# A Study of Natural Communities in Three Oregon Counties



A Report Submitted to
THE HONORABLE CHARLES H. MARTIN
Governor of Oregon

STATE PLANNING BOARD May, 1937

# A STUDY OF NATURAL COMMUNITIES IN THREE OREGON COUNTIES

An attempt to determine the importance of natural communities as a basis for community planning in country districts

A Report Prepared by Dr. Philip A. Parsons, Chairman Advisory Committee on Public Welfare

for the

STATE PLANNING BOARD

Submitted by the Board to THE HONORABLE CHARLES H. MARTIN Governor of Oregon

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The purpose of the Oregon State Pianning Board is to serve the people as a progressive advisory planning body cooperating with public and private agencies and individuals in studying Oregon's resources, problems and needs and preparing plans and recommendations for development of the state.

Oregon State Planning Board 811 Spalding Building Portland, Oregon

Gentlemen:

We herewith submit to you a study of a group of rural communities in Lane, Clackamas and Multnomah Counties.

This study was undertaken to determine the availability of organized rural communities as a basis for planning programs outside of incorporated areas. The confinement of the study to communities which are organized for the purpose of meeting their cultural and social needs leaves out of consideration many sections not so organized and scattered populations not identified with such communities.

This study reveals the possibility of using such communities for several types of planning, and also suggests possibilities for further research.

Inductions and deductions in this report are drawn in part from data gathered by investigators who were employed under Works Progress Administration Official Project 265-6905. Technical service, including map drafting under supervision of Charles N. Bennett, and clerical assistance, have come liberally from the same source. Coordination of efforts was effected by V. B. Stanbery, consultant.

Yours truly,

Philip A. Parsons, Chairman Social Surveys Division Public Welfare Section Advisory Research Council

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#### DIGEST AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study was undertaken to determine the availability of natural communities as a basis for community planning in country districts.

The natural community is an area in the open country from which the population more or less regularly and habit-ually gravitates to some common center for the purpose of meeting their cultural and social needs.

The cultural and social needs of the communities are met in part by purposive organizations which are ostensibly working for some particular objective, such as the grange, a community church, a grade school, or a union high school. Any one of these may be carrying on a comprehensive community program or several of them may together be meeting the cultural and social needs of the community.

In communities where the cultural and social needs are not being met as indicated above, a community club is organized specifically for that purpose. Communities whose needs are being met in a fairly adequate manner by either of these means are spoken of as organized communities.

The method of mapping the communities had been perfected and those in Lane County had been surveyed by the department of sociology at the University of Oregon before the present project was undertaken.

The survey was undertaken in part to determine, if possible, the reasons for the success of some community programs and for the inadequacy of others. It was known in a general way that programs depended in part for their success upon the use which was made of leadership and of organization. It was known, also, that certain communities were meeting their needs in an effective manner and that others were not so successful.

As a first step in studying the reasons for success or failure a transparent map of the communities in Lane County was prepared and superimposed first upon a map showing the grade school districts and second upon a map showing the election precincts. The results obtained in this manner were very revealing. Since the more or less successful communities were already known, it was possible to compare the results of these comparisons with the record of past and present achievement in the field of meeting community needs. After checking in this manner it was possible to make the following tentative deductions. Additional research will be necessary to make sure of the accuracy of these.

- 1. Communities in which the natural community boundary, the school district, and the election precinct nearly coincide are as a rule meeting their needs more effectively than are communities in which they do not.
- 2. The approximate coincidence of the natural community boundaries with the school district appeared to have greater significance than coincidence between the community and the election precinct.
- 3. The communities have a natural center at which the community activities are carried on. If a grange, a school or a church happens to be located at this center it is apt to serve the purpose of a community club.
- 4. If no purposive organization happens to provide the natural center or the facilities for a meeting place the community organizes a community club and builds a community house.
- 5. Where a purposive organization functions as a community club its own program benefits by identification with the community program.
- 6. Where a purposive organization is located at a point other than the natural center of the community it has difficulty in carrying on a successful program.
- 7. Where a purposive organization is located at the community center but does not identify its program with the community program it appears to suffer by reason of that fact.
- 8. The community's interest in its school is greatly enhanced when the school is used as a social center or located along side of buildings used for that purpose.
- 9. Where several organizations combine to provide a community program there is apt to be an overlapping of leadership and a concentration of leader interest in a community program as over against an organization problem.

After completing the preliminary comparisons for Lane County it was decided to survey a second county to see if the conditions there discovered would confirm the tentative findings in Lane County. Clackamas County was selected because it was known to be well organized by communities and known to have a county-wide organization of community clubs.

The amount of time and labor available did not permit of making a thorough community study in Clackamas County. The communities were mapped with considerable care and the same comparisons made as to school districts and election precincts. Because the establishment of union high school districts had made excellent progress in the county it was possible to compare these with the communities also. While it was not possible to make the necessary studies to be sure of the deductions there was much evidence that the conditions found in Lane County as to the relation between the organizations and the community programs were present in Clackamas County also.

When the Clackamas study was nearing completion a group of social agencies concerned with the problems of character forming and delinquency requested the Planning Board to make a similar study in Multnomah County to determine whether or not such a study would throw light on the delinquency problem. In compliance with this request a community map of Multnomah County outside the corporate limits of Portland was prepared and a study made of the degree of effective community organization. A transparency of the community map was superimposed upon a spot map showing the location of each case of delinquency in the rural areas during the year 1935. This showed an extremely low incidence of delinquency in the highly organized areas, a slightly higher rate in less highly organized communities, with a preponderance of the cases falling in unorganized territory.

A summary of conclusions covering the availability of the natural communities as a basis for various phases of rural planning, followed by suggestions for further study will be found on pages 54-56.

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#### I. PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Planning in the field of Social Welfare has presented certain difficulties which have marked it off from planning for the conservation and more intelligent use of physical resources. From the inception of the planning movement these difficulties have been obvious.

Physical resources, such as the forests, streams, soil, and to a somewhat less extent minerals, are tangible and measurable. They lend themselves to certain well known and practical techniques which can be employed to ascertain desired information. The population is none the less visible, but it presents many variable and unknown quantities which make it necessary to use entirely different techniques, and often entirely new methods have to be devised in arriving at basic information for constructive planning. This is more nearly true in respect to some phases of community planning than it is of others; but practically all phases of planning for human welfare contain some obscure and unknown elements.

The problems have been most difficult in the field of planning for the administration of relief and for the alleviation of unemployment. The urgency of the need made it impossible to do the necessary research work in advance of adopting methods rendered necessary by the magnitude of the problem but which had not been tested by actual experience. This was less true in the field of adult education and

somewhat less true in the limited programs for physical and social recreation. In the latter fields the resources and organization of the public schools and to a certain extent the playgrounds made possible emergency programs for the more densely populated areas.

It has been difficult to extend such programs to small incorporated and unincorporated towns and open country communities because of limited resources and the absence or defective character of community organization. This fact has long been known to public and private agencies which have attempted to render service of one character or another to such communities.

In 1929 the University of Oregon, through the School of Applied Social Science, attempted to provide research and service facilities for the various governmental and administrative division and subdivisions of the state to assist in the solution of state and local problems falling within the sphere of political and social science. Among the first problems to receive attention were those of the small unincorporated towns and open country communities. Because of the same difficulties which now confront the community planners, a program of community research was undertaken to determine the best means of overcoming them.

In the process of this research it was discovered that several hundred small communities were attempting, all in much the same manner, to solve these problems for themselves.

A study of the communities engaged in this endeavor revealed what we hereafter will call the "natural community." In such communities the more responsible portion of the population gravitates regularly and habitually to a common center to engage in activities which are designed chiefly to satisfy the cultural and social needs of the territory involved.

In the process of this study a technique was devised for locating the boundaries of the communities with a considerable degree of accuracy. It permits of checking and rechecking over periods of time, which reveals the fact that the communities remain with very little change for many years. By the use of this method a fairly accurate community map of Lane County had been completed and considerable work had been done on a study of the activities of a number of the communities which have been carrying on organized programs for from five to ten years.

#### Purposes of the Study

The project covered in this report was undertaken to determine:

- 1. Whether the natural communities might provide a basis for community planning in the very small towns and open country districts.
- 2. Whether the communities which were carrying on organization programs might not provide the leadership and organization necessary to carry on community planning.
- 3. Whether a relation could be discovered between the community programs and the effectiveness of social agencies such as the schools, churches, granges, and other civic and social organizations.

4. Whether information might be obtained by this method to assist in planning for more effective service programs such as: (a) consolidation of grade schools, (b) establishment of union high school districts, (c) recreation, (d) extension services of the institutions of higher education, and (e) the National Youth Administration.

#### Methods Employed and Limitations of the Project

From the start of the project the investigators were limited to the consideration of such information about the population groups as could be obtained from interviews with group leaders and from records of organizations or agencies carrying on activities of a service character. Regulations forbade house to house canvasses. Estimates of the number of persons in a given community had to be reached by counts of families or calculations based on the number of children of school age. Even such estimates were made in only a few communities for purposes of comparison.

Because of the very limited amount of assistance available, it was decided to make some important comparisons on the basis of information in hand at the beginning of the study.

The community map of Lane County (see Fig. 100) was completed and superimposed upon maps showing school districts and election precincts. Physical resources of the communities, such as school houses, grange halls, and churches, were inserted to show their positions relative to the population centers or natural communities. This made possible some tentative studies to determine if possible a relation between the effectiveness of the agency and its relative position in the community.

The results were sufficiently illuminating to warrant extended research in a number of instances. These will be indicated later in the report. By rechecking community boundaries of a number of communities relatively near to Eugene it was found that the original boundaries, that is those determined by former surveys, were approximately correct or had changed very little.

Similar studies in other states have indicated the relatively permanent character of the communities. They change very slowly, if at all. The natural limits of many of them are determined by geographic or other conditions which insure a certain degree of permanence.

After the comparative maps were completed for Lane County and the deductions based upon them were checked as far as time and the available labor supply permitted, it was decided to select another county to determine whether an application of identical techniques would give comparable results. Funds available did not permit carrying the study as far as in Lane County, but the results achieved indicate that further investigation would give practically the same results. Because of the well developed planning program in Clackamas County and because of the extent to which the community organization program had been executed in that county by the communities themselves it was decided to use it for purposes of comparison. The second part of this report indicates the results. Further studies should be made in

Clackamas County, however, before attempting to base social programs on community boundaries indicated herein.

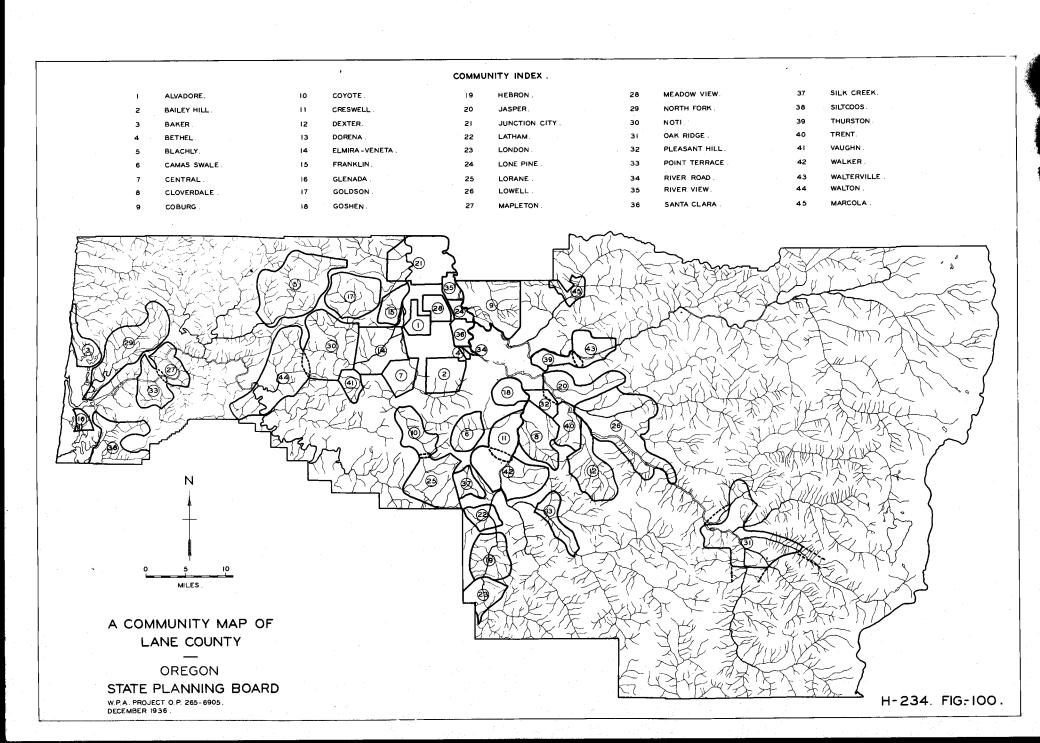
When the Clackamas County studies were nearing completion the State Planning Board received a request from a joint committee representing the Court of Domestic Relations and a number of character forming organizations in Multnomah County to extend the study to the communities in that county lying outside the city limits of Portland, to determine whether any relation could be discovered between the incidence of juvenile delinquency and the degree of community solidarity or integration. A map of the natural communities outside of Portland was prepared and superimposed upon the map showing school districts and election precincts. Surveys of the communities were carried far enough to determine the approximate population, the location of schools, granges, churches, and any property or natural areas used for social and recreational purposes. Upon this composite map the delinquencies for the year 1935 were spotted to determine possible relations between delinquency and the conditions under which it occurred. quencies of several years should have been studied, but time and available labor did not permit. The results of this work in Multnomah County are stated in Part IV.

So much of the work done on this project was of a preliminary character that it is unsafe to draw hard and fast conclusions on the basis of results. The results do, however, suggest some illuminating possibilities for future studies.

Intensive studies of the populations and their social resources within the natural communities themselves, to determine all the factors at work in a given area, would have to be made before the importance of the factors studied in this project could be evaluated properly. It is our opinion that a very important beginning has been made and some highly significant facts have been discovered—facts which must be taken into consideration in planning for small communities. Muct effort in the direction of community organization has been wasted in the past and some costly experiments have failed for want of the knowledge of the populations involved, which a study of this character would have revealed.

Not all the population of a given county falls within the natural communities. Frequently a considerable area with a comparatively dense population fails to coordinate its cultural and social life to a sufficient degree to be recognized as a natural community. Scattered populations lie in sparsely settled areas and in areas between highly coordinated communities. All such areas we have for want of a better term called interstitial areas. Up to date no definite effort has been made to study these areas. It is highly important that such areas should be studied to determine if possible why coordination has not taken place spontaneously as it has in the natural communities. In a program of community planning, also, some method should be included for improving the social situation of the people living in these

districts. Further consideration is given to this problem in Part  $V_{\bullet}$ 



#### II. LANE COUNTY

Forty-four Lane County communities are included in this study. These are listed by name and identified by numbers on Fig. 100. The names of the communities are those by which they are generally known in the communities themselves and by the inhabitants of nearby communities. There is not always local agreement on this point. For instance in Siltcoos community (No. 38) the northern part is known as Canary and the southern part as Ada. A study of the district revealed that these two neighborhoods were really part of a natural community more properly called Siltcoos. Another district in the Mohawk Valley extending from Donna to Mabel and Wendling tends to function as a natural community with its center at Marcola. At the time of this study, according to the criteria used in locating natural communities this district did not qualify for that designation. There are indications that communities are in process of formation in the upper canyon of the McKenzie River at Vida, Blue River and McKenzie Bridge, but these were not sufficiently distinguishable to be included. In making the community map a large and almost uninhabited section comprising the entire east end of the county was omitted. The Oak Ridge community (No. 31) is set off from the rest of the communities by a rugged area through which the Willamette River flows in a narrow canyon for approximately eight miles. A few families at the north end of this canyon at a station named Eula belong definitely in the Lowell com-

munity (No. 26). Separated from Oak Ridge by a high narrow hill between the main river and the North Fork is a small neighborhood named Westfir which now has easy access to Oak Ridge through the tunnel of the Southern Pacific Railway. The community line proper does not include Westfir, but the dotted line shows the close connection between the two districts. In a number of instances a narrow strip between two communities is inhabited by families who participate in community activities. These areas are indicated on the map by broken lines. The communities presenting this condition are Thurston (No. 39) and Walterville (No. 43), Creswell (No. 11) and Walker (No. 42), Noti (No. 30) and Walton (No. 44), Mapleton (No. 27) and Point Terrace (No. 33), and to a lesser degree Coyote (No. 10) and Lorane (No. 25). These are not properly interstitial areas, because persons living in them have more or less regular social contacts with the communities on either side of them; but in other respects these areas present interstitial characteristics, as will appear elsewhere in the report.

As has been indicated previously, the basis of the natural all communities is social and cultural. When the community map was completed it was traced on transparent paper and superimposed upon a map showing first the election precincts and then the school districts. In many instances there was no correlation between the community boundaries and those of either the school districts or the election precincts. This indicated that the natural communities in such instances did

not coincide with either the educational or the political areas. It was already known that the natural community areas bore little or no relation to the trade or economic areas. In a number of the natural communities the territory was found to coincide rather closely with the school district but was divided, apparently without rhyme or reason, into several election precincts. In still a third group it was found that the natural community coincided almost exactly with the school district and the election precinct. In the second group the cultural-social activities of the community were found tied rather closely to the schools, and in the third the political, educational and cultural-social interests were identical.

The discovery of these conditions immediately suggested further study to determine whether the separation or the coincidence of the cultural-social, educational and political interests of the communities was reflected in any way in the community life. If it should prove that separation of community interests resulted in community problems, or that identity of interests resulted in definite community advantages, the knowledge of these facts would be an invaluable aid to planning in the future. Because of the limited amount of funds available little field work could be done, and comparisons had to be based upon information which had been collected in previous studies and upon information obtained from the records of schools, granges, fraternal organizations,

churches and similar societies.

munity betterment would be more difficult to attain in a community divided into several election precincts. Information in hand did not permit of drawing conclusions upon this point. Previous experience, however, led to the belief that information bearing upon this question could be obtained by investigations in the communities if such could be made. Santa Clara, shown in Fig. 106, is an instance of a well defined natural community whose political interests are divided into precincts, some of which carry the voters entirely out of the community to exercise the franchise or engage in activity of a political character. Space does not permit the multiplication of these illustrations, but there are many such in all three of the counties studied.

If later studies should demonstrate a negative relation in such communities the realignment of precincts to make them coincide more nearly with the community boundaries ought not to be difficult. Positive influences should appear in subsequent studies of communities in which political precincts and community areas coincide or where precincts are already arranged on the basis of natural subdivisions of the community. Junction City, Fig. 103, is a community in which the latter condition exists. Fig. 106 illustrates several communities in which the election precinct and the community are almost identical

In several of the highly integrated communities with successful educational and cultural-social programs, the

division of the territory into illogical political divisions appears not to have affected the community to an appreciable degree.

The following selection of communities has been made because of the obvious influence of coordination or lack of coordination between the cultural-social and educational interests, as indicated by organized activity of community clubs or organizations functioning as such, by the degree of community support of schools, and by the degree of effectiveness of other purposive organizations such as the Grange. The series tends to indicate the basic importance which the community attaches, consciously or unconsciously, to the cultural-social program. If this is identified with the school, a grange or a church, these organizations are immeasurably benefited thereby. If such agencies fail to be identified in some measure with the cultural-social program they are rarely strong or well supported. The culturalsocial program, through the medium of a community club, frequently flourishes without identification with any of these agencies or their programs.

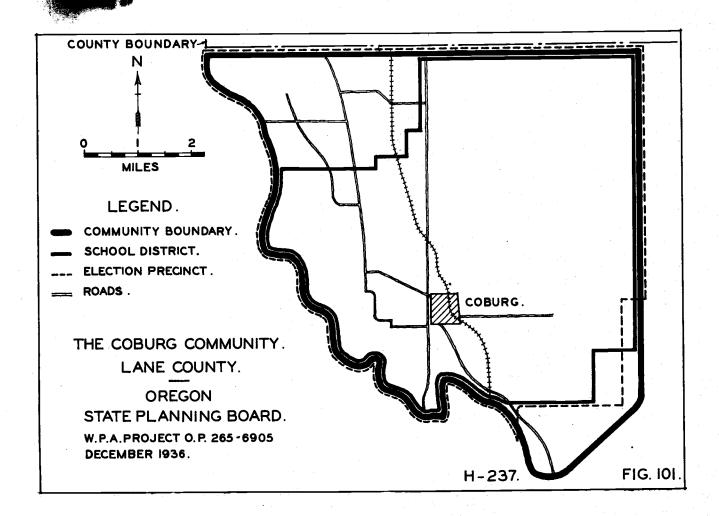
(Fig. Coburg Community (Fig. 101, No. 9 on Fig. 100)

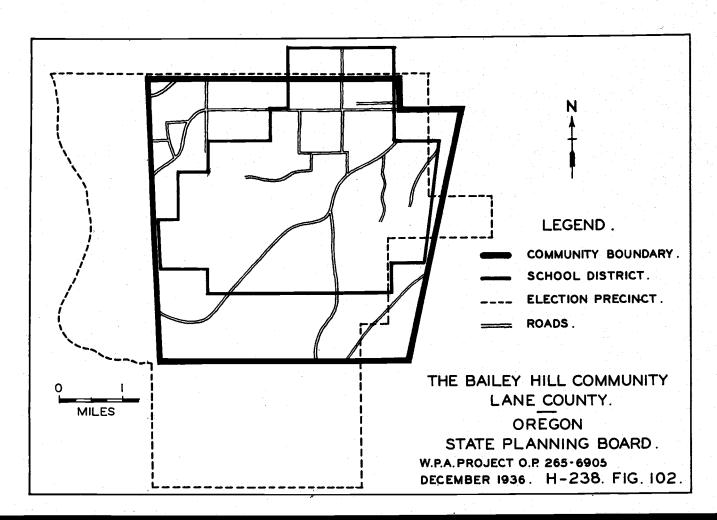
The Coburg community takes its name from the town of Coburg which is situated about seven miles northeast of Eugene. The territory forms a rough triangle formed by the Coburg hills on the east, the Linn County line on the north and the McKenzie and Willamette Rivers on the southwest.

The northeastern part of the community is almost uninhabited because of densely wooded hillsides. The population of approximately 800 lives on level land lying between the hills and the river in an area about 11 miles long from northwest to southeast and about five miles wide. Because of the hills and the river the community is distinctly set off from other communities. Except a small strip in the southeast corner, the election precinct coincides with the community boundary. Except a small area in the southeast corner and a somewhat larger district in the northwest corner the community is composed of one large school district. For these reasons the territory provides a good illustration of a well integrated natural community having its cultural-social activity closely identified with its educational program.

The identification of these community interests is reflected in a fairly well equipped and well supported grade school and a good high school situated adjacent to each other in the rural village of Coburg, whose business is confined principally to local retail trade. The grade school population of the area declined 79 pupils from 1928 to 1936. The grade school at Coburg had 157 pupils in 1936. The high school draws its students from the entire area. The building serves as a community house for a large part of the community's social and cultural activities. The grade school in the northwest corner of the community declined from a school population of 64 in 1928 to 48 in 1936.

Because of a convenient system of good roads the general





population of this area gravitates to the Coburg center for its social life. A small grange is situated in the village of Coburg. With a membership of 36 in 1936, this organization is reported as having had a struggle to maintain itself. This fact may be due in part to the degree to which the cultural and social life of the community is integrated around the school at Coburg, although more careful study of the local situation would have to be made before arriving at conclusions.

#### Bailey Hill Community

(Fig. 102, No. 2 on Fig. 100)

Bailey Hill is an excellent example of a well integrated rural community. It lies immediately west of the city of Eugene. Except very small areas in the southeast and northeast corners, the community falls entirely within the election precinct.

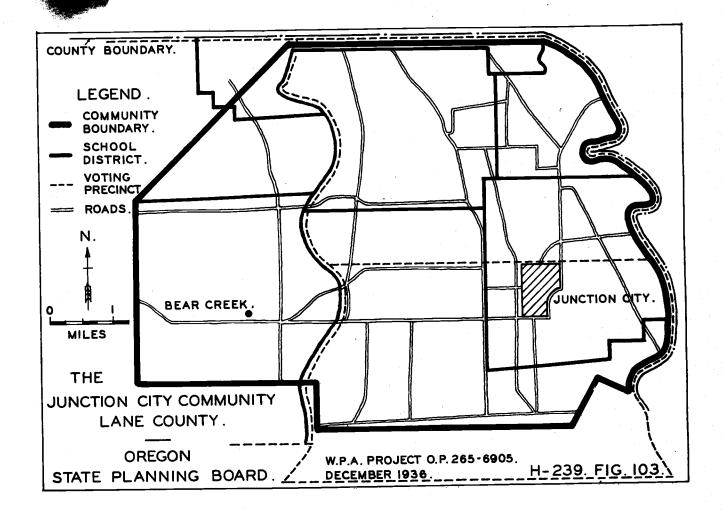
The central area of the community is included in school district No. 7, which contains the greater population of the community. A few children in the southern and northwestern parts attend school outside the community boundary. The school population of district No. 7 increased from 77 in 1928 to 91 in 1936. An active grange with a membership averaging about 60 includes most of the adults of the community. Leaders in the grange are also leaders in the activity of the school. The grange hall and the school house are adjacent to each other in almost the exact center of the community. The

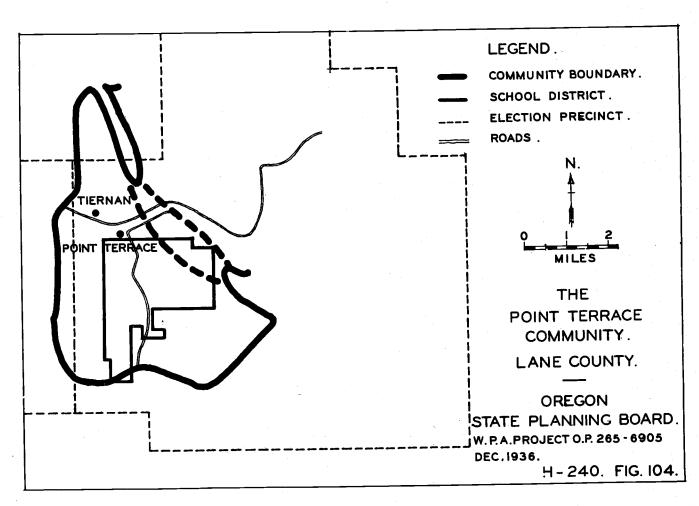
A relatively new and well-equipped grange hall serves as a community house. Although the eastern boundary of the community extends almost to the city limits of Eugene the cultural life remains distinctly rural and the social satisfactions of the people, with the possible exception of the young persons of high school age, are achieved through their own efforts.

## Junction City Community (Fig. 103, No. 21 on Fig. 100)

The Junction City community forms an area approximately six miles north and south and eight miles east and west. The bulk of the population is in the eastern part of the area, because of a low area of "wet" land in the western part which overflows in the rainy season. The population of the community is approximately 3500 persons, about a thousand of whom live in the town of Junction City. The incorporated area is very small.

There are approximately 1000 families, an average of 3.5 persons per family. While the area is divided among four election precincts, one of these is the corporate limits of Junction city and one other falls entirely within the community. A third projects a little into the interstitial area on the south. That portion of the population lying west of the Long Tom River votes outside the community or at a small school at Bear Creek. Inhabitants of the Bear Creek district, however, have a very definite sense of belonging in the larger community, and gravitate to the social center at Junction City for the satisfaction of most of their cultural-social needs. Politically, with the





possible exception of the Bear Creek district, the community is autonomous.

Junction City is distinctly a rural village. Practically all of the activities of the rather large community center
there. It is also the wholesale and retail trade center of
the entire district.

Despite the apparent solidarity of the social life of the Junction City community it has never functioned as an organized community. This is apparently due to the fact that a number of relatively strong organizations are established there which hesitate to enter into a community organization for fear of losing something of their identity and independence. However, this failure to function as an organized community has not prevented development of a great deal of social coherence. It has, nevertheless, interfered to some extent with some community enterprises such as development of an adequate recreational center and construction of a building for a community house. There has been agitation for both of these for a number of years, which shows the growth of a definite community consciousness.

Perhaps the strongest group, aside from the fraternal organizations, is the Danish Brotherhood. A large part of the farm population is of Danish descent. This organization carries on the social, cultural and athletic activities characteristic of the European folk societies. The grange has a present membership of 53, which is small considering

the size of the community and the predominance of the agricultural interests. The limited strength of the grange is no doubt due in part to the presence of the Danish Brotherhood, which is composed principally of farmers. It may be due, also, to some extent to the fact that much of the social life centers around the high school, which serves the entire community, and the fraternal organizations, which are quite active. A considerable number of the farmers belong to these. Many farmers! wives are active in the auxiliaries.

In addition to the high school, which provides a considerable amount of the social life for the young people of high school age and for recent graduates, the grade school serving Junction City and its immediate environs has 330 pupils. represents a growth of 110 since 1928. There are three other small grade schools in the community. Two of these are within two miles of Junction City. One has 58 pupils and another 35. The Bear Creek school, five miles west, has 48 pupils. A fourth district abandoned its school a number of years ago and transports its children to the Junction City school. A fifth district partly within the community has a small one room school in the interstitial area between River View (No. 35), Meadowview (No. 28) and Junction City communities. Very little activity other than educational occurs at these small schools, with the possible exception of Bear Creek. This would appear to be an ideal community in which to experiment with consolidation, which has started spontaneously. The Junction City high

school already serves the community as a union high school, in effect. There are indications that it may soon become a union high school in fact.

Studies of this community made prior to the present project combine with the results of this one to show that the community presents an area in which community organization might be undertaken with great promise of success and immediate benefit to the cultural and social life of its people.

From populations situated in highly developed and long established communities we now turn to consideration of two small groups which are carrying on their activities under conditions that are still similar in great degree to those of the pioneer settlers. Each is penetrated by a modern highway which gives easy access to the outside world, but the greater part of the people live under what are very near pioneer conditions.

### Point Terrace Community (Fig. 104, No. 33 on Fig. 100)

The Point Terrace community lies in the canyon of the Siuslaw River immediately west of Mapleton and about nine miles east of Florence in the western part of the county. It is separated from the North Fork community by a high, precipitous, densely wooded and almost impassable ridge which makes social intercourse between these two communities practically impossible. A small interstitial area lies between it and the Mapleton community in which a few families

live. Its area is probably not more than five square miles. Much of this is uninhabited because of the ruggedness of the terrain. When this study was made there were 24 families with a total of 85 persons.

The families live on very small plots of land on either side of the Siuslaw and a small tributary which comes into it from the south. Practically all of the habitable area is at tidewater level. Several families live on the north side of the main river and cannot reach the other side by road without a 9-mile trip via the bridge at Mapleton. During pioneer days the community was served by boat from a small packet plying between Mapleton and Florence. Later the Southern Pacific Railway established a station at Beck (post office Tiernan) at the extreme western edge of the community on the north bank of the river. The Eugene-Florence highway now passes through the northern part of the district.

Although the families on the north bank are cut off from the rest of the community by the river they maintain their contact by small boats rather than to merge with the Mapleton community, accessible by highway immediately to the east. There is a strong feeling of community solidarity.

Except a small strip on the west side and a northern projection, the entire community falls within one election precinct and a very small school district occupies the central part of the community south of the river. A very primitive one-room school is badly situated in the extreme southeastern

corner of the district. The school population had declined from 29 pupils in 1928 to seven at the time this report was prepared. Because of the inaccessibility of the school building and the entire absence of other facilities, the community has, by popular subscription, provided itself with a crude but well-equipped community house situated on a small terrace above the west bank of the tributary stream at the point where it joins the Siuslaw, hence the name Point Terrace. This club house is equipped with an auditorium for its community gatherings and entertainments. There are facilities for preparing and serving the community meals which are served at almost every meeting.

The entire cultural and social life of the community centers at this building. A small congregation of the Christian Church is served occasionally by a nonresident minister.

If the school is to receive adequate support it should be relocated at Point Terrace. Since the number of children is so small and the cultural-social needs of the community are being cared for at the community house it would seem that the school might be consolidated with Mapleton with which the community is now connected by a good highway. The nearest grange is at Mapleton. Because of the relatively minor importance of agriculture in the region this organization is having a struggle to maintain itself.

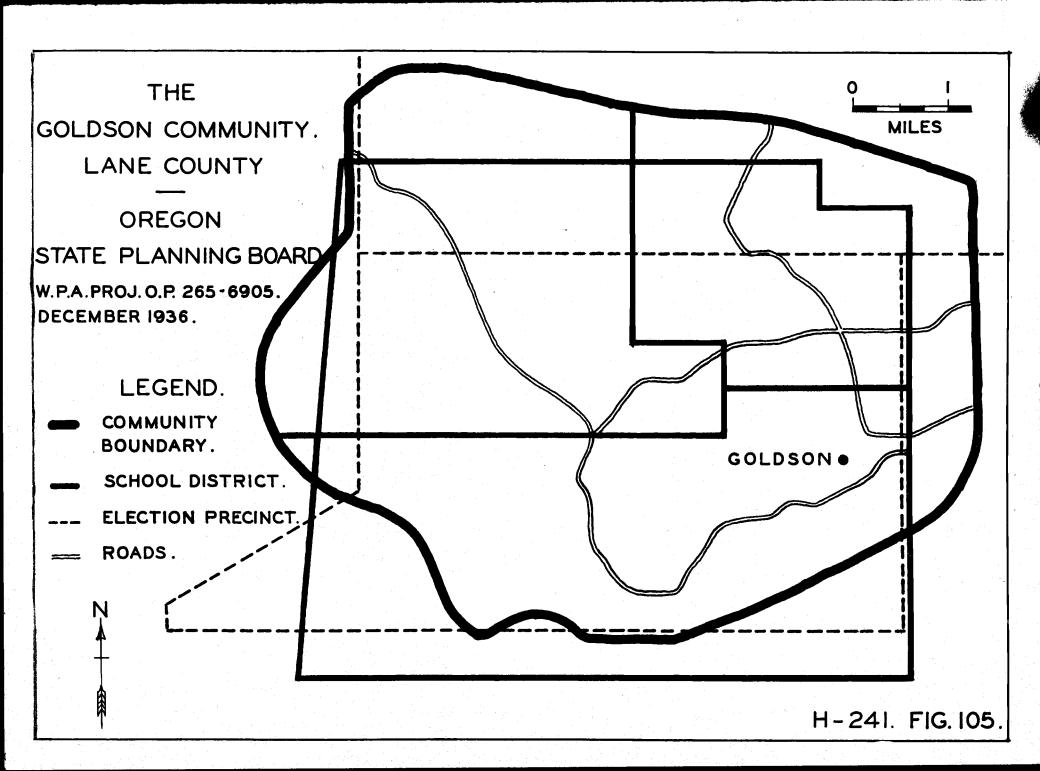
It would appear that any plans which the county or the

state might have for improving the social situation of this community might well be carried out in cooperation with the Community Club.

The primitive character of the Goldson community differs from that of Point Terrace by reason of its geographical setting. It covers an area of about eight square miles, but as in the case of Point Terrace, the inhabited area is threaded along small streams in narrow mountain valleys at a mean elevation of between eight and nine hundred feet. Its western border skirts the summit of the Coast Range.

A population of approximately 100 is attempting to bring small stump patches and clearings under cultivation, with indifferent success. Some garden truck for home consumption is produced in addition to very limited field crops. There is some dairying. Shakes, wood and posts from the wood lots supplement the agricultural crops. A considerable part of the population lives on earnings from logging operations and labor in a few small saw mills. A recent logging development has brought in an additional group of six or eight families, a part of whom no doubt will find permanent lodgement in the area.

Almost the entire population falls within one election precinct which blocks out the center of the area. The community is divided into three small school districts, two of



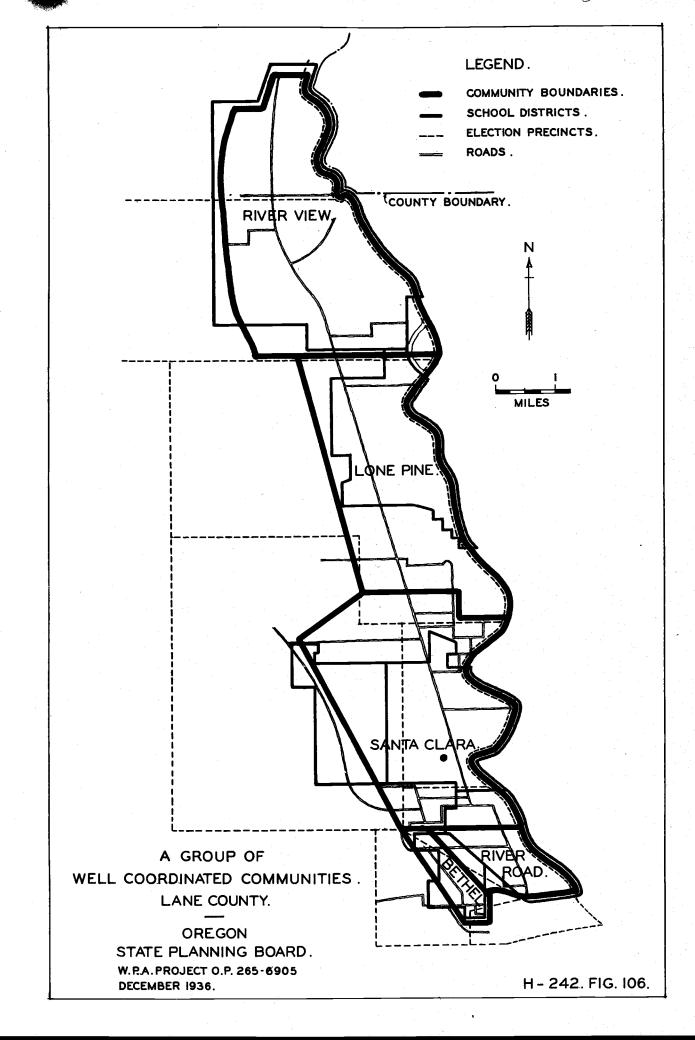
which are not functioning. The district near the new logging camp had 32 pupils in 1936. This number was expected to increase in the fall to some extent by reason of the new settlers at the camp. The other district had 27 pupils in 1936, having lost one-fourth of its school population since 1928.

Social life failed to develop around the schools because the buildings were not suitable for community uses. As a result several years ago the community raised a fund by popular subscription and built a small community house on the Eugene-Florence highway one mile west of the one remaining school. This building was used for entertainments and dancing. Six years ago the building was enlarged, a stage was added for dramatic purposes, and a wing was built on to house a kitchen and a small club room. The community club is now dormant. No social activity is carried on at the schools. There is no grange in the community. Efforts have been made to keep a Sunday school going at the community house, with indifferent success. Some of the older young people and younger married couples go over the pass to activities of a social character at the Blachly Grange which serves as a community house for the Blachly community (No. 5), and to dances and picnics at Triangle Lake resort which is also in the Blachly community.

The Goldson community is so primitive and so remote from other active social centers that for the greater part of the population the only social life they have is what

they provide for themselves at the community house. This is very crude when compared with the cultural-social activities of the outside communities, but it is highly satisfying to all age groups. The gatherings at the community house were attended by almost the entire population, old and young. In the winter time dances were held in the community house one or two Saturday nights per month. These were very popular with the young people and younger married couples. The older folks came also to watch the dancers and visit and the smaller children played in and around the community building. Some ground has been acquired for a "yard" for picnics and a recreation field but the field has not been developed. A CCC camp at the eastern entrance to the community has just developed a well-equipped state park camp ground which will be available for community picnics in the future.

In view of the importance to the Goldson community of the cultural-social activities which they provide for themselves, these should be conducted in a manner to enhance the community's interest in its schools. It would seem that this might be accomplished by consolidating the three school districts in a new and modern 2-room school near enough to the community house to give the school an opportunity to participate more effectively in the community programs. Political action to this end could be taken easily because the three school districts fall within the community boundary and the greater part of the whole falls in a single election precinct.



#### Five Communities

Fig. 106 is included because it is possible to show on a single map five communities having a high degree of coordination which reflects itself in a definite integration of the cultural-social and educational interests of the communities. The communities are Bethel (No. 4), River Road (No. 34), Santa Clara (No. 36), Lone Pine (No. 24) and River View (No. 35).

The following descriptions have been condensed because they are illustrative of conditions which have been discussed in connection with other communities.

All of them seem to bear out the conclusion that in communities where the community boundaries coincide to a high degree with the school district and with the election precinct there is apt to be a relatively high degree of integration of the cultural-social and educational programs.

When the social life of the community is identified with a school program the school benefits thereby.

When a purposive organization such as a grange is situated where it functions as a community club it benefits thereby; and if adjacent to a school it tends to strengthen the community's interest in and support of the school.

Likewise, when the community develops a community club for the satisfaction of its cultural-social needs, the activities of that organization strengthen the community's interest in and support of the school, when it meets at or

adjacent to the school.

Bethel-The Bethel community occupies a narrow strip of land perhaps half a mile wide and a mile and a half long between the Southern Pacific shops and the Prairie road and the Oregon Electric tracks. The population of something over 300 persons is composed mainly of young married families with young children. There are three teachers in an excellent, partially graded school enrolling 142 pupils. An active home and school club includes practically all of the women of the community. It is continually active in the interest of the school, A community club organized to supply the cultural-social needs of the district includes practically the entire population. It meets at the school and carries on an active program of cultural entertainments with a strong leaning toward "giving plays."

Although the community touches the northwest corner of the Eugene city limits, it maintains its cultural-social identity and provides most of its own social life.

River Road -- The River Road community lies immediately east of the Bethel community. It covers a diamond shaped area of about two square miles. It lies astride the Pacific High-way immediately east of the Southern Pacific shops and touches the north city limits of Eugene. The population is growing rapidly by reason of the subdivision of the rich agricultural lands along the highway. Small, modern homes are going up on "acreages" -- the plots being from one to five acres. Many of

the heads of families have their business or work in Eugene.

Despite this fact the community retains a distinctly rural character. There are at present about 135 families with a population of approximately 750 persons. The school district and the community are almost identical. For many years an active community club fostered by a woman's club met in and supported a very progressive school. Two years ago the school building burned. It has been replaced by a very modern graded school which employs six teachers. The school is supported also by an aggressive parent-teacher association. Since the building of the new schoolhouse the woman's club which sponsored the community club has built a well-equipped community house on the opposite side of the highway.

The cultural level of the community is very high. Despite its proximity to Eugene it preserves and strengthens its own identity and presents an excellent example of a well organized and integrated community effectively meeting its cultural-social needs.

Santa Clara--The Santa Clara community is bisected by the Pacific Highway and extends from the Bethel and River Road communities on the south to the Lone Pine community on the north. The Willamette River forms its eastern border, and it extends westward to a large interstitial area west of the Southern Pacific tracks. It comprises an area of about 10 square miles.

The Santa Clara center lies in a voting precinct and a

school district of that name. The western part of the larger community projects into the Irving precinct and the Irving school district projects into the community some distance. The greater part of the population lives in the school district of Santa Clara, but that village provides a cultural and social center for the larger area.

The unincorporated hamlet from which the community takes its name is almost purely a cultural-social center. A high school, a grade school, a grange hall and community house and a church constitute the physical equipment of the community. In addition to this group of community buildings there are two filling stations, a small grocery, a garage and a small bakery. There are a few residences surrounding the cross roads, and the remainder of this population lives upon "acreage," the plots ranging from a few acres to some quite large farms to the north and the west. It is almost purely a rural community.

The grade school occupies a modern building is partly graded, and has four teachers. The high school building is old, but a standard curriculum is staffed by four teachers. The high school serves as a union school for a large area, but it is not a union high school. A number of years ago a community club was organized and a community house was constructed in the rear of the high school building, which also served the purposes of a gymnasium for the school. After several years the community club asked the local grange to take over the management of the community house. Since that

time the building has served as a grange hall as well as a community house and gymnasium.

Fifty school children in the western district attend a grade school at Irving outside the community. There are 210 children in the Santa Clara schools. There are about 121 families in the community with a population of about 650. The Santa Clara community carries on a very active community support of the schools, and the grange has benefited by its identification with the community house.

Community spirit is high, and a great deal of attention is given to keeping up the appearance of yards and buildings. While the center of the community is only three miles from Eugene the population as a whole provides satisfaction for its own cultural and social needs. The young people attend motion pictures in Eugene, and some of the adults belong to fraternal orders there; but aside from this the community is culturally and socially self-contained.

Lone Pine -- The Lone Pine community is bisected by the Pacific Highway and extends from the Santa Clara community on the south to the River View community on the north, about four miles. It has a total area of between eight and nine square miles. Its boundaries are quite definite because of the river on the east and a narrow interstitial strip between it and the Meadow View community on the west. It is a purely rural or open country community with no industry but agriculture, except a filling station with a small auto

camp on the highway. The boundary line between the communities to the north and south are clearly distinguishable. Most of the area falls in the Lone Pine precinct, and the heart of the community lies within the Lone Pine school district.

There is a modern, 2-room grade school which is so constructed that the two rooms can be thrown together as an auditorium for entertainments and community gatherings. There are about 40 families in the community with an approximate population of 160 persons. The school yard is used as a playground winter and summer and the play shed built for the children to use in the rainy season also serves as a basketball pavilion. The school yard is used as a picnic ground in the summer and the school building is used continuously as a community house with regular gatherings at which entertainments are given and suppers are served monthly from October to May.

The entire social life of this compact community revolves around the school. The cultural and social activities are handled by a well-organized and agressive community club. There is no grange in the district, the nearest being at Santa Clara, with another on the southwest border of the community at Irving, an unorganized or interstitial area west of the Santa Clara community. A small woman's club composed of members of the community club meets in the school and in neighbor's homes. The community club provides "good times" for all ages and sizes in the area. The meetings are very popular and the attendance usually crowds the capacity of the

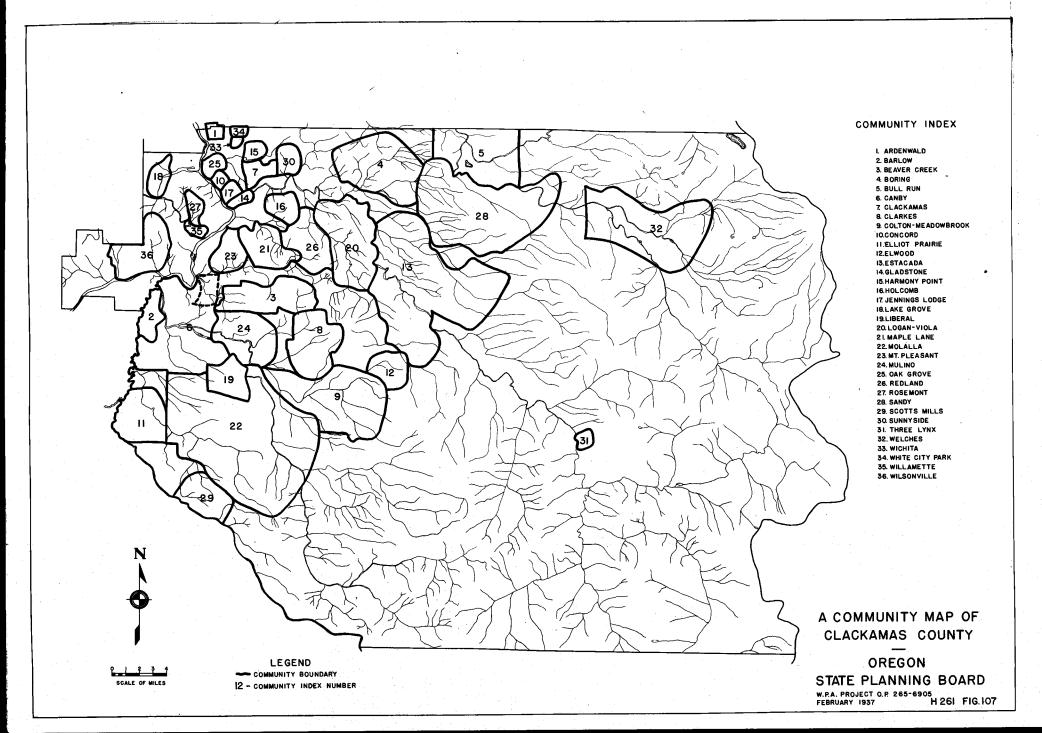
school house. This is an instance where the school obviously benefits by its identification with the other cultural and social activities of the community.

River View--The boundaries of this community and the school district of the same name are practically identical. The community lies in the southeastern corner of a large election precinct which comprises part of the Junction City community. In spite of the fact that the River View district actually cuts off a corner of the Junction City community and comes within a mile of that village, the boundary between the two communities is quite distinct.

Like Lone Pine, this is a purely rural community and is definitely school centered. In addition to the school this community has a small country church with a Sunday school, a Ladies Aid Society and an Epworth League. There are about 35 families with a total population of approximately 140 persons. There are about 100 members in the community club which meets in the school house. The present grade school population is about 85. The cultural and social activity is divided between the community club and the church, which is near the school. The beneficial effects upon the school of this identification of cultural and social interests are obvious.

The area comprises about ten square miles and lies along the highway between Lone Pine and Junction City for about five miles. The young people attend moving pictures in

Junction City, and individual families are identified with lodges and the grange there. Yet the church and the community club provide a major part of the social life of all age groups.



#### III. CLACKAMAS COUNTY

As we have indicated elsewhere, the work done in Clackamas County was, with the exception of a few communities, in the nature of a preliminary survey. Before deductions can with safety be drawn a careful recheck will have to be made to verify community boundaries. It is possible, also, that a careful recheck may bring about some redistribution of families and of areas now classed as interstitial.

However, if the community boundaries are approximately correct as shown, some deductions are obvious. Subsequent studies should clear up the greater part of present uncertainty and make the community map of the county a practical base for much important social planning. It should be borne in mind that much information such as was used for comparison in making the Lane County study is not yet available in Clackamas, so that comparisons of communities cannot be carried as far as in Lane. Care has been exercised not to draw conclusions beyong a point warranted by information in hand.

Time and the available labor force did not permit the collection of a great amount of information about the communities beyond the tentative establishment of their boundaries and an inventory of their material resources used for cultural and social purposes. The following reflections are based upon a comparison of the natural communities with the election precincts, the grade school districts, and the

union high school districts.

Because of the wide variation between the communities and the election precincts, the population census based upon the latter could not be used in this report, which is based upon the school children in the districts and parts of districts falling within the communities. These figures may be far from correct for those communities which include several parts of districts, but they will have to suffice until the community boundaries have been established with greater care and a count by families has been made in them.

The settled portion of the county lies north and west of a line drawn diagonally across the county from northeast to southwest, cutting off approximately one third of the total area. Except Welches (No. 32) and Three Lynx (No.31), all of the natural communities lie northwest of this line, their southeastern boundaries making the line apparent on the large map of the county, Fig. 107. This distribution is determined by the topography of the county. A rugged mountainous area traversed by hundreds of small headwater streams breaks down along this line to wider valleys with much rolling and flat tillable land. The mountainous area is almost uninhabited.

In comparison with Lane County there is a greater diversity in the size of the natural communities. Several of these which lie along the edge of the wilderness region are much larger than any community in Lane County. On the other hand, several of the communities between Oregon City and the Mult-

nomah County line are smaller than any community in Lane, with the possible exception of Bethel and River Road.

Three of these, namely Ardenwald (No. 1), White City Park (No. 34), and Wichita (No. 33) all lie within school district No. 1, which also includes a considerable interstitial area lying between these communities and Oak Grove. Small as it is, the Ardenwald community lies in three election precincts.

School district No. 1 includes three election precincts and parts of four others, and with its three natural communities and large unorganized interstitial area it presents a perfect example of the separation of its political, educational, and social life.

The Oak Grove community comprises practically all of school district No. 70, but it is not school centered. A well-equipped community house has been constructed by pri-vate subscription which serves a cultural-social center. The community includes an entire election precinct in the northern part and divides another with the Concord community, which joins it on the southeast. The Concord community falls almost entirely within school district No. 18.

The Jenning's Lodge community (No. 17) joins Concord on the southeast. The community boundary is almost identical with the election precinct and nearly coincides with school district No. 114. On account of lack of time no effort was made to determine whether this coincidence was reflected in

the cultural-social life of the community. The Gladstone community (No. 14) lies southeast of Jenning's Lodge across the Clackamas River from Oregon City. It coincides almost exactly with an election precinct but is divided between two school districts. Gladstone, Jenning's Lodge, Concord and Oak Grove communities lie along the highway between Oregon City and Mil-waukie.

This group in many respects resembles the group of communities immediately north of Eugene in Lane County. It presents an excellent opportunity for further study because of the smallness of the area and the density of the population. The community consciousness is strong, and although the entire area is suburban it does not yet show that diversification of cultural interests characteristic of urban communities.

In addition to the region just discussed, two larger areas, distinctly rural in character, have been selected for illustrative purposes. One of these embraces several communities in the general vicinity of Molalla, and the other includes the Sandy-Estacada region.

## Molalla Region

The map presented in Fig. 108 includes three communities which present conditions of significance of this study. These are the Molalla community (No. 22), the Colton-Meadowbrook community (No. 9), and the Canby Community (No. 6).

Molalla Community--This is the largest in point of area of all Clackamas communities. It is oblong in shape and

# NATURAL COMMUNITY INDEX NUMBERS 2. BARLOW LEGEND 6. CANBY COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES 8. CLARKES SCHOOL DISTRICTS 9. COLTON-MEADOWBROOK **ELECTION PRECINCTS** II. ELLIOT PRAIRIE ROADS 19. LIBERAL 22. MOLALLA 24. MULINO 29. SCOTTS MILLS MOLALLA REGION CLACKAMAS COUNTY OREGON STATE PLANNING BOARD W.P.A. PROJECT 0.P. 265-6905 H 262 FIG.108

about 13 miles fong from northwest to southeast and about eight or nine miles wide. The town of Molalla is situated a little to the north and east of the center of the territory. The area is less than the square miles indicated by multiplying the length by the breadth because the small but very definite community of Liberal (No. 19) projects itself wholly within what would otherwise be the boundary of the community to within a mile of the town of Molalla and occupies an area of approximately eight square miles.

This leaves the Molalla community with somewhere between 95 and 100 square miles of territory. Because of the size of this community the field workers checked repeatedly from several angles, but each time the boundaries fell where shown on the map.

The boundaries here shown correspond approximately with those of the union high school district except that the Liberal community is included in the latter, as is a vast area of practically uninhabited forest land to the southeast. Its citizens vote in seven separate election precincts, and no single precinct falls wholly within the community. The precinct which carves out the central portion of the community goes on a long gerrymander to the east through the Colton-Meadowbrook community and far out into the uninhabited forest. The inhabitants of the Liberal community vote in the same precinct as do the residents of the region around the town of Molalla. If the people of the Molalla community

wished to take political action for the furthering of their community interests the election precincts should be reorganized to conform more nearly to the community and its natural divisions.

The school districts fall almost entirely within the community. One of these, district No. 25 has a long gerrymander running far out into the mountains, but practically the whole of the inhabited part of it lies within the community. Large and small parts of other school districts project into the community around the borders, dividing its school children, at least, into 18 separate districts. In view of the coherence of the community in its cultural-social program, it would seem to be a suitable field for consolidation of rural schools.

The Liberal community is about equally divided among three school districts but includes small sections of three others. Political autonomy being absent and educational interests divided, the bond which holds the Liberal community together appears to be wholly cultural-social.

The Molalla community is distinctly a cultural-social entity. It has several small churches with very active women's organizations and young people's societies. It has a musical club which enjoys a reputation throughout the county for the excellence of its performances. This club is led by a woman who has taught many years in the town of Molalla. As a successful community enterprise the district has maintained an annual rodeo for many years. The union high school district

supports a good high school. The population estimated on the basis of the school districts within and partly within the community is between 13 and 14 hundred.

Colton-Meadowbrook--The Colton-Meadowbrook community
lies adjacent to the Molalla community on the northeast. It
comprises an area of approximately 30 square miles with a
point projecting to the northwest between the Molalla and
Clarkes communities. In contrast with the Molalla community,
a large part of the area is sparsely populated. This is
especially true along the side bordering the wilderness area.
The estimated population is slightly more than 200.

Were it not for a vast gerrymander into the timber region to the southeast nearly the whole of the Colton school district would fall within the community. It includes practically all of the populated area of the district. The northwestern part of the community includes perhaps three-fourths of school district No. 11, and small parts of three other districts project within the community boundaries. The small village of Colton constitutes the cultural-social center of the community, but a considerable part of the social activity is carried on at a small school in district No. 11 about three miles west. The same families participate in the activities in both places. This indicates a considerable community consciousness in district No. 11 but not enough to enable it to carry on its activities independently.

The population of the community is predominantly Swedish.

It supports a community church with a very active program. The union high school district coincides fairly closely with the community boundary, except the customary gerrymander to the southeast. A dormitory where pupils from the remote sections may live and provide their own sustenance in part is provided in connection with the high school.

The community is well defined and culturally and socially self contained. It lies almost wholly within a large
election precinct which also extends to the west and comprises
the central part of the Molalla community.

There are possibilities of school consolidation in the community already recognized by the union high school district. There is a question, however, whether the social activity at school district No. 11 might not suffer if the school were to be discontinued. A division of the election precinct approximately along the line of the boundary between the Colton-Meadowbrook and Molalla communities would give the latter a high degree of political autonomy. It remains to be seen whether there would be any advantage to the community in this. Later study should clear up this point.

Canby Community--This comprises an irregular-shaped area north of the western part of the Molalla community. The area is approximately 30 square miles and takes its name from the village of Canby which is situated in the northern part of the community and provides its cultural-social center.

As in the case of Molalla, the small Barlow community

(No. 2) is carved wholly out of territory which would otherwise be included in Canby. The Barlow community is a distinct entity and its eastern boundary comes within a mile of the village of Canby. To the northeast the Canby community divides the allegiance of a considerable population which finds satisfaction for a part of its cultural-social needs in Mount Pleasant Community (No. 23).

In contrast with most of Molalla and the whole of Colton-Meadowbrook, there is a fairly dense population about the small town of Canby, which lies on the Southern Pacific Railway and the Pacific Highway. Practically the whole of five school districts and parts of five others lie within the community boundaries. These are brought together in a union high school district which also includes the Barlow community and the area between Canby and Mount Pleasant.

The Canby community proper is highly organized culturally and socially. There are four active churches with resident ministers. There are several social clubs and very aggressive parent-teacher association. A great amount of
social life for young people is organized at the high school
which has a number of active clubs. Since the high school
district and the community are nearly identical this ties a
great amount of the community's cultural and social life
around the educational program.

Politically the Canby community is divided among three election precincts. The one in which Canby is situated in-

cludes the Barlow community also. The remainder of the community comprises two large precincts which do not extend far beyond the community at any place. There is an opportunity for the community to act as an autonomous unit if it chooses to do so.

In view of the fact that the cultural and social center is so definitely situated in the town of Canby, and the accessibility of most of the area by reason of good roads, this would seem to be an excellent field for rural school consolidation without sacrificing any of the social values through closing individual schools. A much more careful study of the community would have to be made, however, before taking such steps.

## Sandy-Estacada Region

The six communities of this region are shown on Fig. 109.

The Sandy and Estacada communities lie adjacent to each other in the eastern part of the populated area of the county. Except the isolated communities of Welches (No. 32) and Three Lynx (No. 31), they represent the farthest penetration into the wilderness area and are in consequence definitely frontier communities in many respects. This remoteness from the centers of population, however, tends to contribute to their solidarity as individual communities. The Estacada community is much larger in area and population but in most respects the two are much alike.

Estacada Community-This contains between 55 and 60

#### LEGEND

COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

ELECTION PRECINCTS

ROADS

## NATURAL COMMUNITY INDEX NUMBERS

4. BORING

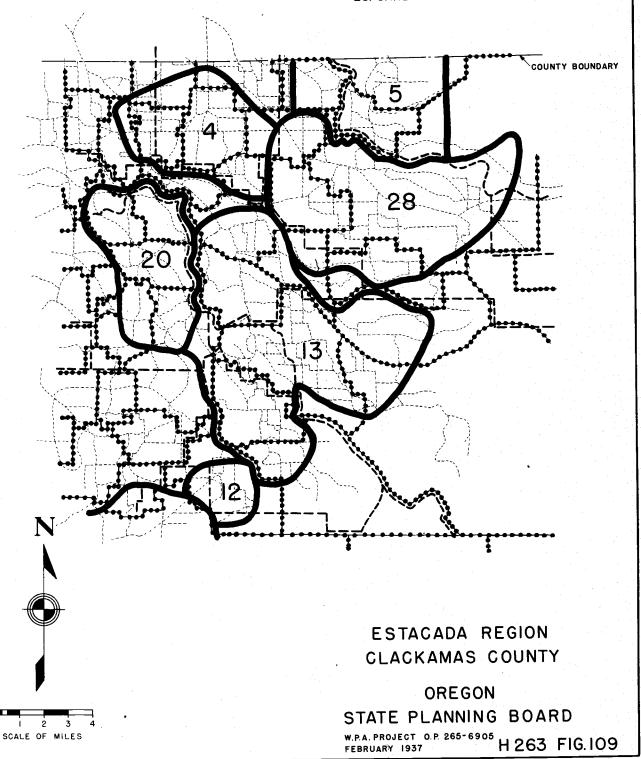
5. BULL RUN

12. ELWOOD

13. ESTACADA

20. LOGAN-VIOLA

28. SANDY



square miles, the extent being determined by the character of the terrain; and the boundaries being set for the most part by high ridges.

Its area is made up of a number of valleys formed by the Clackamas River and several of its tributaries. Following these valleys for the most part, nearly all of the roads converge at the town of Estacada which occupies almost the exact center of the community. The estimated population is between 1000 and 1100.

Politically and educationally the community could not be organized much better than it is, except that some rearrangement of school districts might be beneficial. The central part of the community in which the town of Estacada is situated, comprises an election precinct, and each of the three lobes of the irregular community, north, east and south, falls almost entirely within a precinct, forming four natural political divisions. It would be interesting to learn if this coincidence had reflected itself in the experience of the community in any way.

To a certain extent the same is true of the location of the school districts. The Estacada district comprises practically the whole of the central portion of the community, and district No. 24 to the south and district No. 7 to the north fall practically all within the community boundaries. A large part of another district falls in each of these areas, and it may be that the part within the com-

munity includes the bulk of the population in each district. It may be, also, that the greater part of the population in districts 88 and 57, which project from the wilderness area into the eastern lobe of the community, may lie within the boundaries of the Estacada community. This may be true also of district No. 50 in the eastern part of the north lobe and of No. 14, which extends a short distance into the community west of the Estacada district.

A further study of the community might reveal the advisability of realigning some of the school districts or the
possibility of consolidation to an advantage. The union high
school district coincides fairly accurately with the community
boundary except that it includes interstitial areas to the
northwest and west and a vast section of the wilderness area
to the south and east.

Sandy Community—The Sandy community lies immediately northeast of the Estacada community, from which it is separated all but a short distance by a narrow interstitial area. It comprises an area of approximately 45 square miles. A large part of this is sparsely populated, there being only between 450 and 500 people in the community.

The community is roughly shaped like a crescent with the concave side to the north. It is about 10 miles long from east to west. The northern side follows the north bank of the Sandy River and the greater part of the population occupies the central part south of the river where a relatively high

plateau is traversed frequently by market roads. The cultural-social center is in the village of Sandy near the north-west tip of the crescent. Except for small portions in the east and south of the community it lies within a single election precinct.

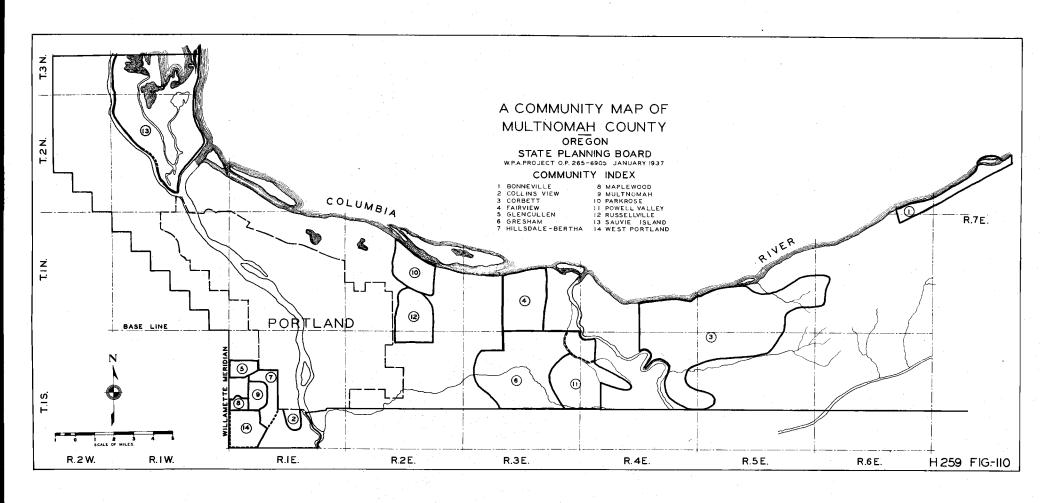
The Sandy school district (No. 46) comprises approximately 3/4 of the area of the community. District No. 39 immediately to the west lies practically within the community also, as do the greater part of No. 19 on the north and Nos. 50 and 89 in the south. The Sandy union high school district includes the Bull Run community to the north and a part of Boring to the west. The remainder of the Boring community uses the Sandy high school although outside the district. A gerrymander to the east includes the wilderness community of Welches (No. 32) and extends on to the snow clad summit of the Cascades and Mount Hood.

The arrangement of the roads and the centering of the cultural-social life of the community at the village of Sandy would seem to suggest the possibility of some consolidation of schools.

Both the Sandy and the Estacada communities offer excellent possibilities for community organization. Because of their remoteness from any large population center, they are practically obliged to provide the whole of their cultural and social life. Owing to the frontier character of the communities, they have not yet become accustomed to

expensive equipment in the way of buildings and facilities. A more satisfying cultural-social program might be stimulated easily by the encouragement of the population to active participation with the aid of local leadership through the schools and the extension services of the state system of higher education.

Because of their nearness to each other and the many points of resemblance between them they present a fruitful area for further research and planning.



#### IV. MULTNOMAH COUNTY

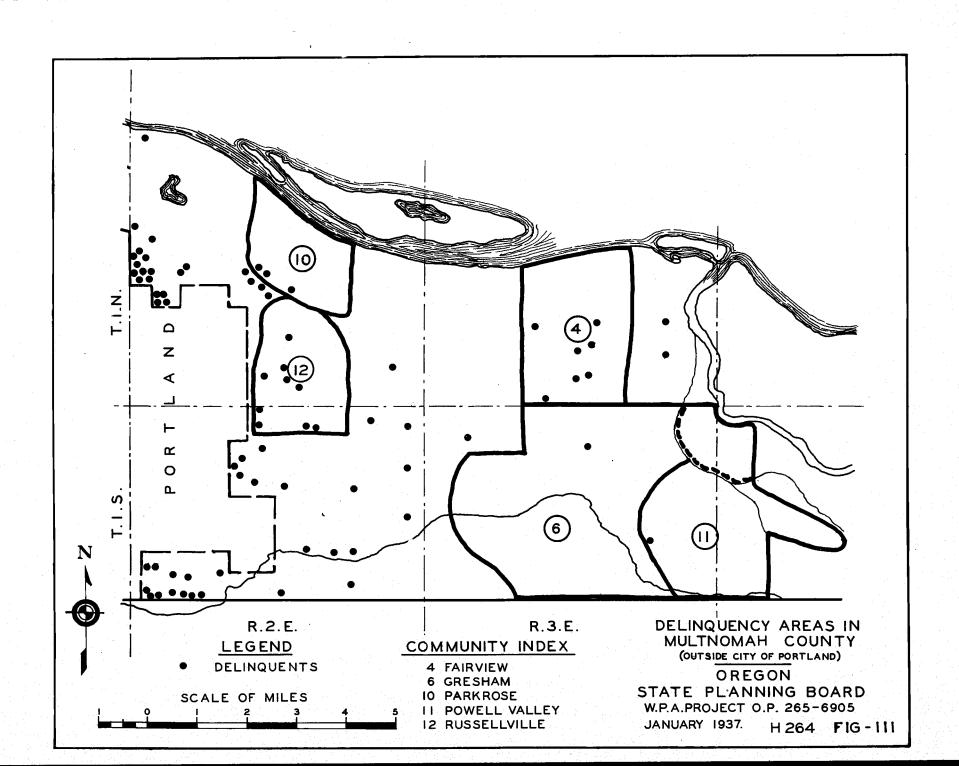
While the study of the Clackamas County communities was being made a delegation of representatives of the Multnomah County Court of Domestic Relations and a number of character forming organizations requested that the Planning Board extend its study to include Multnomah County. It was hoped that such a study would enable those organizations to make a more effectual approach to the practical problem of preventing delinquency. In response to this request the study was extended to Multnomah County and carried far enough to determine the location of the natural communities and the extent and nature of their facilities for meeting the cultural and social needs of their population.

The study was confined to the area outside of the corporate limits of the city of Portland. After the community boundaries had been determined (see Fig. 110), and a preliminary survey of the social resources of each had been made, a spot map of the county was prepared locating the residence of each delinquent brought before the juvenile court during the year 1935. The spot map should have covered the delinquencies of several years, but the time and funds available did not permit the extra work involved. The results shown in this report are in consequence not to be taken as conclusive, but the coincidence of delinquency with interstitial areas or in poorly equipped communities suggests a correlation which should be checked by further study.

When the 88 cases of delinquency which occurred outside the limits of Portland were distributed by residence upon a map with community boundaries in place it was found that 58 of these fall in interstitial areas and only 27 in areas which could be considered organized. Three large and two small communities with some degree of organization had no cases of delinquency, and three others had only one each. Three of the communities without delinquencies during the year 1935 were rural, bordering on primitive conditions, namely Sauvie Island, Corbett and Bonneville.

The close concentration of delinquencies about the city limits of Portland indicates the extent to which delinquency is an urban problem. Taking the environs of Portland as a whole, we find a sharp contrast between the incidence of delinquency on the eastern and western borders. Much of the western border follows the summit of a high range of hills with an almost unpopulated area just outside. A group of small communities just outside the southwestern city limits is relatively free from delinquency, in part due to satisfactory coordination of their social and economic life and in part to scarcity of population. It is an area of fairly well to do middle class homes with a considerable degree of social integration.

The concentration of delinquency cases within a relatively short distance of the city limits on the northeast, east and southeast is significant. A slight extension of the city



limits in these directions would take in almost exactly half of the delinquencies occurring outside of the city in 1935. The area is what might be termed a cross between rural and a city slum, populated in the main by a lower working class population which has pushed beyond the city limits to escape the high city taxes and the restrictions upon buildings and sanitary conditions imposed by the city authorities. The low economic level, the bad housing and neighborhood conditions, the lack of proper sanitation and the absence of recreational facilities are accompanied by a lack of the substantial community leadership and social organization necessary to meet the population's social and cultural needs. Against these conditions the rural schools do not seem to provide the rallying point around which the social life tends to center in the organized communities.

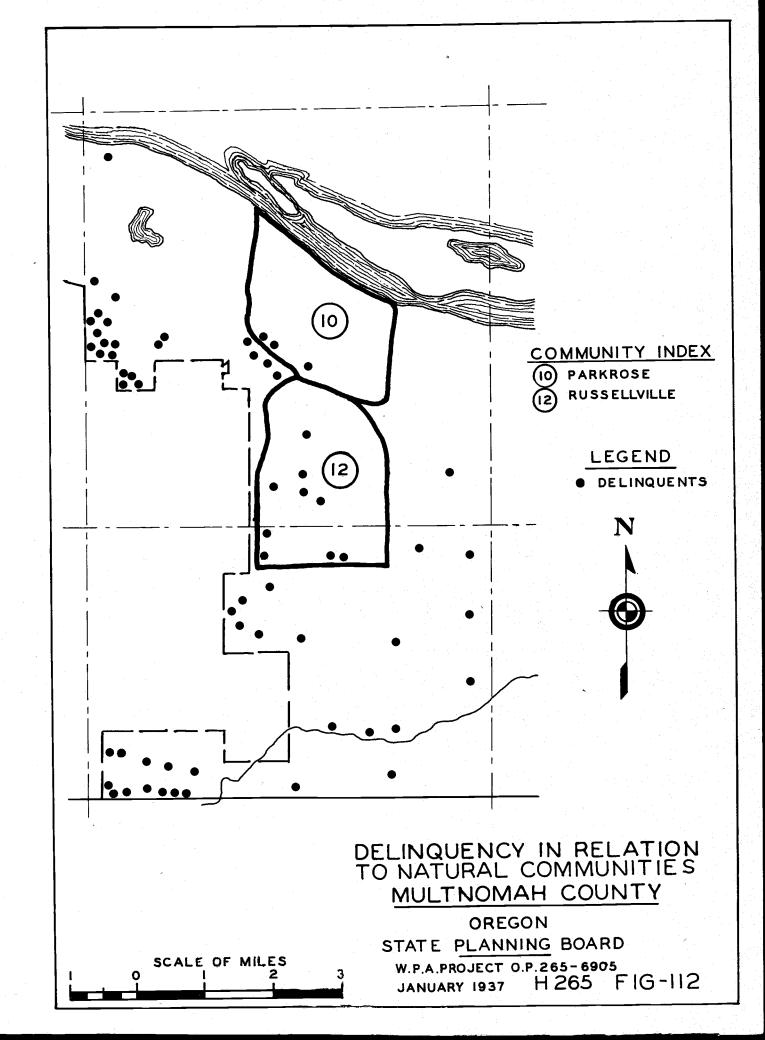
Fig. 111 presents an enlarged map which includes the territory just discussed and extends eastward to the Sandy River including the communities of Parkrose (No. 10), Russellville (No. 12), Fairview (No. 4), Gresham (No. 6) and Powell Valley (No. 11).

In the eastern part of this area there is a study in contrasts which cannot be explained without further examination of local conditions.

The Gresham community includes an area of approximately
15 square miles. The progressive town of Gresham is an excellent illustration of an urban center which retains its

rural outlook to such an extent that it still provides the cultural and social center for a relatively densely populated rural area. The town and its surrounding community have a population of approximately 3000. It has an excellent school system, and its citizens are highly organized to provide a satisfactory cultural and social life for the community through its churches, civic and service clubs, fraternal organizations, the National Guard and the Legion. Most of these organizations have effective young people's branches. A new armory is being erected with the aid of a PWA grant, and is being designed to serve as a community hall. There was only one delinquency in the community in 1935.

Adjoining the Gresham community on the north is the much smaller community of Fairview. With a population of less than 600 there were seven cases of delinquency in the community in 1935. It is a distinctly rural community centered around the crossing of the Gresham road and the Columbia River Highway. A grade school, a high school, a church, a grange hall, and a number of dwellings are grouped at this center. Almost half of the area lies in the Columbia River bottoms north of the Union Pacific tracks. The whole community comprises an area of a little over six square miles. It presents a considerable degree of integration. The organizations mentioned above are well supported by all of the community. The grange program is primarily designed for adults but the activities at the schools and the community church



appear to provide satisfactory young people's programs. In the light of these conditions it appears that the comparatively high incidence of delinquency was occasioned by factors not discovered by this survey.

Fig. 112 presents a further enlargement of the area adjacent to the eastern city limits of Portland. In addition to the so called interstitial areas in which the greater part of the delinquency outside of Portland occurs it includes the communities of Parkrose and Russellville.

The Parkrose community covers an area of approximately three square miles with a population of about 300. Unlike the Gresham community it is distinctly suburban in character. In spite of this fact the service organizations together with the schools and the churches have provided such a satisfactory social and cultural program for the entire population that only three cases of delinquency occurred in 1935. This is notable also because of the fact that a part of the area is densely populated and lies within the high delinquency zone surrounding the eastern city limits.

The Russellville community immediately south of Parkrose has not been so fortunate. In an area comprising approximately six square miles, or about twice the size of Parkrose,
there is a population about 2250. This community lacks the
high degree of social integration of Parkrose and Gresham
because it has no business or residential center. It is
much more rural than Parkrose and more suburgan than Gresham.

Its cultural and social life center around a school in the southwestern part of the community. The school gymnasium serves admirably as a community hall and is used extensively for social, recreational and cultural purposes. A grange hall is situated near the school house but the organization appears not to have an active social program. This is no doubt due to the fact that the leaders in the Grange are also active in the social program which centers at the school. Nine delinquencies occurred in the community during 1935. Considering the fact that the western boundary of the community lies for three miles along the eastern city limits of Portland this number is not excessive. The incidence of delinquency in the community is much lower than it is in the zone to the north and south, which fact bears testimony to the effectiveness of the aggressive program for young people that the community organization provides. With a more careful study of the community's problems and a little more support from organizations concerned in character building this district should be able to reduce still further its delinquency record.

Lying southeast of Russellville community there is a neighborhood which has attempted to function as an organized community at various times in the past without success. It is known locally as Powellhurst and lies between North and South Powell Buttes. It lies east of the delinquency zone and has escaped to the degree that only two delinquencies occurred in the area during the year under consideration.

This area offers interesting possibilities for study from the standpoint of community organization, with which we are not primarily concerned here.

#### V. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the fact that the study was limited in its scope by the lack of time and funds to make much more than a pre-liminary survey, certain deductions may be drawn from the results with considerable confidence. The extent to which the purposes designed to be served by the study have been met may be summarized briefly as follows:

- 1. In a great many of the natural communities the boundaries are so definitely established and the communities themselves so conscious of their entity and so well organized to serve their own needs that they might well be taken as a very effective basis of community planning. This would be most successful in cooperation with a strong county planning board which should work out a somewhat uniform program for community organization and service.
- 2. In a number of the more highly integrated communities the leadership which is at present established and functioning successfully might well be recognized and its work coordinated with that of the county planning boards in all matters affecting the communities directly. Much community planning has already been done spontaneously. Local planning under these circumstances should be greatly stimulated and the community programs strengthened by identification with state and county plans.
- 3. It has been possible in a few communities to make deductions with confidence regarding the relation between successful community programs and the social agencies closely identified or associated with them. Much more research will have to be done before similar deductions can be made in many of the communities. In some of them the conditions are so complicated that further study would undoubtedly discover factors at work which were not revealed by this survey. It seems quite obvious, however, that whatever agency or organization happens to provide, or to be closely associated with, the cultural-social program is greatly benefited thereby in its own individual program. It might almost be said that such agencies benefit in direct proportion to their degree of identifica-

tion with the community program.

4. The survey appears to have established the fact that the technique used in locating the natural communities, and the survey of their resources made possible thereby, are of basic importance and should invariably be resorted to as a preliminary to any and all programs in any way affecting the communities, such as: (a) consolidation of grade schools, (b) establishing of union high school districts, (c) rural or county recreational programs, (d) extension services of state institutions of higher learning, and (e) programs carried on by state and national organizations such as the National Youth Administration, the adult education program, and similar activities.

### Additional Suggestions

In addition to the foregoing conclusions the study opens up a large number of fields for further research of great importance to the communities and to all of the agencies of whatsoever character which endeavor to serve their needs.

Among these we may mention the following:

- 1. Further study of the relation of community programs to service agencies.
- 2. Further study of adjusting school districts to community boundaries.
- 3. Further study of the relation of election precincts to natural communities to determine whether realignment of election districts would aid communities in dealing with their own affairs in a political manner.
- 4. Further study to determine whether the identification of election precincts more nearly with natural community boundaries might make expression of public opinion more easy and effective in county, state and national issues.
- 5. Further study to determine possible means of bringing community organization and service agencies
  together in a more effective attack upon local
  problems such as juvenile delinquency.

- 6. Further study to determine upon some more effective statewide program of community organization to facilitate the programs of public and private service agencies designed to benefit the communities.
- Much more baffling than any of the foregoing is the problem presented by the unorganized districts and what have been called interstitial areas. Because of the colorless lives which the people in many of these areas live, and the lack of cultural and social outlets for persons of all ages, they present a much more difficult problem than the natural com-Nevertheless, an attempt should be made munities. to discover why certain of these larger areas do not function as natural communities, what might be done to make them so function; and last but none the less important, the populations living in the interstitial areas should be studied to determine whether it might be possible to draw them into the satisfying activities of neighboring natural communities, or failing that, to stimulate and assist them in developing their own latent capacities for self help. It may prove expedient because of the numerous problems of social, economic and political character to depopulate certain of these areas altogether as a part of resettlement, soil conservation, or land use programs.