon City, “at the Southern end of the metropolitan area.” The main deciding factor for this settlement was influencer, John Mcloughlin, factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver. By 1844 Oregon City was large enough to be incorporated as the first city in the Oregon Territory. (Throop, 8)

Tualatin

“Five miles south of Portland, located on the Tualatin River. It is a small rural service center and is without significant industry.” (Throop, 8)

Residential/Suburban Development

“...the major center of development within Clackamas County is located in the county’s northwest corner, and the development thins out in all directions from this area. This area within the northwest portion of the county is the county’s urban area... As the development thins out from the urban area in all directions, the land development shifts from urban type uses.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 18)

“...there are 25 quarter sections in the county’s urban area which have 299 or more dwelling units. All of these quarter sections are served by municipal sewer and water supplies and as a result have considerable multi-family development... The most densely developed quarter section in the county is in the city of Lake Oswego. This quarter section had 610 dwelling units, the majority of which were located in multi-family structures.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 18)

“The development within the portion of the county outside of the urban area can be divided into two basic areas; north along the county line and the Sandy River and then the remainder of the county. These two areas are basically different in their orientation.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 19)

Cities: Oregon City, Lake Oswego, Gladstone, West Linn, Milwaukie, Happy Valley

The area to the north and along the Sandy River has two basic orientations; suburban development and recreational development. Much of this development is spill-over from Multnomah County and is of a suburban character. As a result of the good routes of access from this area into much of Multnomah County, this portion of Clackamas County is growing quite rapidly.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 19)

“The area east of the city of Sandy along the Sandy River has substantial development along its corridor... there are many persons who live in this area who work in the Portland or surrounding areas. As a result, there is some suburban or rural type development within this narrow corridor, but as been stated, the majority of the residential development is for recreational purposes.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 19)

Cities: Mulino, Canby, Molalla, Estacada, Wilsonville, Barlow, Colton, Carver,
Outside of the urban area is the rural area, “the people who live in these areas live, shop, and work mainly within surrounding area. As a result of this, the character of the development is more rural and not as densely developed.” Much of the land in the southern part of the county is dedicated to agriculture, thus low relative density of development. There are several small

cities in non-urban parts of the county, with their major function being to provide services such as schools, shopping, employment, and many other needs of the surrounding area. A result being somewhat dense development.” (Clackamas County Planning Development, 19)

Industrial Development

Migrants were attracted to Oregon in the late 19th century because of the offer of free land. The forest industry as well, “that Portland is an important focal point for forest industry labor is evidence by the presence of recruiting offices of the principal lumber operators.” Advertising by State Commissions, local Chambers of Commerce, and sometimes private industries promoting economic opportunities encouraged growth. The development of hydroelectric power attracted new industries, thus providing economic and job opportunities for Clackamas County. Because of a decline in agricultural production in the 1930s, a need for industrial work increased at the beginning of World War II, thus new and large war industries were established in metropolitan Portland. (Throop, 18)

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Clackamas County Communities: An Overview

Located in North Central Oregon, Clackamas County is one of four counties that make up the Portland metropolitan area. Bordered by Multnomah, Marion, Wasco, Yamhill and Washington counties, Clackamas is the third most populated county in Oregon, with a population of 412,672 residents. Sixteen cities are established in the city, as well as four hamlets.

“Community Highlights” of Lake Oswego, Milwaukie, and Oregon City provide a flavor of the history of Clackamas County’s diverse communities, including a focus on each city’s demographics, culture, and economy.

Community Highlight: Lake Oswego



History

- Albert Alonzo Durham founded the settlement of Oswego in 1847, and pioneers began settling in what is now Lake Oswego in the 1850s via the Willamette River and the Oregon Trail.
- The Clackamas Indians in the region were forcibly removed in 1855 to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in nearby Yamhill County
- The discovery of ore in the region led to the development of the iron industry, and in 1865 the establishment of an iron furnace attracted industrial workers to Oswego, evolving into an industrial town.
- Oswego’s close relation to Portland led to the development of commuter transportation such as the ferries and Red Electric rail, thus an influx of population growth.
- With the growing job industry and the development of community, Lake Oswego was incorporated as a city in 1910.

- Around the 1910s, with the decline of the ore industry, developer Paul C. Murphy of the Ladd Estate Company, set out to make Lake Oswego a desirable suburb of Portland (Clover, 1).

Housing Development

During World War II, there was a population increase in Multnomah and Clackamas Counties because of the development of jobs in wartime industries, and the suburban area around Portland grew. The development of Portland as an industrial metropolis in the 20th century led to a population spillover into Clackamas County as a white upper-middle-class suburbia (Clackamas County Planning Development, 18). This was instilled with exclusive housing developments that were established throughout Clackamas County, keeping communities of Clackamas County white.

Developers saw certain communities in Clackamas County as potentially being high class suburban neighborhoods outside the Portland metropolis. Communities like **Oswego Lake Villas** were developed in order to attract an exclusive group of buyers that fit the developers' vision of an affluent, high class community. Advertisements for these communities emphasized exclusive and upper class, implying that these developments were geared towards white upper middle-class families. This elitist brand of Lake Oswego continued to be cemented through the establishment of the Oswego Country Club in the 1920s, and the **Lake Oswego Country Club District** neighborhood by instilling this idea that some people belong and others do not. Communities such as the **Forest Hills** (est. 1925) neighborhood of Lake Oswego are considered **restricted residential districts** for the **racial covenants** written into their housing deeds, as well as exclusion of specific businesses in order to maintain an upper-class image (Clover, 12). The restrictions included:

-No use, ownership, or occupancy by Chinese, Japanese, or Negroes except that persons of said races may be employed as servants by residents

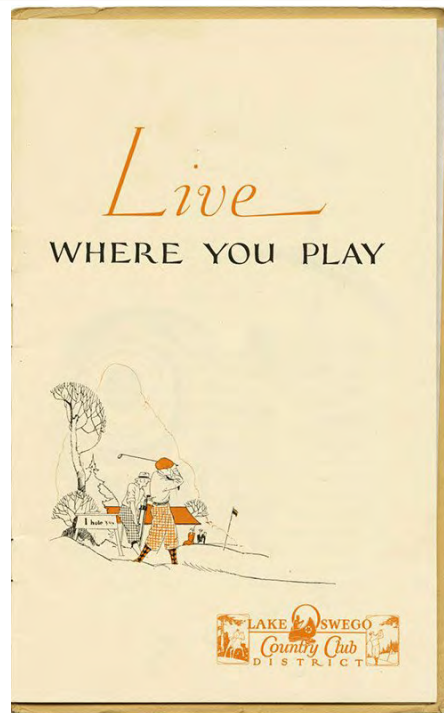
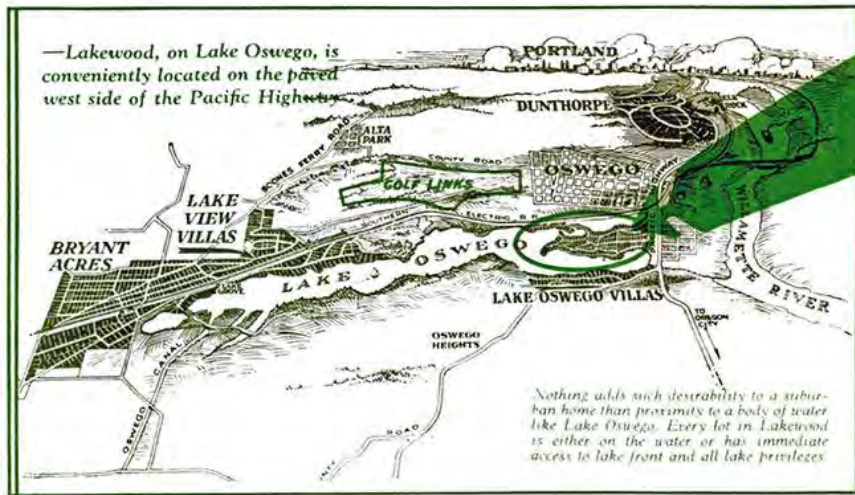
-No apartments, hotels, hospitals, sanitariums, stores, lively stables, dance halls, businesses nor manufacturing facilities

-Intoxicating liquors could not be sold or otherwise disposed of as a beverage in any place of public resort

There were also economic restrictions on the Forest Hills neighborhood, for example on certain lots dwellings could not cost less than \$4,000, thus setting a standard for what is acceptable in the community (Clover, 12). In addition, securing that the neighborhood only be accessible for people of a certain class.

Demographics

(2010 Census): 89.3% White, 0.7% African American, 0.4% Native American, 5.6% Asian, 0.2% Pacific Islander, 3.7% Hispanic/Latino



Advertisements for housing developments in Lake Oswego around the beginning of the 20th century. The Ladd Estate Company, started by William S. Ladd, president of the Oregon Iron Company, envisioned Lake Oswego as an upscale suburban neighborhood, thus began high-class housing developments around the 1910s.

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"Lake Oswego, Oregon." Wikipedia. May 29, 2019. Accessed April 11, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lake_Oswego,_Oregon.

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Community Highlight: Milwaukie



A few things to know about Milwaukie:

- It is Clackamas County's third-largest city, after Lake Oswego and Oregon City.
- According to the 2010 census, Milwaukie's population of 20,291 is 88.5% white.
- Most of Milwaukie is suburban, with detached single-family homes and one- or two-story apartments.
- It was a major shipping port on the Willamette in the 19th century and was a stop on the region's first interurban railway between Portland and Oregon City.
- Chinese farm and orchard workers are part of Milwaukie's agricultural history, including orchard foreman Ah Bing, who originally cultivated the Bing cherry.
- In the early twentieth century, some properties in Milwaukie were sold with deed covenants which restricted ownership and occupation to whites only.⁵
- Between 1908 and 1936, Milwaukie's Crystal Lake Park was segregated. African Americans were only allowed to visit one day a week.

⁵ Clackamas County Deed Records, Book 138, pp.71-72; Book 152, pp.268-269; Book 158, pp.328-329; Book 176, pp.52-53; Book 191, pp.357-358. These were retrieved by random searches of public deed records.

- Katherine Gray, the founder of the Oregon Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, sold property in Milwaukie in 1923 to the Harriet Tubman Club, another African American women’s organization which she founded.⁶
- Milwaukie and Oregon City were the first cities in Clackamas County to take advantage of federal funding to build public housing during World War II. These projects included Hillside Park in Milwaukie and Clackamas Heights in Oregon City.

History

The Clackamas Indians were the original occupants of all of present-day Clackamas County, including the Milwaukie area at the confluence of Johnson Creek and the Willamette River. By 1853, only 78 Native Clackamas people remained of the 4,650 estimated by Lewis and Clark to have lived in the region in 1805. The Clackamas were among the tribes that signed the Kalapuya Treaty of 1855, which ceded land in what are now Clackamas, Multnomah, and Columbia counties. The tribe was relocated to the Grand Ronde Reservation in 1856.⁷

In December 1847, Lot Whitcomb established the first permanent white settlement with the purchase of a nearly 600-acre Donation Land Claim. He named the new town after his hometown of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which was spelled ending in “-ie” at the time. The spelling preference may have corresponded with political affiliation, with Wisconsin Democrats favoring “-ie.” The Wisconsin city’s Whig postmaster officially adopted the “-ee” ending in 1843, and a Republican newspaper editor changed the spelling of the *Milwaukie* (Wisconsin) *Sentinel* to “-ee” in 1846.⁸

By 1850, Milwaukie had about 500 white residents and was an emerging shipping port. Its sawmills, flour mills, and shipyard competed with the nearby port cities Oregon City and Portland, and Milwaukie became a port of delivery on the Willamette in 1851. Milwaukie was incorporated as a city on February 4, 1903.

Seth Lewelling and his family, orchardists from Iowa, initiated Milwaukie’s early decades as an agricultural center in Clackamas County. Lewelling’s orchards originated the Bing cherry, named for Manchurian foreman Ah Bing in 1878. Bing supervised 30 Chinese farm workers and worked with the Lewellings for decades. He traveled to China in 1889 for a visit, but because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, he was never able to return to Oregon.

An electric rail line connected Portland to Oregon City after 1892. Built as an interurban passenger trolley, the line also carried freight, making it the first railway of its kind in the region. The train passed through downtown Milwaukie on Main Street and played an important

⁶ Clackamas County Deed Records, v.172 p.40

⁷ City of Milwaukie, Oregon, *Historical Resources*, <https://www.milwaukieoregon.gov/generalpage/historical-resources>, accessed April 16, 2019.

⁸ City of Milwaukie, Oregon, *City Facts and Trivia*, <https://www.milwaukieoregon.gov/cityrecorder/city-facts-trivia>, accessed May 24, 2019.

role in the city's growth during the first half of the twentieth century. A 1949 Milwaukie business brochure indicates the importance of the railway to the city's growth and industrial character:

*Located on the East bank of the Willamette River, just seven miles south of Portland... is the Home Town of Milwaukie, Oregon. This rapidly growing industrial minded city... is on the main line of the Southern Pacific Railroad and is connected directly with Portland and Oregon City by an electric interurban line.*⁹

German immigrant Otto Witte (or White, as his name appeared in an advertisement for the park's debut) opened Milwaukie's Crystal Lake Park on July 4, 1908.¹⁰ The eighteen-acre park between the Portland city limits and downtown Milwaukie featured a spring-fed manmade lake, picnic grounds, a dance pavilion, zoo, swimming pool, and playground. It was segregated and was only open to African American visitors one day a week. Although it was a popular recreation site for labor organizations, church groups, and the public, the park closed in 1936 after financial struggles.¹¹

McLoughlin Boulevard, a "superhighway" connecting Portland to Oregon City through Milwaukie, was dedicated on October 18, 1937. According to historian Val Ballestrem, McLoughlin Boulevard "quite literally paved the way for expanded suburban development in Milwaukie after World War II."¹² After its construction, Milwaukie's Main Street rail tracks were relocated and streetcar ridership dwindled. The interurban railway shut down in 1958. McLoughlin Boulevard became a portion of State Highway 99E in 1972, and the completion of the Portland-Milwaukie MAX Light Rail line brought electric rail back to Milwaukie in 2015. At the end of World War II, Milwaukie's population was just over 5,000. Wartime housing projects built on 32nd Avenue and north of downtown along McLoughlin Boulevard contributed dramatically to the city's growth. In the postwar era, new residential developments enlarged the city from the Ardenwald neighborhood on the Multnomah County border, south to the community of Oak Grove, and east to 82nd Avenue. Milwaukie was also home to Clackamas County's first wartime public housing projects, the Hillside and Kellogg Park apartments.¹³ Milwaukie's population tripled between WWII and 1970 and continues to grow, though now at a slower pace.

⁹ City of Milwaukie, Oregon, *Historical Resources*, <https://www.milwaukieoregon.gov/generalpage/historical-resources>, accessed April 16, 2019.

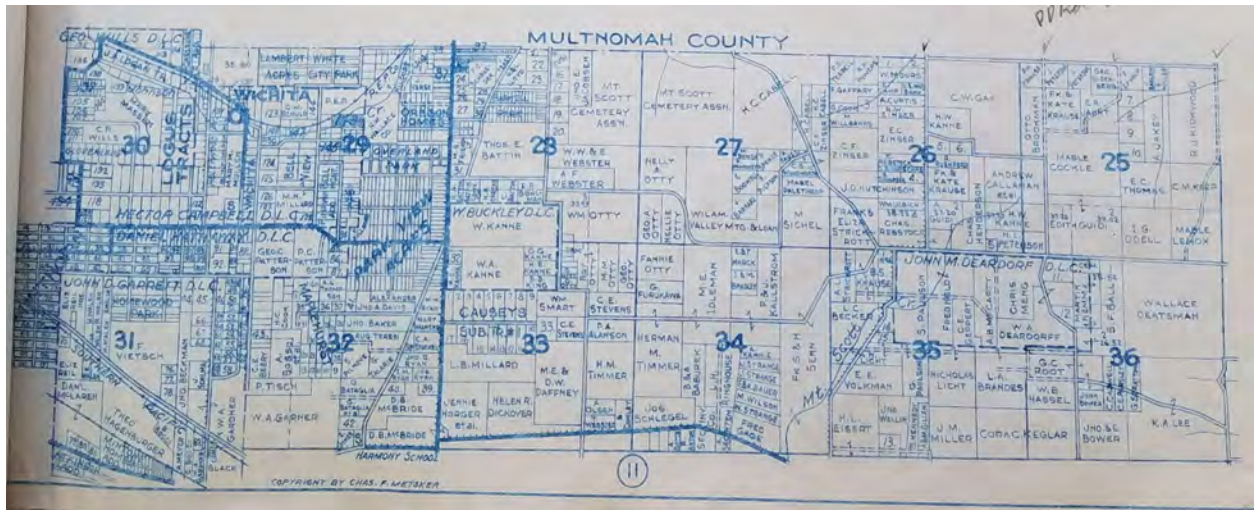
¹⁰ Advertisement, *The Oregonian*, July 2, 1908, p. 9

¹¹ Milwaukie Museum, *History Timeline*, <http://milwaukiemuseum.com/timeline/>, accessed April 16, 2019.

¹² Ballestrem, Val, "Milwaukie," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, <https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/milwaukie/>, accessed April 25, 2019.

¹³ "Housing Units Rented," *The Oregonian*, July 14, 1942, p.13

In 2000, the population was 90% white, 0.95% African American, 0.94% Native American, 2.36% Asian, 0.25% Pacific Islander, and 2.94% mixed; Latinx of any race were 3.97% of the population. In 2010, the racial makeup of the city was 88.5% white, 1.3% African American, 1.3% Native American, 2.5% Asian American, 0.3% Pacific Islander, and 3.6% from two or more races; Latinx of any race were 7.0% of the population.¹⁴



Detail of Metzker’s Atlas of Clackamas County, 1928, p.10, showing residential township in Milwaukie northeast of the central city. The Harriet Tubman Club purchased property from Katherine Grey in 1923 in “Bell View” (section 29). Japanese Americans T. Takemoto, Kamesuke Katoe, and George Furukawa also owned property in this township in 1928 (sections 31 and 34, respectively).¹⁵

¹⁴ “Milwaukie, Oregon,” *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milwaukie,_Oregon, accessed April 16, 2019.

¹⁵ Metzker, Thomas, *Metzker’s County Atlas [Clackamas County, Oregon]*, Tacoma, WA: Metzker Maps, 1928, p.10.

Friendly assistance is available to families who are interested in buying homes in the Milwaukie-Oak Grove area. For information, contact the housing committee of the North Clackamas Human Relations Council, 771-8833.

A classified advertisement placed in the Oregon Advance Times, a Black-owned newspaper in 1968, by the North Clackamas Human Rights Council, offering home-buying assistance in Milwaukie and Oak Grove to its Black readership.¹⁶

¹⁶ Clackamas Human Rights Council, advertisement, *Oregon Advance Times*, Portland, OR: September 19, 1968, p. 7, <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/oregonadvance/18>

WARRANTY DEED

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That Fidelity Realty Co., a corporation duly organized and incorporated under the laws of the State of Oregon, in consideration of Ten Dollars, to be paid by Ole Olson does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey to said Ole Olson, _ heirs and assigns forever, the following described parcel of real estate, situate, lying and being in the County of Clackamas, and State of Oregon, to-wit:

Lots Nos. Thirty-four (34) and Thirty-five (35) Block No. Twelve (12), of Overland Park, according to the Plat thereof on file in the office of the Recorder of Clackamas County, Oregon, and recorded in Vol. 17 of Plats at Page 24, situated in the County of Clackamas, State of Oregon.

Subject to the following restrictions, which shall be binding on the grantee, his heirs, successors, administrators and assigns, to-wit:

1.-At no time shall any part of the said land be used or occupied for the manufacture, brewing, distilling or sale of spirituous or malt liquors, nor shall the said lots, or any part thereof, or any building erected thereon at any time hereafter, be used or occupied as a bone-boiling establishment, tannery, slaughter house, glue, soap, candle, starch, or gunpowder manufactory, or for any other offensive or dangerous purposes.

2. That the said lots or buildings thereon shall never be rented, leased or sold, transferred or conveyed to, nor shall the same be occupied by any negro or colored person or person of negro blood, or persons of the Mongolian race.

3. That no signs for advertising purposes shall be erected or placed thereon.

4. That all buildings erected thereon shall be placed and set back not less than ten feet (10') from the street line, provided that steps, windows, porticoes and other projections appurtenant thereto may be within said distance.

5. That there shall not be erected upon any portion of said premises any dwelling costing less than Fifteen Hundred Dollars (\$1,500.00).

Together with the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereto belonging, or in anywise appertaining; and also all its estate, right, title and interest, at law and equity, therein and thereto.

To Have and To Hold the same to the said Ole Olson, _ heirs and assigns forever. And the said Fidelity Realty Co. does covenant with the said Ole Olson and his legal representatives forever, that the said real estate is free from all incumbrances, and that it will, and its successors shall, Warrant and Defend the same to the said Ole Olson _ heirs and assigns forever, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons whomsoever.

In Witness Whereof, Fidelity Realty Co., pursuant to a resolution of its Board of Directors, duly and legally adopted, has caused these presents to be signed by its President, and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed this 9th day of November, A.D. 1921.

Example of a restrictive covenant in a property sale of two lots in Overland Park (Milwaukie) on November 9, 1921. "2. That the said lots or buildings thereon shall never be rented, leased or sold, transferred or conveyed to, nor shall the same be occupied by any negro or colored person or person of negro blood, or persons of the Mongolian race."¹⁷

¹⁷ Clackamas County Deed Records, v. 191, p. 357.

Community Highlight: Oregon City



History

- First wave of settlers in the Oregon Territory settled in what is now Oregon City in 1829, establishing industries such as fur and lumber. As chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, John McLoughlin played a key role in establishing Oregon City as an industrial powerhouse on the West Coast.
- With several booming industries, a community started to develop, and Oregon City was incorporated into the state of Oregon in 1844, and appointed the county chair of Clackamas County.
- With the increase of overland migration and the establishment of several mills in the territory, Oregon City reached a population of approximately 900 in 1849
- In the 1850s steamboats on the Willamette River was a large industry that aided the agricultural production in the Willamette Valley by transporting goods along the river
- The economy shifted from service and shipping based to manufacturing in the 1860s with the establishment of the flour, wool, and paper mills in Oregon City.
- The Oregon and California Railroad Company began laying tracks in Portland in 1868, the tracks led south down the Willamette and across the Clackamas River, arriving in Oregon City, opening up the Willamette Valley to shipping ports in the north
- During the Progressive Era, the timber and wood industries were the largest employers not only in the city, but the county as well

- In 1889, the establishment of electricity through power lines from Portland, leading to the development of electric railways made commuting to Portland from Oregon City possible, thus encouraging community growth in Oregon City
- After the Great Depression and World War II, Oregon City's lumber industry recovered and new residential neighborhoods were established due to a boom in the housing market. Oregon City's downtown had commercial growth, as new businesses developed in the city

Relationship with Indigenous People

Oregon City was the end of the Oregon Trail, thus being a final destination for many settlers although the land was already inhabited and home to Native Indian tribes such as Clowwewalla, Cashhooks, Molalla and Clackamas tribes. The white settlers met these native communities with hostility, for example in the 1840s, as the community began to grow, there were two stores in town: missionary Rev. Walker's "Christian store" and John McLoughlin's "heathen store" which was a trading post for Indians. In addition, Oregon City's *The Spectator's* first editorial expressed exclusive and prejudice language, encouraging violence upon indigenous people, in order for the city to flourish: "be sure you are right then go ahead. Our advice is to dig up the stumps, grade the streets, tax dogs, prohibit hogs- and advertise in the Spectator." Over time, the indigenous population of Oregon City has become smaller and smaller, to the Native population only making 0.9% of the population of Oregon City today. (Welsh, William D.)

Housing Development

"The area to the north and along the Sandy River has two basic orientations; suburban development and recreational development. Much of this development is spill-over from Multnomah County and is of a suburban character. As a result of the good routes of access from this area into much of Multnomah County, this portion of Clackamas County is growing quite rapidly." (*Land Use Study, Clackamas County, Oregon*) With the development of rail lines and passenger ferries, Oregon City, similar to other Clackamas towns and cities north of the Sandy River, is considered suburban and recreational development that is spillover from the Portland metropolitan area. Because of its proximity to Portland, Oregon City developed rapidly in the 20th century, specifically during World War II. Jobs in industries that supported the war effort brought about workers and their families, thus the need for housing. Developers decided to create housing developments in Oregon City, however housing opportunities were exclusive to white families, and often used exclusionary practices such as racial covenants in home deeds and advertised their developments specifically to upper class white people. This is evident in tract home communities such as **Clackamas Heights** and **Falls Views**, where advertisements for these communities endorsed the idea elitist, high class, and exclusive locations to live.

Demographics

(2010 Census): 91.1% White, 0.6% African American, 0.9% Native American, 1.7% Asian, 0.2% Pacific Islander, 7.3% Hispanic/Latino

Falls View Addition to Oregon City.
The Most Rapidly Selling.
80 LOTS SOLD

In the last sixty days. Examine the record. Very slightly, adjoins the best improved part of town; also convenient to the manufacturing part. Don't fail to look at it before purchasing. Terms very easy.

**21 HOUSES NOW BUILDING
ON THE TRACT.**

WLLIAMS & PORTER,
Office near Post Office. Agents.

"CLACKAMAS HEIGHTS"

"CLACKAMAS HEIGHTS" is divided into 70, two and one half, and five acre tracts. It is located on the heights overlooking the Clackamas; hence its name, it is about One mile from Court House and One-half mile from the city limits. The County road crosses "CLACKAMAS HEIGHTS" which makes it easy of access being about 20 minutes walk from the centre of Oregon City.

CLACKAMAS HEIGHTS lies in Oregon City School district and purchasers can have the advantage of sending their children to a good, graded public school. The Soil is good, the Location very healthful, all Fruits and Vegetables yield abundantly. Terms one-third down, and balance in one year at 8 per cent. For further particulars inquire of
E. E. CHARMAN, CITY DRUG STORE.

Above are snippets of ads for new housing developments from Oregon City's The Enterprise. Take note of the language displayed in the ad, describing these houses as adjoining "the best improved part of town..." attracting a specific resident and highlighting the differences between neighborhoods.

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Land and Conflict: The Genesis of Housing Discrimination in Oregon

The study of housing discrimination in Oregon begins with the expulsion and forced relocation of Indigenous people that occupied the region prior to European contact. In 1844, the Oregon Provisional Government determined that, “any person refusing to pay tax...shall have no benefit of the laws of Oregon, and shall be disqualified from voting at any election in this country.” Indigenous populations did not pay taxes, therefore they did not have access to the benefits of Provisional Government (Lewis, 73). Provisional laws gave few protections to Indigenous populations. Settlers commonly took lands from Indigenous people under the assumption that “Indians did not own land.” Many settlers also believed that Indians had no concept of government, and really were not ‘civilized.’ Because of such beliefs, settlers ignored the rights of Native communities (Lewis, 73-74).

By removing Natives who lived in what is now Clackamas County to reservations, the federal government established white occupancy as legally preeminent. In 1855, the government forced Kalapuya and Molalla people to move from the Willamette Valley to the Grand Ronde Agency. (Lewis, 93) The Clackamas and northern Kalapuya were resettled to Yamhill Valley in 1856, after having been previously been relocated to temporary reservations near their homeland (Lewis, 92).

The removal of Native Americans from traditional lands, and the exclusion and removal of black people, freed and enslaved, became integral to territorial legislation and ensured the dominance of Anglo-American populations (Coleman, 39). Settler colonists’ vulnerabilities about the availability of land claims, and fears of possible collaboration between blacks and native populations, led to the implementation of exclusion laws by the Provisional Government for the Oregon Territory in 1844 and 1849 (Coleman, 9-10). Conflicts between Anglo-American settlers and Indigenous populations, including the Rogue River, and Modoc Indian wars between 1850 and 1873, illustrate the rising tensions over land and culture. Indigenous tribes were considered to be the aggressor in these conflicts when they attempted to protect rights under Indian law.

The federal government and volunteer militias organized by private citizens committed violence against perceived aggressors that exceeded mere retaliation. Murder and genocide characterized the actions of these groups (Lewis, 80). For example, in 1850, Tiloukaikt, Tomahas, Kiamasumpkin, Iaiachalakis, and Klokomas, five Cayuse Chiefs who were present at the Whitman massacre were captured by the territorial militia. They were put on trial in Oregon City on May 21, 1850. No law in Oregon was applicable to the crimes brought against the Cayuse, as the laws of the United States did not pertain to the territory. While the lawyers representing the Cayuse argued to defer the indictment, as well as against the change of venue to Oregon City, which was hostile to Native Americans, Judge Orville C. Pratt allowed the trial to

continue. Tiloukaikt, Tomahas, Kiamasumpkin, Iaiachalakis, and Klokomas were found guilty and publicly hung. (Lewis, 82; Lansing, 2018)

The people here are the hardest set of men I ever saw, and the most thorough Indian haters anybody ever saw. They will turn out at any time of night and in any kind of weather to pursue a "hostile track," and relish a "brush" with a "red skin" as well as a good dinner. They hold that no man can be a true Oregonian until he has killed an Indian. But they have never had any trouble with them since the thorough drubbing they gave the Cayuses after the Whitman massacre, and there is now no more danger here than there is in Massachusetts. Five were hung at this place a few months since for participating in the Whitman murder, and three more are awaiting their trial for similar offences, and will doubtless meet the same fate. When an Oregonian catches a hostile Indian, it is "all day" with him, sure. There are plenty of the friendly tribes constantly strolling about the village, lazy and worthless, but as inoffensive and harmless as sheep. They are fast disappearing under the influence of disease, principally venereal, which has become almost universally hereditary. Children of five or six years are found with inveterate cases of it, and its appearance even at the birth is not an uncommon thing. They know nothing about curing it, and physicians say that it is destined eventually to sweep them from the country. Their fate is a melancholy one, but it seems to have been ordered by an all-wise Providence.

An excerpt from a letter to the editor by Asahel Bush, publisher of the Oregon Statesman and a key political figure in Oregon's first years, on the hanging of the five Cayuse chiefs in Oregon City. "Matters in Oregon." Pittsfield Sun. January 9, 1851.

At the turn of the 20th century, Native people in Oregon were isolated on reservations and living within a system that drastically curtailed their access to housing, economic resources, and education. When approached through this lens, the larger scope of housing and land policy inequity becomes clear; the history of the entire state, and the country at large, is based upon controlling where non-white residents could live.

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Migrant Labor in Oregon: A Snapshot from 1958

Several studies commissioned by Oregon Governor Robert Holmes on the state of migrant labor in Oregon paints a broad picture of migrant labor in Oregon in the late 1950s. At the time, migrant labor employment in the state was the 6th highest in the nation, and migrant laborers worked 1/3 of the seasonal agricultural man-days in the state. These studies suggest that in Clackamas County, and in Oregon as a whole, both the quality and amount of housing for migrant laborers was thoroughly inadequate.

- Oregon was a top 10 employer of migratory laborers in 1956 and 1957: 7th with 20,411 in 1956, 6th with 19,825 in 1957 (4)
- In Clackamas County, 310 farms reported that migrant laborers worked 22% of seasonal agricultural man-days in 1957 (8)
- Those farms had housing for 1,600 workers in families, and 133 single men (34)
- However, 75% of farms in the county did not provide housing – so where were other migrant workers living? (34)
- A partial list of major housing camps for migratory laborers doesn't list any in Clackamas County (35)
- Most migrant workers in Clackamas County likely lived in one-room units in smaller camps, which the report found had worse sanitation than larger camps (36)
- 95 cases of migrants on public welfare in Clackamas County
- Average pay per day in Clackamas County was \$3.75, below the state average of \$5.37. (29)
- In 1958, the only county that employed braceros was Jackson County – a fact that the report explicitly linked to a lack of family housing for domestic workers (11)

According to the legislative report, at least 21.8% of migrant laborers working in the state spoke Spanish. A report released by the Oregon Bureau of Labor in 1958 created a profile of Spanish-speaking migratory laborers (not including braceros). This report had no specific findings for Clackamas County, but illustrates the situation faced by Hispanic migrant laborers in the late 1950s, several years before the creation of the Valley Migrant League.

- Between 11 and 12 thousand Spanish-speaking migrant workers in Oregon in 1957
- 10% were permanent residents of the state (6)
- Spanish-speaking immigrants new to the country were preferred by farmers because they were “less demanding” (5)
- Across the state, housing was “below any reasonable standard,” and most families lived in one-room units
- No English-language or literacy programs available (20)
- “Extremely tense” relationships between migrant workers and communities in which they worked (21)

- Spanish-speaking migrant workers frequently faced hostility and lack of acceptance from communities, and were segregated as to where they could go and what they could do (21)
- Law enforcement often saw Spanish-speaking migrant workers as potential lawbreakers, and tended to arrest them for misdemeanors much more frequently towards the end of agricultural seasons (22)
- Civil rights violations in the form of unfair hiring practices, housing, and public accommodation were recorded across the state (23)

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Migrant Laborers in Clackamas County: A Lackluster Legacy of Assistance

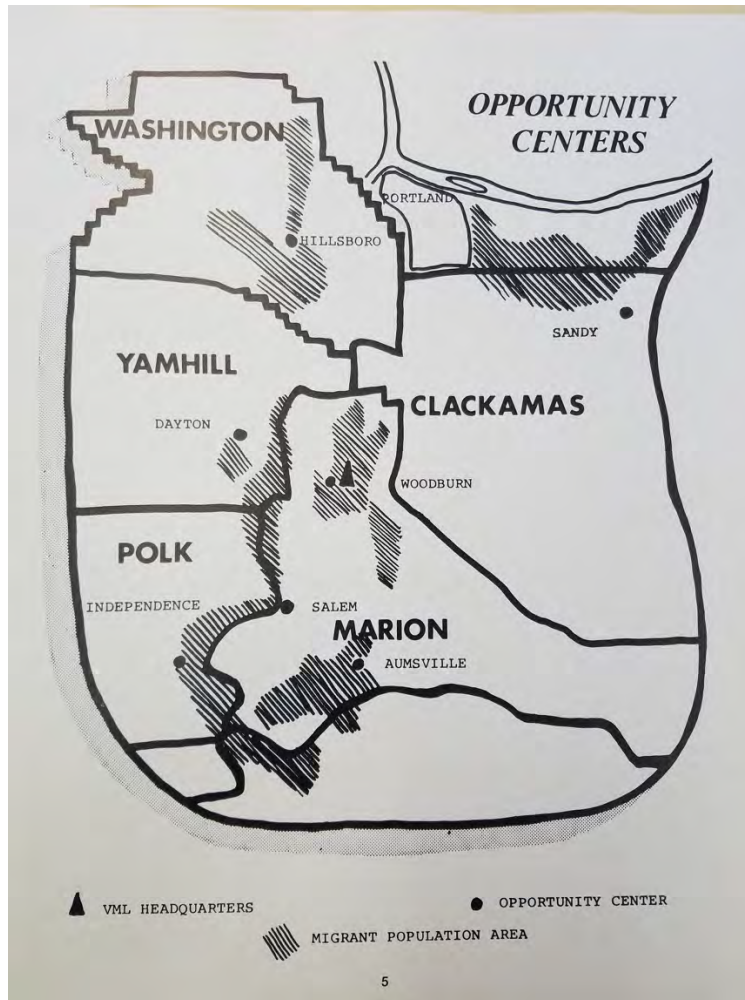
Given how important agriculture is to Clackamas County, we have treated housing for migratory agricultural laborers as a separate category. In Clackamas County, migrant laborers often lived on the farms at which they worked, in encampments set aside specifically for migrant laborers, or even in the county's towns and cities.

Some things to know about housing issues & migratory labor in Clackamas County:

- Until implementation of the Bracero Program in 1942, most agricultural workers in Oregon -referred to in documents and policy from the time as “migrant” laborers- were white US citizens (Jerry Garcia, “Latinos In Oregon”). Their housing needs were often served by the farmers they worked for.
- The term “Migrant laborer” encompassed a broad group of people from a variety of racial, social, and ethnic backgrounds. As the government defined it, migrant laborers were those that traveled seasonally and primarily picked produce during various growing seasons. This included Russian, Spanish speaking, Japanese, Chinese, and other immigrant groups, as well as black and Caucasian American citizens (Kathy Tucker, “Valley Migrant League”). After 1942, agricultural labor demographics shifted to more heavily include Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants solicited to work via deals brokered between the United States and Mexican governments as part of the aforementioned Bracero Program.
- The **Valley Migrant League** was founded in 1965, with a mandate to raise the quality of life for Oregon’s migrant laborers, through federal funds allocated as part of the War on Poverty. They operated throughout Oregon, including Clackamas County.

During the Civil Rights era, a rising national focus on economic improvement for the poor - dubbed the “War on Poverty”- prompted the Lyndon Johnson administration to make a number of major policy changes designed to aid laborers nationwide (McAndrews, 1-27). Being among the poorest of the poor, the Office of Economic Opportunity targeted migrant workers as being in particular need of assistance (Impact of Federal Programs, 15-23). The number of farms were shrinking, as was the need for farm work. Mechanization and concentration of farm land ownership reduced the need for migrant labor (Berardi, 485). Seasonal laborers were already poor, and the government recognized that it was necessary to intervene in order to assist agricultural laborers in transitioning from seasonal, transitory work and into stable jobs with permanent residence. In Oregon, this manifested in the creation of the **Valley Migrant League**

in 1965. With a mandate to raise the quality of life for migrant laborers, it received federal funds and provided direct services to agricultural laborers until 1974. In the 1960s and 70s, migrant workers in Clackamas County appear to have been concentrated around Sandy, based on a map created by the Valley Migrant League in 1967.



Migrant families likely lived temporarily on the farms where they worked, with some farmers even building housing on site. The nature of this relationship tied housing for migrant laborers directly to their access to the particular sort of work they carried out. As opposed to independent, lone laborers, many migrant workers during this time appear to have traveled in family groups; this is indicated by records showing service statistics on a family basis.

The Office of Economic Opportunity funneled money into migrant economic aid programs with the specific purpose of increasing their quality of life and enabling the transition from seasonal, low paying subsistence work and into stable, permanent residence at higher wages. To this end, the Valley Migrant League established regional “opportunity centers.” **In Clackamas County, the opportunity center was in Sandy.** These opportunity centers offered,

among other things, educational services for children and adults; while a variety of subjects were taught, there was particular interest in language courses for non-English speakers. This flowed directly into specific job training programs, which worked through local business partners to retrain migrant laborers into stable, non-seasonal work.

In addition to educational and vocational services **designed to promote in-state residence**, the Valley Migrant League was also liaison to connect migrant workers with low interest home loans through the Farmers Home Administration. Like many other such programs targeted at specific demographics, the purpose was to grant seasonal laborers access to capital which would enable them to purchase property. In the case of migrant labor, the added wrinkle was that permanent residence pulled them from transitory lifestyles and into stationary occupations.

New Homes For Farm Workers

"The walls are up — the roof is half finished— we'll be in our new house in a few weeks." Jean O'Neil smiles, thinking of a dream nearly come true.

The O'Neils were migrant workers, now they are settled, and moving soon to a home of their own. The hope of a new home began last January when a group of settled farm workers met at the Opportunity Center to see if they could qualify for Farmer's Home Administration loans.

FHA loans money to low income families to build new homes or to buy and remodel older homes, such as the one a family is already renting.

Three farm working families in Sandy then applied for loans to build their own homes. The Wesley Bond, the Bob O'Neil and the Albert Bash families each have been loaned \$8400. They are building small three bedroom houses on one acre of land. Each family will pay \$53.00 a month for ten months of the year. The FHA loan is for 33 years at 5 per cent interest. In addition each family will put aside \$20.00 each month to cover the cost of fire insurance and taxes.

Said Bob O'Neil, "We've had to live in lots of places. Now at last we are moving to a new home of our own."



Promotional material from the Valley Migrant League featuring the O'Neill family, migrant workers loaned \$8,400 to build a home.

The Valley Migrant League, through the mandates of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was a direct tool for increasing the diversity of Clackamas County by enabling low income, non-white people to permanently settle in the county. But the effectiveness of these

programs in creating paths for minority families to permanently settle appears to have been mixed. A snapshot of information pulled from Valley Migrant League documents shows that, while an increasing number of non-white people did utilize these services to gain more stable residence, services remained in greater demand than could be administered, and ultimately fell to drastically lower levels as federal funding priorities shifted away from migrant aid programs by the late 1970s.

Documents from the OHS Valley Migrant League collection indicate that a very small number of families using their services were able to access home assistance. It is unclear how many of those went to families that were not Caucasian, but it is likely they were even fewer in number. From January 1966 – March 1967, for example, records show that only 19 migrant families were “settled” in the Sandy region. Of those 19, 10 received housing assistance. While they do not indicate the racial or ethnic makeup of those families, the lack of capacity to serve migrants regardless of race or nationality would seem to have drastically limited the number of non-whites able to gain permanent residence through those programs.

MIGRANT FAMILIES SETTLED BY AREA JAN. 1966 - MAR. 1967		
	<i>Families Settled</i>	<i>Housing Assistance thru VML</i>
Aumsville	70	10
Dayton	52	12
Hillsboro	76	11
Independence	51	12
Salem	34	17
Sandy	19	10
Woodburn	41	21
Total	343	93

By the late 70s, the Valley Migrant League had been renamed, then rebranded, and ultimately refocused as Oregon Rural Opportunities, which closed in 1979 (Garcia, “Latinos in Oregon”).

This tells us that, despite clear goals to establish migrant laborers as permanent residents of the state, economic opportunity programs were a mixed success at best, while prioritized, and offer a further piece of the picture as to why Clackamas County has stayed so

white: the time, energy, and resources of government programs- designed specifically for the purposes of making migrant laborers able to settle in Oregon- were minimally effectively and only partially focused on expanding those opportunities to non-whites.

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“Makeshift Chinatown”: A Chinese Community in Lake Oswego

The Chinese population of Clackamas County in the late-19th century lived largely in Oregon City and Lake Oswego, where they were employed by mining and manufacturing companies and landowners as early as the 1860s (Wong, 153). In Lake Oswego, the Oswego Iron and Steel Company employed several hundred Chinese men through the 1890s – approximately half of their labor force, at times (“The Oswego Iron Works”).



Chinese railroad workers working on the O&C railroad, south of Portland. Oregon Historical Society, Folder 238-A.

That Lake Oswego, and many other towns across the West Coast, were discriminatory environments for their Chinese residents is clear from both newspapers and legislation. The passage of the 1870 Naturalization Act, which banned the naturalization of any immigrants of non-white or African descent, was followed in 1882 by the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited the entrance of any Chinese ‘laborers’ into the country. Both acts were products of an anti-Chinese sentiment found in every state, including Oregon.

In 1867, rumors that the Oregon Iron Company would be hiring Chinese workers to haul ore and cut wood led to a spate of anti-Chinese editorials and articles printed in local newspapers as well as those in towns as far away as Marysville, California (“Oregon Iron Chronicles”). In 1886, when the Pacific Construction Company hired seventy Chinese men to work on Narrow Gauge Road, in Lake Oswego, both a ‘Merchants’ and Laboring Men’s Anti-Coolie League’ and the Clackamas County commissioner threatened the workers with violence. The company, eager to keep costs low, offered very temporary protection to the workers, but

warned that “if they wished to stay after that time they [would] do so at their own risk” (Wong, 42-43).

A BLIGHT ON OSWEGO.—The Oregon Iron Company have sent Chinese to Oswego to carry on the work of getting out ore, preparing wood for coal, etc. It may be right, but at all events we fail to see any advantages the State will gain by the movement. The people of Oswego remonstrated against the plan of the Company in respectful terms. We quote from their protest:
Resolved. That judging from our experience in other localities, the fact has been demonstrated that the introduction of Chinese, as laborers or residents, has proved a scathing blight upon every city, town or hamlet where they have been introduced upon this coast.

This excerpt of a lengthy article printed in the Oregon City Enterprise, April 13, 1867, as well as the Oregonian, is illustrative of attitudes towards Chinese residents, especially low-paid Chinese workers in the area.

Discrimination against Chinese residents of Lake Oswego was not restricted to explicit threats of violence, but also to issues like housing. Despite making up a large, long-term labor force in the city, Chinese workers appear to have had very limited housing options. The Oswego Iron and Steel Company constructed housing for its workers as early as 1870, and one of its owners, William Ladd, would go on to fund restricted housing across Lake Oswego in the early 20th century (Eastman, “Iron Beginnings”). It seems unlikely that any Chinese workers lived in company-constructed housing, however, as records indicate the existence of a “makeshift Chinatown” at the edge of the “Old Town” area in modern Lake Oswego that existed at least through the 1890s, as well as a possible second neighborhood along the river (Stuart, 30, 122).

One resident of Lake Oswego recalled the men who lived there as “old fellows in shacks” who “lived by themselves” (Stuart, 30). The Chinatown was demolished sometime after the 1890s, and no artifacts or archaeological evidence of it is known to have been preserved (Stuart, 122). Marie Rose Wong noted that the Chinese population of the western states decreased between 1890 and 1910, but increased in Portland during the same period, and hypothesized that some residents of nearby cities might have come to Portland looking for a less discriminatory environment (Wong, 160). In the case of Lake Oswego’s Chinese residents, that likely included access to housing.

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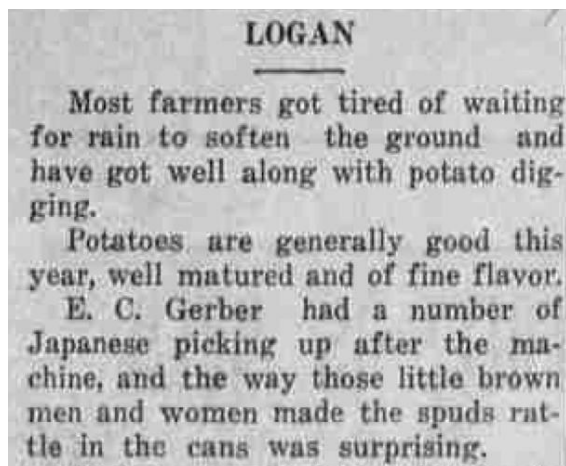
Truck Gardeners: Japanese Americans in Clackamas County

In 1940, Clackamas County had the 5th largest Japanese population in the state: 163 men and women, $\frac{2}{3}$ of whom were American citizens (Department of Commerce, 32). In May of 1942, all people of Japanese ancestry were ordered to leave Clackamas County and Multnomah County and report to internment camps. In places like Clackamas County, where Japanese Americans played a significant role in the agricultural economy, this forced relocation was motivated by a longstanding fear that white Oregonians were 'losing' farmland to Japanese farmers. The Ku Klux Klan successfully lobbied the Oregon legislature to pass the Alien Land Act in 1923, which prevented the purchase of land by *Issei*, first-generation Japanese immigrants.



DEBATING SOCIETY
FORMED AT SHUBEL

Local historian Vera Martin Lynch wrote that the county never had “a Japanese problem” - by which she meant a large Japanese population (407). It’s true that the Japanese population of Clackamas County remained relatively low, likely in part because of the Immigration Act of 1924, which barred Asian immigrants from entering the country. But there is also evidence of a long-standing, widespread anti-Japanese sentiment in Clackamas County that no doubt would’ve dissuaded some people from staying in the area.



LOGAN

Most farmers got tired of waiting for rain to soften the ground and have got well along with potato digging.

Potatoes are generally good this year, well matured and of fine flavor.

E. C. Gerber had a number of Japanese picking up after the machine, and the way those little brown men and women made the spuds rattle in the cans was surprising.

Local newspapers from the early-twentieth century frequently referred to Japanese Americans, including their own neighbors as “little brown men and women.”

In 1907, the very first issue debated by a newly-formed debate society in the community of Shubel was the question of Japanese exclusion. After the debate, the judges “decided it would be wisdom on the part of the government to exclude the little brown men.”

Fifteen of the Shubelites met in the school house Saturday night and organized a debating society. David Moehnke was elected president, John Bluhm, vice-president; Rae Kirbyson, secretary and Luke Duffy, treasurer. The question chosen for debate next Saturday night: “Resolved that the government should own and control the railroads.” The leaders are Ab. Thomas, affirmative; Robert Ginther, negative. The Japanese exclusion question was discussed at the meeting Saturday night and the judges decided that it would be wisdom on the part of the government to exclude the little brown men. Robert Ginther led the affirmative, G. A. Shubel, the negative.

Like the Chinese residents of Lake Oswego, Japanese residents of Clackamas County created communities in an often-hostile environment. The 1928 edition of Metzker’s Atlas of the county shows a cluster of Japanese homeowners in Milwaukie. Several other families farmed in the unincorporated community of Springwater, prior to World War II (Lynch, 406). These farmers tended towards truck farming or ‘truck gardening,’ growing produce to sell at local markets, often on small-acreage farms with new crops planted every season. Lynch noted that this method, which requires intensive cultivation and fertilization, was generally practiced by immigrants in the area (407).

Although many Japanese Americans were unable to return to their homes and businesses after the war, having had to sell them or had them stolen during their internment, 69% of Japanese Oregon returned to their hometowns. As of 2000, 85% of Oregonians with Japanese ancestry live in just eight counties in the state, of which Clackamas County is one (Katagiri). Others moved to eastern Oregon, which was excluded from the evacuation orders.

One resident of the community of Carver, Joe Saito, whose farm had struggled to recover after the Depression, moved with his family to Ontario, Oregon, in 1934 (Sifuentez, 36-38). Saito’s son, Joe Saito Jr., recalled their farm in Carver in an interview with Densho:

“In Clackamas County we were just growing up and it was my dad's farm. It was truck gardening. My dad had a reputation of raising *gobo*, which is cane burdock, and he had, one of his nicknames was Gobo Saito, 'cause we lived on a sandy piece of ground and *gobo* grew three or four feet long. It was beautiful, a beautiful product. So we grew parsnips, we grew carrots and onions and spinach and lettuce and cauliflower, celery, berries... we grew quite, everything, I think, except tree fruits, at one time or another. We lived on a place on the Clackamas River that got flooded every winter, and some years the floods were quite bad and being, we were harvesting vegetables all the time, when the water gets so high coming off Mount Hood we would flood out. After so many years of that, I think my dad decided he'd had enough of it. We were buying a farm as, and as *Issei* traditionally did, well, they had to buy a farm through

somebody else. One of our friends in Portland was buying the farm for us, in their name. But we gave it up partways through the contract and came to Ontario.”

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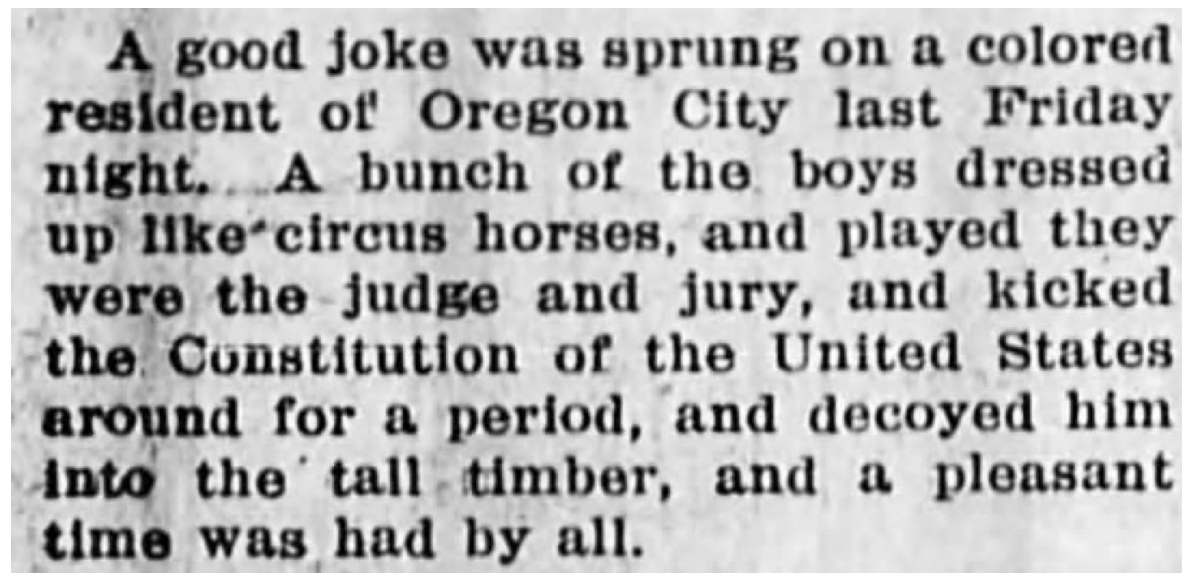
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Direct Violence

Direct violence injures or kills people quickly and dramatically, whereas structural violence is much more widespread and kills far more people by depriving them of satisfaction of their basic needs....direct violence is supported by the culturally violent notion of just war theory, which argues that under certain conditions, it is acceptable to kill others (e.g., defense of the homeland)” (Christie and Cooper, “Peace Psychology”).

This section of the report deals with incidences of direct violence in Clackamas County found during the research process. In The Color of Law, Rothstein describes the state-sanctioned direct violence against African American families who moved into ‘white neighborhoods’ as a significant roadblock towards integration. Not only were these families terrorized out of their homes, but their experiences dissuaded other African American families from moving into those neighborhoods in the future. Rothstein asks, “how long do the memories of such events last? How long do they continue to intimidate?” (Rothstein, 151).



A good joke was sprung on a colored resident of Oregon City last Friday night. A bunch of the boys dressed up like circus horses, and played they were the judge and jury, and kicked the Constitution of the United States around for a period, and decoyed him into the tall timber, and a pleasant time was had by all.

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The Richardson Family

Harassment laid to trio

OREGON CITY — Clackamas County sheriff's deputies arrested three Milwaukie juveniles Tuesday on criminal charges in connection with the race-related harassment of a black family in Milwaukie.

The sheriff's department refused to release the names of the suspects or details of the arrests, citing juvenile privacy restrictions.

Two of the youths are 17 and one is 16.

The arrests were in connection with incidents of racial harassment reported by the Ray Richardson family, including the burning of a cross on their front lawn and spray-painted threats on their car.

Richardson could not be reached for comment Tuesday. Freddye Petett, executive directive of the Portland Urban League, said, "We're very pleased there's been arrests, but I think that it's important for people to understand this is only the first step in the process."

The Urban League is one of several organizations that has expressed interest in the case.

Last week, Clackamas County commissioners voted to set up a county human relations commission in the wake of the Richardson family's experiences.

The three youths were charged with harassment and three counts each of criminal mischief.

"Harassment laid to trio," *The Oregonian* September 10, 1980.

In 1980, Ray Richardson and his family, African American residents of Oregon City, incurred racially motivated harassment at the hands of three Milwaukie teenagers, who burned a cross in the yard of Richardson and his family, and vandalized their car. The three perpetrators were charged with harassment and criminal mischief. In December of 1980, *The Oregonian* published an article entitled "Racial harassment incidents increasing in Oregon," in which they note that while racially motivated crimes had been on the rise in Oregon, there was a "frequent failure of the legal system to provide an adequate response." In response to the harassment of the Richardson family and an increase in crimes committed against Oregonians of color, the Oregon Legislature passes hate crime legislation that increases punishment for racially motivated crimes in 1981.

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“The Affair was Spectacular, Dramatic and Sudden”: The Near Lynching of Perry Ellis



On June 5, 1923, the News-Review out of Roseburg, Oregon broke the news of Perry Ellis' abduction after an anonymous caller tipped a journalist at the newspaper off.

On the night of Friday June 1, 1923, six masked and robed men kidnapped Perry Ellis, an African American man, in Oregon City, Clackamas County Oregon. Mr. Ellis' captors took him 30 miles outside of town where they assaulted him, placed a rope around his neck, strung him up to a tree, and threatened to hang him if he did not confess to charges involving his "indiscretion with young white women," a charge for which Mr. Ellis had been recently tried and acquitted. Eventually, the captors released Mr. Ellis with a warning not to tell anyone about the event, to leave Oregon City, and to never return. Mr. Ellis left Oregon City a day or two after the attempted lynching.

Perry Ellis worked out of and lived in a livery barn on Water Street in Oregon City, perhaps explaining why he is not represented on the 1920 census. He "conducted an auto washing concern" and participated in rodeo as a bucking mule rider. The incident was witnessed by a white man named Ira W. Thrall who may have been the anonymous caller who alerted the press.

Resistance in Lane County

After Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1948, a group of African American residents in Lane County utilized the court system to push back against housing discrimination. The construction of the Ferry St. Bridge in Eugene displaced families. A community coalition, led by Reverend W.W. White, worked with the county to find new housing for the displaced populations. Although the following newspaper article does not directly mention the role played by discrimination, reference is made to the difficulty African American families had finding new places to rent or buy in the city. They petitioned the court as well as the Federal Housing Commission, calling for a solution. "We the people of the United States, the State of Oregon, County of Lane have come to the understanding that we haven't any place to go," they declared. "In being American born citizens, we demand some kind of consideration." We've included this because it is suggestive of the existence of discriminatory housing practices in Oregon as well as organized resistance to it.

Negroes Seek Decent Housing

Approximately 65 persons, including a representative group from the negro community across the Ferry St. Bridge, met with the Lane County Court Tuesday morning to decide what could be done to find the negro settlers a "decent" place to live.

A committee, headed temporarily by the Rev. W. W. White of the Fairmount Church of Christ, was selected to work with the county court to see what could be done to locate some of the families who must be moved to make right-of-way room for the new Ferry St. Bridge. Bids for the new span will probably be called for at the May meeting of the State Highway Commission. County Commissioner L. G. Raish told the meeting that the county must have all right-of-way work on the north side of the bridge cleared by July 1.

A chapel in the settlement, sponsored by the Fairmount Church of Christ, must be moved immediately to provide room for a home owner who traded his land

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

Negroes Seek Decent Housing

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

to the county for some of the land in the settlement. (It is county-owned property).

The court said it would make no further moves pending discussion of the problem with the newly appointed committee.

Serving on the committee are J. V. Berreman, professor of sociology at the University of Oregon; Mrs. Vera Hansen of Springfield; Cordelia Evans of Eugene; Mrs. Ray Boals, Eugene; Carl Wagner, Eugene, representing veterans' organizations; Mr. White and five persons from the negro settlement headed by Andrew Luckett, Sam Reynolds and Mary Lee Walker.

Luckett had presented a petition to the county court signed by many members of the settlement which said:

"We the people of the United States, State of Oregon, County of Lane have come to the understanding that we haven't any place to go. In being American-born citizens, we demand some kind of consideration." Luckett said a copy of the petition was also sent to the Federal Housing Administration in Wash. D.C.

Several of the negroes said they have been unable to find any other place to live because they could not rent or buy property in the city.

The group will meet a second time with the county court Wednesday at 9 a.m.

"Negroes Seek Decent Housing." *The Eugene Guard*. March 22, 1949.

“He was the soul of honor”: William “John” Livingston, Clackamas County Resident

When William “John” Livingston died in 1912, he had a reputation as a respected businessman, was a prominent member of the state grange, and had amassed an estate of \$15,000 and over 200 acres of land. Hundreds of people attended his funeral. Livingston, a formerly enslaved person, had cultivated a prominent place in nineteenth-century Clackamas County society, despite the exclusionary and hostile attitudes towards African Americans in Oregon. Livingston was freed in 1863, and came to Oregon in 1864 with the Ringo family, his former owners. Settling in Oregon City, the Ringos gave Livingston a forty-acre tract of land. Livingston was married to Alice Irene Cooper in 1876. In 1877, they had a son, Charles Irvin Livingston. While living in Clackamas County, Livingston was an eminent fixture in his city.



John Livingston’s life illustrates a conflicting narrative. Rural spaces in nineteenth century Oregon presented problems of isolation and vulnerability to black residents, and yet it was within a rural environment that Livingston gained acceptance amongst his white neighbors (McLagan, 79). Livingston and his family thrived in exclusive places within Oregon, making impacts on their neighbors and community.

William “John” Livingston

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“The impacts of place and race are not inevitable”: Zoning in Clackamas County

Zoning and planning ordinances work in concert with other exclusionary and discriminatory policies. Federal, state, and local policies protect and codify the practice of segregation by determining how land is developed, and for whom. Zoning ordinances maintain, strengthen, and make visible racial and socioeconomic boundaries. Planning and zoning in Oregon began in 1919 with the passage of Senate Bill 212. Cities were allowed to create and deploy land-use ordinances, and establish city planning commissions within municipalities (Robbins, 284). It was done in a piecemeal fashion, as the adoption of land use ordinances was optional. Oregon’s zoning timeline followed a nationwide trend of land use. Passed in 1922, the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act was a federal law that enabled states to pass local zoning regulations (Knapp, 37).

“Such regulations shall be made with reasonable considerations among other things, to the character of the district and its peculiar suitability for particular uses, and with a view to conserving the value of buildings and encouraging the most appropriate use of land throughout such municipality.”

Advisory Committee on Zoning, *A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act, Under Which Municipalities May Adopt Zoning Regulations* (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1924), 6.

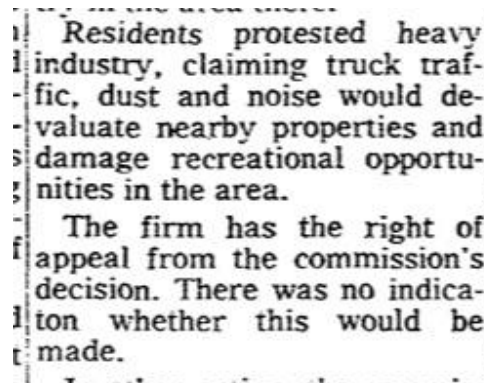
Oregon City created a “City Planning Commission” by 1922 that was tasked with the general city improvement (*The Banner-Courier*, May 18, 1922). The National Land Use Planning Committee, established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, was expressly established to systematize zoning and land use in cities and states (Rothstein, 51-52). Coupled with exclusionary and discriminatory lending practices, federal and state zoning and planning committees worked to solidify the extent housing segregation.

By 1939, all of Clackamas County was involved in extensive planning activities. Large-tract land requirements, the restricted development of multi-family dwellings, maximum density requirements, and regulation of industrial development zones, were all methods of exclusionary zoning that complemented federal policies of segregation. Planning commissioners determined and adopted “development patterns” for their cities and counties, which ultimately bolstered policies of exclusion and separation based on socioeconomic level.



- These two newspaper clippings are examples of exclusionary zoning policies enacted in Oregon City. Towns like Riverdale, Rivera, and Dunthorpe were zoned exclusively residential (*Oregon Daily Journal*, February 1, 1920). The regulation of mobile home locations within Oregon City was integral to managing who could reside in the city. (*Capital Journal*, March 28, 1957). The exclusion of businesses and mobile homes in Clackamas County towns are illustrative of economic exclusions used by city and county zoning officials.

Board Bars Industrial Zoning



- At a 1966 Clackamas County Planning Commission meeting, residents protested a proposed zoning change, which would have allowed a gravel crushing operation to open a new facility in the area. Residents claimed noise and dust would devalue properties and affect recreational activities (*The Oregonian*, July 27, 1966). Without industrial zones in a neighborhood, working class populations were less able to access these spaces.

- The 1978 Clackamas County Zoning Code only includes one designation for a multi-family residential district, with a minimum lot size of 7,000 sq.ft.
 - Urban (high density) Single Family residential districts had a minimum lot size of 7,000 sq.ft.
 - Rural (non-agricultural) Single Family Residential Districts had a minimum lot size of 30,000 sq.ft.
- While the 2012 Clackamas County Zoning Ordinances don't have the same minimum lot size requirements as the 1978 ordinances, the same pattern persists.
 - Clackamas County has one district that is zoned as High Density Residential, while at least seven districts are designated Urban Low Density.
 - There are only three public housing complexes in Clackamas County. Two are located in Oregon City, and one is located in Milwaukie.
- The 2012 Zoning Ordinances also restricts what type of housing can be built in Urban Low Density areas. Multi-family dwellings are prohibited in low density areas.

The lack of affordable housing is not a problem unique to Clackamas County, but instead is one that is nationwide. For example, cities and towns in southwestern Connecticut also face a dearth of affordable housing, and have great disparities between the wealthy and impoverished, and local officials who are resistant to the construction of affordable housing. Despite the passage of a law which would allow developers to avoid local zoning requirements if 30% of the units of a proposed multi-unit dwelling were held for people living below the poverty line, cities and town have used the courts to gain exemptions and delays from these requirements. While race or income are never discussed, the language used by zoning commissioners and residents of Westport, Connecticut gestures toward the character of neighborhoods, concerns about density, and the need to keep their neighborhood “desirable” (Rabe Thomas).

Similar themes swirl around discussions of development and affordable housing in Oregon. Concerns over a neighborhood's character, types of development, and the characterization of space have a link to the genesis of zoning laws. The 1992 Clackamas County Comprehensive Plan describes the first goal of residential land use as the protection of “the character of existing low-density neighborhoods.” The designation of areas as low and medium density is dependent on “a need for this type of housing [to exist].” This specific criteria is not present for high-density housing.

Zoning ordinances as a function of exclusion speak to the role played by state and local governments in a larger, diffuse national system. Ordinances may seem innocuous and neutral when viewed in isolation. But when combined to the larger story of racial and economic segregation in the United States and Oregon, a more nuanced image emerges.

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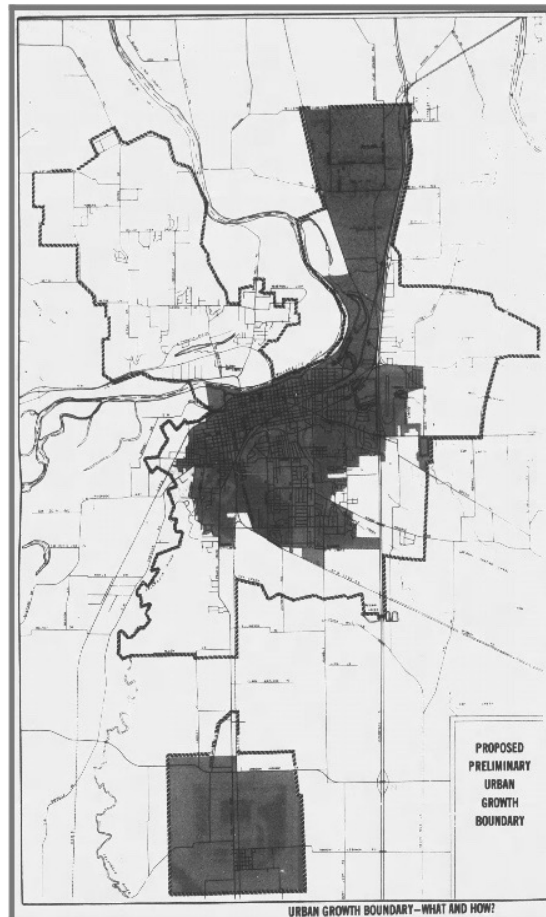
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“Privilege cannot be understood out of the context of place”

Rurality and agriculture landscapes hold a central role in the pioneer mythos of Oregon. Population growth in the 1960s challenged this convention, and inflamed anxiety about development in the state (Larson, 34). Recessions in the 1970s and 1980s affected agricultural systems worldwide, and bolstered support for the preservation of Oregon’s farmland, thus exacerbating rural-urban tensions.

- The effectiveness of existing county zoning regulations were directly challenged by post World War II population growth, and loss of agricultural land (Robbins, 283-286).
- Between the mid-1950 and 1960, the agricultural base of the Willamette Valley was reduced by 20%, with a majority of the losses in Clackamas and Washington Counties.
- In the 1960s, Clackamas County experienced 47% population growth (Robbins, 287).
- Passed in 1969, Senate Bill 10 was the first piece of legislation to require state-wide participation in land-use regulation (Robbins, 287).



The Albany Democrat Herald, “Notice of Public Hearing: Citizens Asked for Input on Urban Growth Boundaries,” January 24, 1977.

The Oregon State legislature passed Senate Bill 100 in 1973. Included in this legislation were the Oregon Land Use Statutes which required state and local participation in land-use regulations (Knapp, 37).

- The Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) was also created. The LCDC was meant to enact and ensure compliance with statewide land-use regulation.
- By 1974, the LCDC had established fourteen state planning goals that were transposed on top of existing zoning and planning ordinances. These goals were additional regulations on land use, housing, agricultural and forest land, and the preservation of environmental resources (Knapp, 37).
- Goal fourteen had a lasting impact not only on land use, but on how Oregonians conceptualized development and urbanization.

To provide for an orderly and efficient transition from rural to urban land use.

Urban growth boundaries shall be established to identify and separate urbanizable land from rural land.

Oregon Land Conservation and Development Commission.
State-Wide Planning Goals and Guidelines Adopted by the
Land Conservation and Development Commission. Salem,
1974. //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102395309.

Goal fourteen created the well-known Urban Growth Boundary (UGB), which was meant to contain the extent of urbanization and promote higher density development in urban areas. It was also intended to preserve rural and agricultural land throughout the state (Randall, 129).

Land use debates in Oregon continue to simmer as populations grow, development continues, and land-use regulations are challenged. In the late 1990s, an owner of a successful home building company, Brian Ament, lobbied Clackamas County to build a 10,500 sq.ft. home on land zoned exclusively for farm use. Ament signed an agreement with the county stipulating that in addition to the home, the land would include a Christmas tree farm, shiitake mushroom harvesting, and sheep farming. However, when inspected, little evidence of a commercial farming operation was found (Robbins, 307). I could not find evidence of how Ament's infraction was dealt with by the county, but it does illustrate how wealth influences access to land.

- Seventy percent of the state's population resides in the Willamette corridor (Robbins, 283).

- The 2000 census lists 1.3 million people in Portland Metro’s three counties and twenty-four cities (Robbins, 283).
- According to the 2010 census, every county in Oregon has fewer than 5,000 Black homeowners (Tippet, et al, 19).

In 2018, Metro, the regional government and planning organization responsible for Clackamas, Washington and Multnomah counties, expanded the Urban Growth Boundary. Residents debated the expansion in a Metro Council meeting. Some accepted the expansion as a necessary response to population growth and the need for housing. Others expressed reticence at the proposed alteration of the Urban Growth Boundary, and their perceptions of how that expansion would affect their neighborhood.

“Low income housing will bring down the value of houses that are up there...Everything’s in the \$700,000 to multi-million dollar range.”

Resident of South Copper Mountain area of Beaverton, as quoted in Nick Christensen, “Metro Council approves UGB expansion that could create 9,200 new homes.” December 13, 2018.

When Gregory Squires stated in a study of race and residence that “privilege cannot be understood outside the context of place,” he signaled the complexities of land use policies and how they play out on the land. Debates over the Urban Growth Boundary, for example, extend beyond the text of legislation to encompass beliefs about place and identity, which are encoded with race and class markers and the residue of the past.

Many Oregonians are invested in the preservation of Oregon’s bucolic landscapes, making efforts to pushing against these narrative - whether to advocate for increased development or to question how accommodating preservation excludes people of particular races and classes -- difficult. Agricultural and rural spaces are viewed as idyllic and are thus “preserved,” while urban areas are considered problematic and need to be “managed.” Land use regulation is imbued with a mythologized, pioneer past. Preservation of agricultural and wild spaces adds to the allure of the state, attracting tourists and new residents alike. And yet, race and class are deeply intertwined with land use, preservation, and the environment.

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Demographic Impacts in Clackamas County

Census data is an incredibly powerful tool through which to analyze a community. Over time it has come to encompass not only population numbers, birth and death statistics, and general economic statistics, but also detailed breakdowns of municipal government funding, the use of transportation, demographic information, public assistance information, banking information, and detailed housing information. It is a wealth of knowledge, almost overwhelmingly so. It is also highly flawed. Our country is data-driven, we use census information to allocate political power, to study communities, to choose who receives funding for what. If something or someone, or some groups, aren't recorded, they are outside this analysis and allocation process.

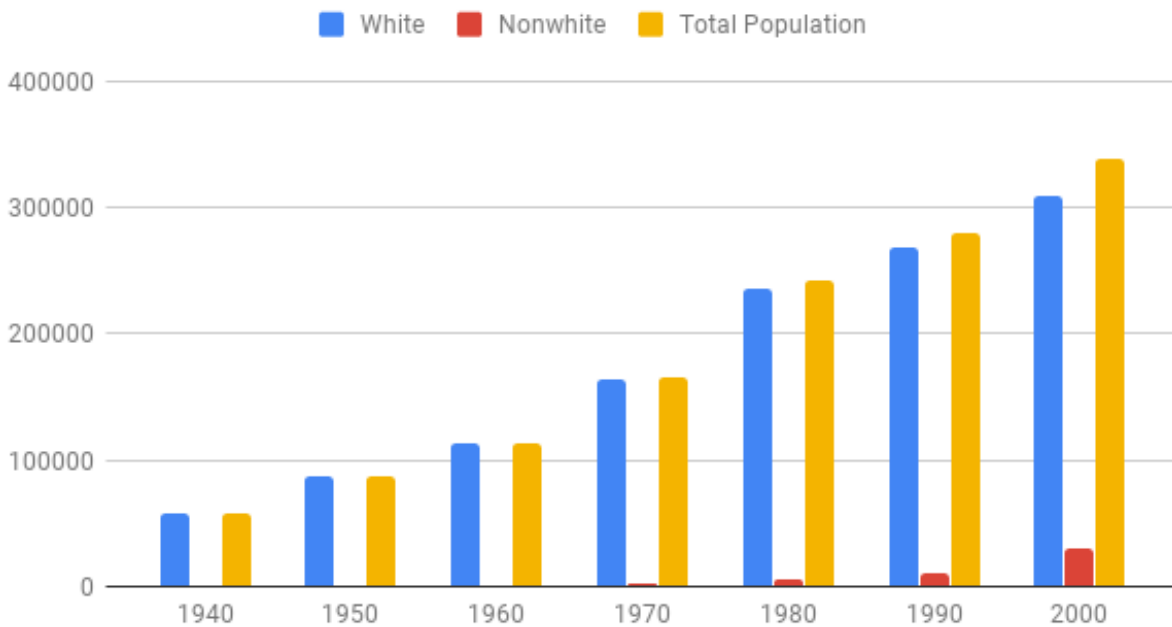
The flawed nature of data and the census itself became increasingly clear throughout research into the demographic data of Clackamas County. The data from the 1970 census included, for the first time in the county's history, a breakdown of African American income and homeownership. These statistics are only available for counties with a 'statistically significant' population. But who decides what is statistically significant?

When examining housing inequality, it is impossible to extract it from other aspects of inequality. Inequities in education, employment, income, and home ownership interact with one another to create a complex system of discrimination, one that reinforces itself with minimal purposeful input from the present. Overt exclusion may no longer be an issue but its echoes are felt today; the social and economic conditions it created continue to harm the people of Clackamas County.

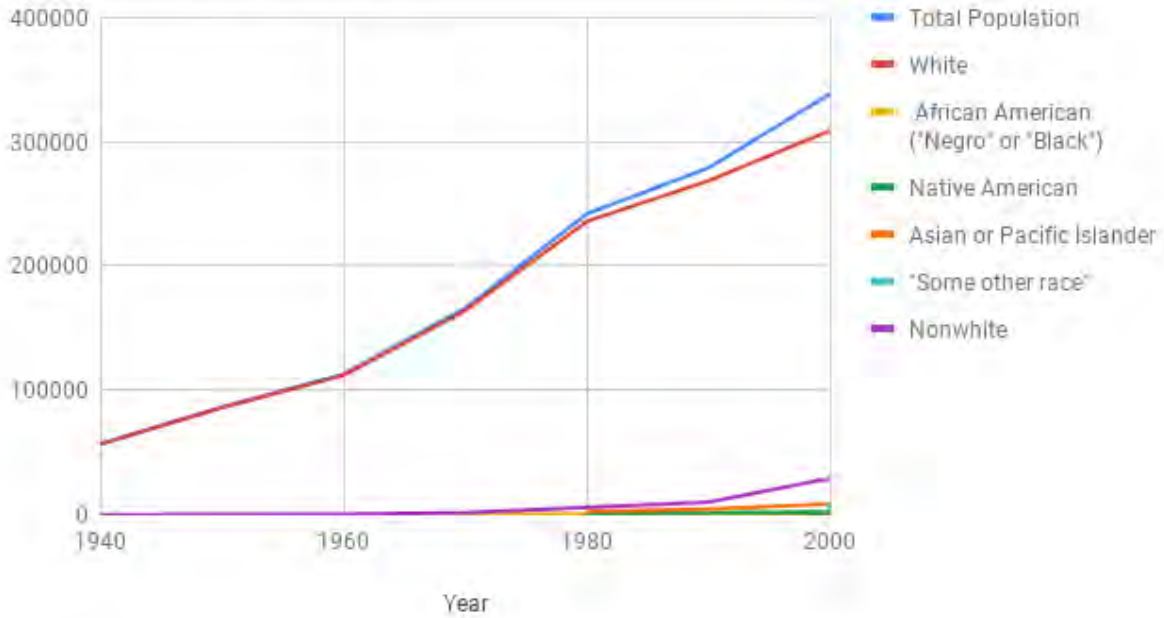
Population

In order to visualize the demographic change over time, several charts were created. In the early years of the population charts, the non-white population isn't visible. The general non-white population and the population of specific ethnicities (which only appear in later censuses) are so small in comparison to the white population that they aren't visible on charts. It creates a stark picture of how the historic *de jure* exclusion of people of color from Clackamas County continues to depress the population in the present.

Clackamas County Population Over Time



Population Over Time Line

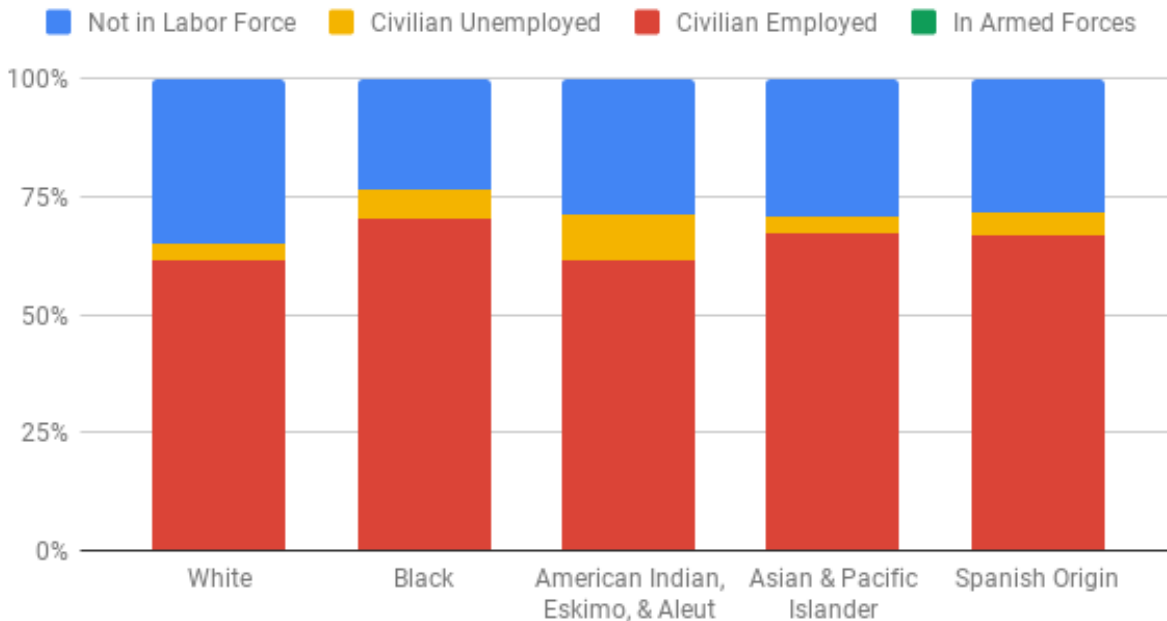


*Numbers are approximate. The data is derived from twelve volumes of the *County and City Data Book* (1947, 1949, 1952, 1956, 1962, 1967, 1983, 1988, 1994, and 2000) released by the US Census Bureau. General population statistics were pulled from these books and inputted into a spreadsheet. Calculations were needed to have comparable figures using the provided statistics. Some figures needed to be rounded (e.g. you can't have 0.42 of a person) in order to make sense, other figures needed to be rounded in order to keep the percentages clean and comparable (all rounded to the nearest tenth or hundredth depending on the protocol already set by the Census Bureau).

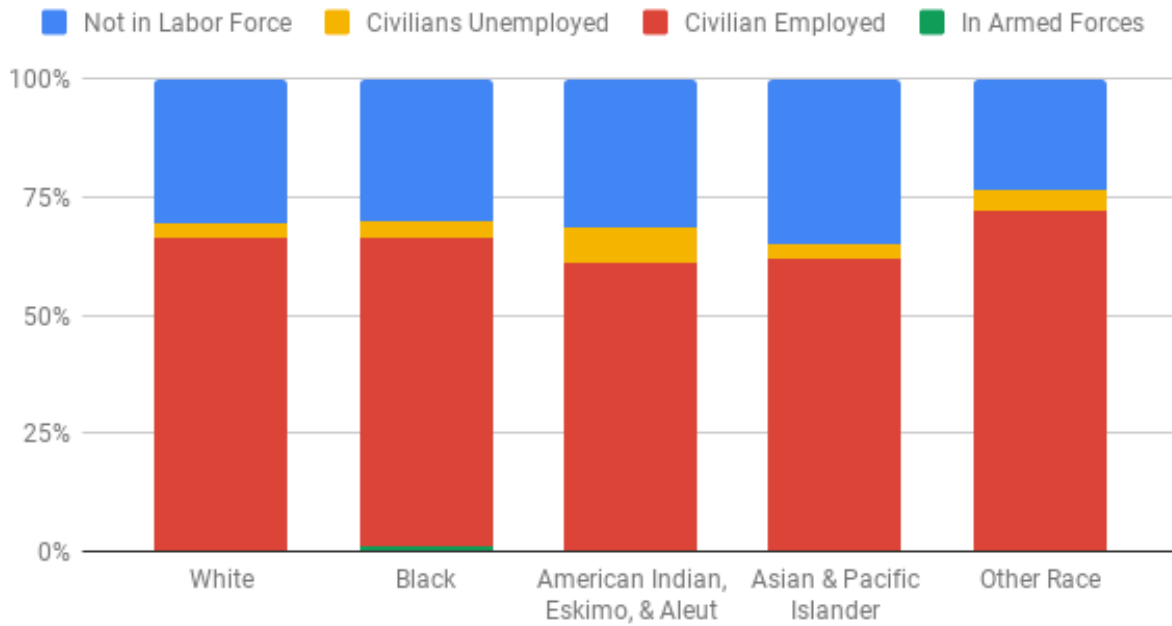
Economic

Financial data paints a picture of inequality, the picture seen in the exclusionary policies and private actions that created the demographic disparity. The most visually obvious is the poverty data. The 1990s poverty data comparison graph starkly shows the extreme discrepancy between the poverty rates of the white majority population and the minority populations. 6.6% of whites were below the poverty level in 1990, compared to 28.5% of African Americans, 12.0% of Native Americans, 13.3% of Asians and Pacific Islanders, and 22.2% of those of “Other Race”. The unemployment rate for whites was 3.3% in 1980, while for African Americans it was 6.6%, Native Americans it was 9.5%, Asian and Pacific Islanders it was 3.5%, and for people of “Spanish Origin” it was 4.7%. Unemployment decreased across the board in 1990, and while it decreased more for minority populations than whites there was still an obvious disparity (White 2.9%, African American 3.6%, Native American 7.7%, Asian and Pacific Islander 3.2%, and “Other Race” 4.4%). The ability to purchase housing is highly dependent on the regular paychecks that come with employment. When a large section of the population cannot afford housing in certain areas they remain excluded from services and amenities that could improve their lives.

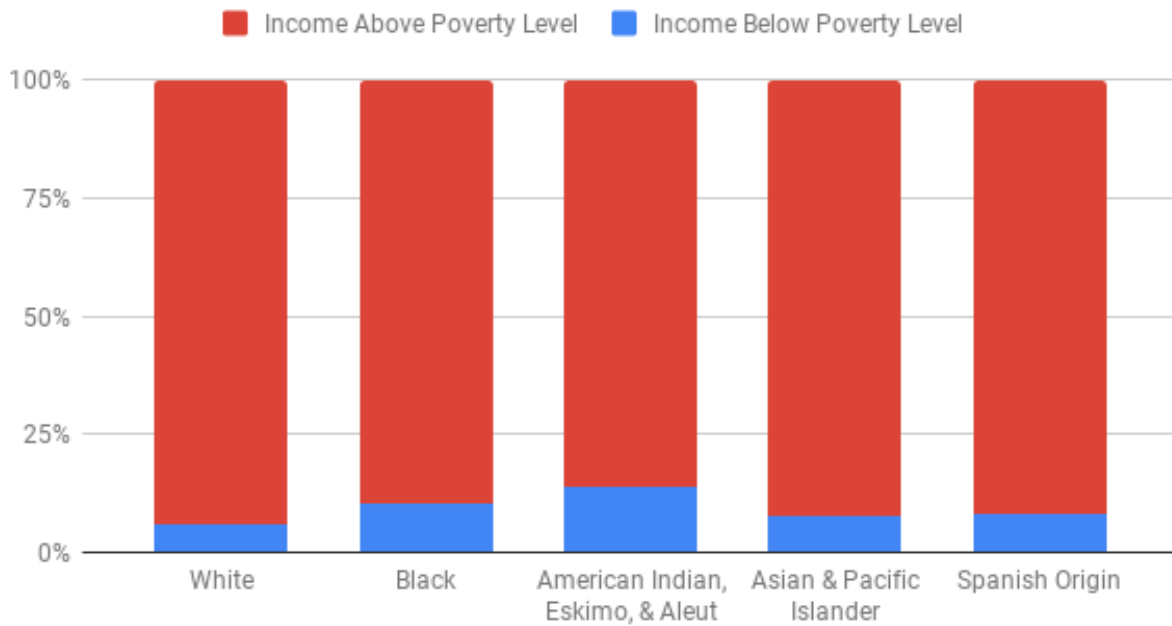
Clackamas County Employment Status by Race 1980



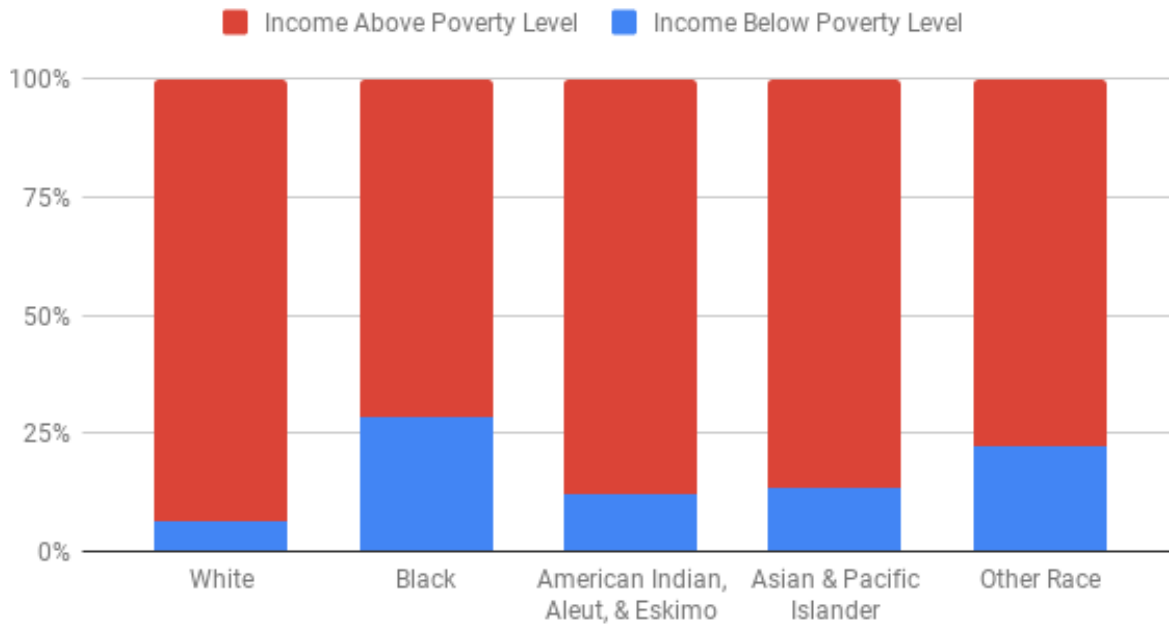
Clackamas County Employment Status by Race 1990



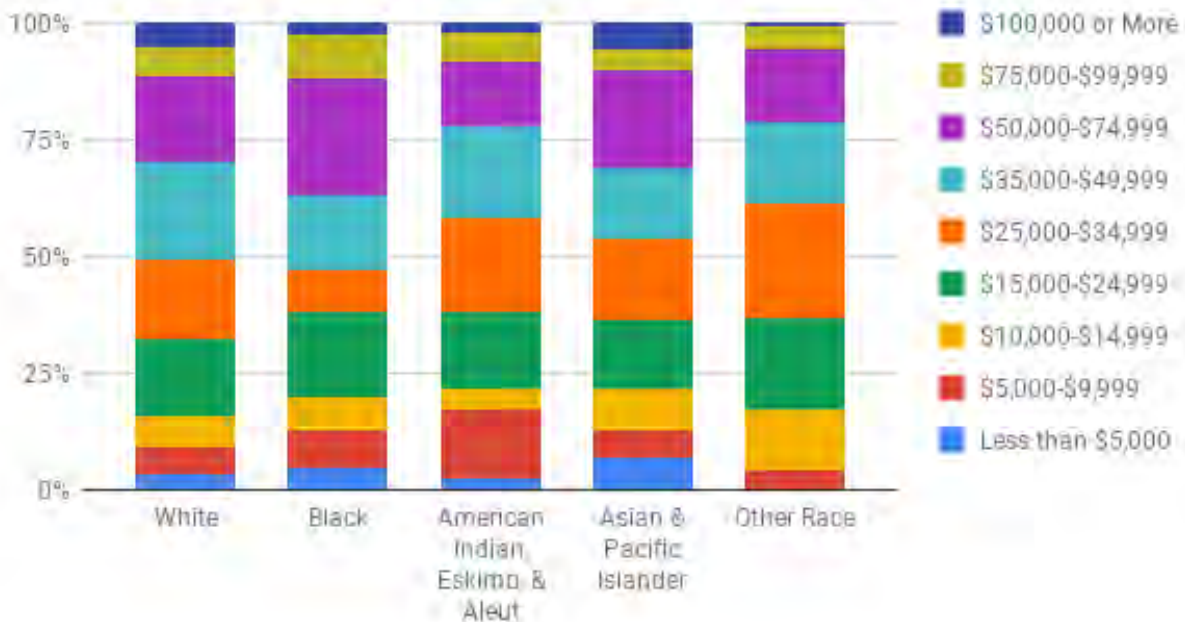
Clackamas County Poverty Rates by Race 1980



Clackamas County Poverty Rates by Race 1990

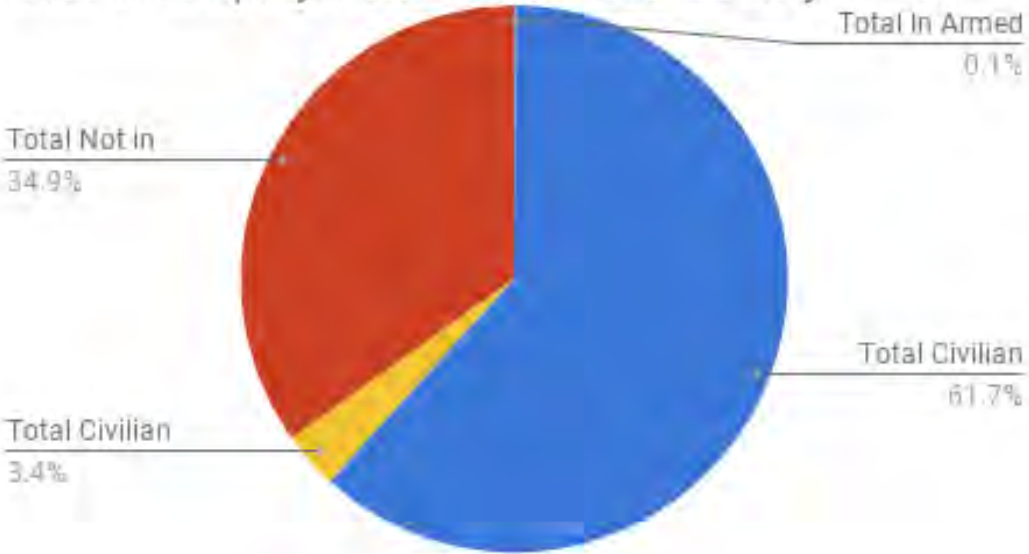


Household Income by Race Clackamas County 1990

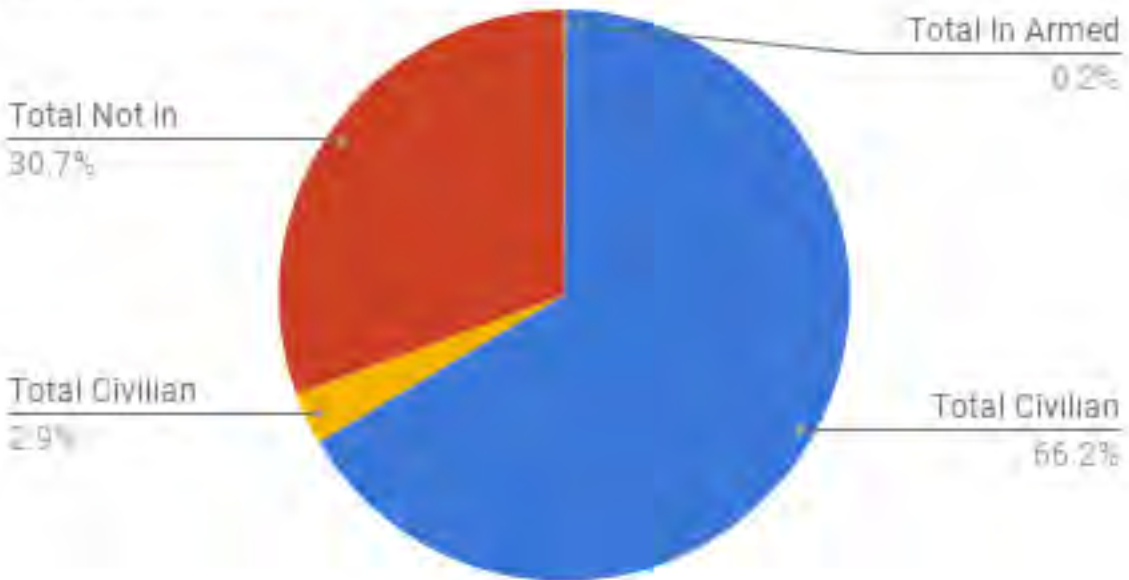


*The data is derived from *Demographic, Housing, and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Clackamas County* released by PSU's College of Urban and Public Affairs for census years 1980 and 1990.

Overall Employment Clackamas County 1980



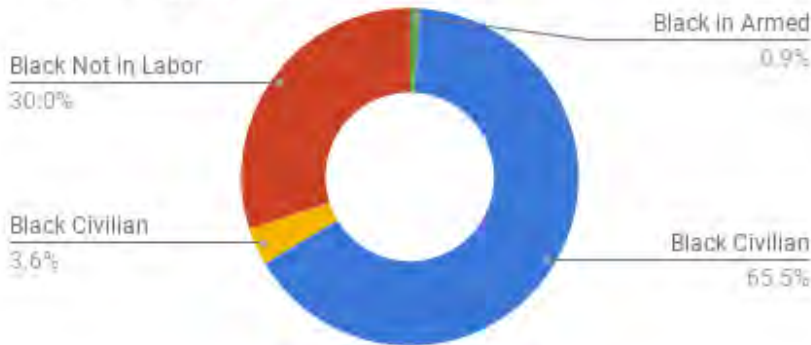
Overall Employment 1990



Black Employment 1980



Black Employment 1990



White Employment 1980



White Employment 1990

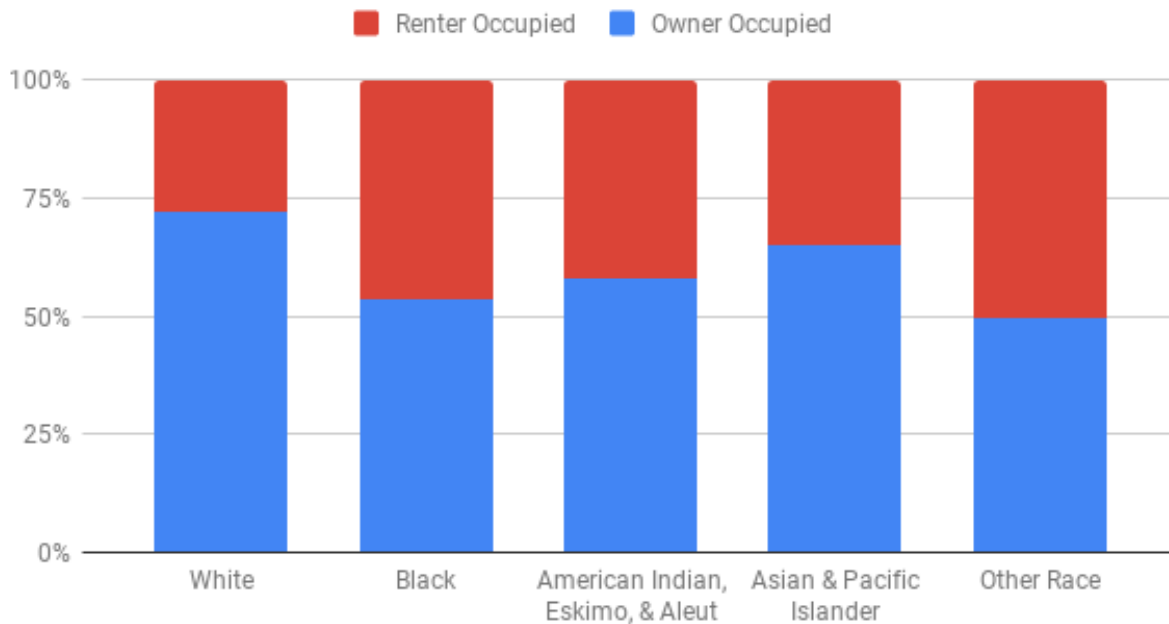


Housing and Outcomes

Where population data, financial data, historic discrimination, and public policy collide is home ownership. The ability to own a home impacts one's ability to send children to good schools, accumulate generational wealth, and feel safe and secure in your living situation. In America, home ownership is a central part of life, and it is often seen the key to providing a bright future for people.

The outcome of decades of political and private discrimination against minorities is stark inequality in home ownership. In 1990 in Clackamas County, 72% of white people owned their own home, while 53.7% of African Americans, 57.9% of Native Americans, 64.9% of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans, and 49.8% of Americans of "Other Race" owned their own homes.

Clackamas County Housing Tenure Rates by Race 1990



Lies, Damn Lies, and Statistics (Cautions of Census Data)

When going deep into census data, it's important to remember its limits and biases. Census data, and data in general, is often viewed as impartial and objective but that's far from the case. People acknowledge that today we live in a data-driven society, which is true, but it's also true that we always have. The constitution of the United States sets the apportionment of representatives according to population, as taken by census. Notably, this apportionment is set by "adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons." Data collected by the US census had direct repercussions, as it set whose voices matter in government and who is worthy of being counted. As time has gone on, that data has determined who gets access to what services and how much funding they receive. Data is biased. Census takers get to choose who is counted, how they are counted, and what data is analyzed.

Population data is a good example of this. Different years counted people differently. Some years only the total population and the "white" population were counted, others "Non-White" was given as a percent of the population, some years African Americans were counted as "Negros," others as "Black." Starting in the 1980s, other minorities began to be counted.

What data gets analyzed and how also makes a difference. In the 1972 book the Census Bureau released housing data on "Negro-occupied units," but only available for counties with over 400 African American residents. Only five of Oregon's counties met this threshold. Clackamas barely met the threshold, with 434 African Americans counted as living in the county. Statisticians decided that counties with an African American population under 400 people were statistically insignificant, but for the purposes of historians, having this population data is incredibly significant.

Census data is an extremely powerful tool, both in terms of direct, political usage and historical analysis, but it needs to be viewed as just that -- a single flawed tool, among many other tools that need to be used to study, analyze, understand, and remedy inequity.

Things to know about how we count people (Footnotes on Wider History of Racial Discrimination in America):

- *"excluding Indians not taxed" is a four word phrase that has done irreparable harm. Native Americans do not have a constitutional right to citizenship, they have a statutory right. Native Americans born in the United States only have the right to vote because Congress passed laws granting it. These laws could be repealed at the pleasure of Congress.
- *the infamous 3/5ths clause of the Constitution was created as a compromise between the north and the south. Northern states wanted to exclude African American slaves from being considered as population to allow political apportionment, while the south wanted to count them as full persons. Without the clause, slave holding states would have had massive electoral advantages granted by a population with no legal rights, including the right to themselves.
- Note on the 3/5th Clause: This clause and its relation to the "excluding Indians not taxed" was used as the evidence in Plessy v. Ferguson, which is often remembered as the case that allowed slave owners the right to take their slaves to free states with no repercussions (de facto legalizing slavery in every state in the US) but it went further

than that. It found that the founders did not view African Americans, slave or free, as part of the people in “We the people.” Meaning that free African Americans lost Constitutional rights from the decision, and lost the ability to be defined as “People.”

- People were excluded from being considered people, a concept that transcends political rights and becomes a moral question. The idea of minorities as being subhuman, somehow not people deserving of rights, respect, and kindness, rationalizes racist attitudes. It is the underlying justification for driving people out of towns--like Perry Ellis--rounding them up like animals and stealing their homes--Japanese Internment--whipping them for existing within our state--lash laws-excluding them from neighborhoods--restrictive covenants--barring them from decent education--school segregation,--and many other examples of discrimination. This systematic dehumanization justifies violence, and rationalizes hate and inequity.

Calculations

Population Data Calculations

- 1940: The census data only lists the total population, the numerical white population, and the percent white out of the total population. To get the numerical non-white population, the white population was subtracted from total population:
 $57,130 - 56,888 = 242$ non-white people in Clackamas County in 1940
To determine the percentage of non-white people, the provided 99.5% from the census was subtracted from 100%.
- 1950: The books only give the total population and the percent of nonwhite people. In order to find the numerical white population, numerical non-white population, and percent white population, the total population of 86,716 was multiplied by 0.5 then divided by 100. This didn't produce a whole number so it was rounded it up. The official data is always rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent, the accurate percent could be between 0.45%-0.54%. The calculation was repeated to determine the total white population, and rounded down.
 $86,716 \times 0.5 = 43,358 / 100 = 433.58 = 434$
 $86,716 \times 99.5 = 8,628,242 / 100 = 86,282.42 = 86,282$
- 1960: Identical to 1950, the book gave the total numerical population and the percent of non-white people. The calculations used for 1950 were repeated. The second county/city data book for the 1960s gives the percent of the total population that is “Negro”. Using that percent the total number of African Americans was found.
 $0.10 \times 113,038 = 11,303.8 / 100 = 113.038 = 113$ African Americans
- 1970: The book supplies the total numerical population, the numerical white population, the numerical “Negro” population. From there the total non-white population, the percent white, and the percent non-white was calculated.
- 1980: The book supplies the total numerical population, the percent white, the percent “Black,” the percent “American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut,” and the percent “Asian and Pacific Islander.” From there the numerical white population, the numerical non-white

population, the numerical Black population, the numerical Native American population, and the numerical Asian or Pacific Islander population were calculated.

- 1990: The book supplies the total numerical population, the numerical “White” population, the numerical “Black” population, the numerical “American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut” population, and the numerical “Asian or Pacific Islander” population. The numerical non-white population was calculated by subtracting the numerical white population from the total numerical population. The percent white was calculated by dividing the numerical white by the total numerical population and the percent non-white by dividing the numerical non-white population by the total numerical population.
- 2000: The book supplies the total numerical population, the percentage change between 1980-1990, the percentage change 1990-2000, the numerical white population, the numerical “Black or African American” population, the numerical “American Indian and Alaska Native” population, the numerical “Asian” population, the numerical “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander” population, and the numerical “Some other race” population. The “Asian” population (8,292) and “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander” population (569) were combined in order to continue using “Asian or Pacific Islander” as a column. This was done to maintain consistency and allow for readable and comparable data.

Economic/Financial Data Calculations

- Employment Data: No outside calculations were necessary. Employment status is divided into the four following categories: those in the armed forces, civilians that are employed, civilians that are unemployed, and people not in the labor force. “Unemployed” is defined as actively looking for employment while “Not in Labor Force” is defined as not being in the labor market, examples of this are high school and college students, retirees, and stay at home parents. The 1980s data was divided according to the following race and ethnic categories: “White”, “Black”, “American Indian, Eskimo, & Aleut”, “Asian & Pacific Islander”, and “Spanish Origin.” The 1990s data was divided among gender and race and ethnicity. It used similar but not identical categories as that from 1980: “White,” “Black,” “Native American, Eskimo, & Aleut,” “Asian & Pacific Islander,” and “Other Race.” In order to get comparable data, the data for males and females in each category were added (black female in armed forces was added to black male in armed forces to get the total number of African Americans in the armed forces from Clackamas County).
- Poverty Data: Similar to employment data, poverty data in 1980 was straightforward and required no interpretation or adjustment. 1990 poverty data was more complex, as it was divided along both race and ethnicity as well as age. In order to get comparable data, all of the age categories were added together along race and ethnicity lines (so white below the poverty level for people under 5 years, from 5 to 17 years of age, from 19 to 64 years of age, and 65 years and older were added together to get the total number of white people under the poverty level, this process was repeated for all the categories).
- Household Income by Race: This data only existed for 1990.

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