

CITY OF RIVERSIDE
AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT (1870-1976)

FINAL AUGUST 2022



Picture 1: Mercantile Hall in the early 20th Century.

Photo Courtesy of The Riverside African American Historical Society

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

PROJECT SCOPE

The *African American Civil Rights Movement Historic Context Statement* was prepared by IS Architecture at the request of the City of Riverside Community and Economic Development Department. The study was funded through a grant provided by the National Park Service (NPS).

This historic context statement addresses the significant themes and eligibility criteria associated with the African American Civil Rights Movement in Riverside, California. A framework for identifying and evaluating properties relating to African American and civil rights history in the Riverside community is provided.

This historic context statement:

- Provides the foundation for the historical overview of the establishment the African American community in Riverside and the civil rights movement in the area.
- Helps to indicate the likelihood of encountering historic resources within the community and will guide the future identification of such resources.
- Addresses built environment themes and excludes the evaluation of themes relevant to only archaeological and intangible cultural resources.

This context statement is not intended to serve as the definitive history of the study area, but rather provides historical background to identify and discuss the thematic contexts.

This context statement was developed without a field survey element and is not a definitive listing of all building types and periods of significance in Riverside; resources that do not fit into the significant building types and periods of significance identified in this study are not necessarily excluded from eligibility consideration for significance not related to the resource's property type.

PURPOSE

The Civil Rights movement was a national transformation, impacting African American communities in the North and West as well as the South. The Civil Rights movement, which included national goals and leadership, also pursued a distinct local agenda in Riverside, California. In Riverside, the Civil Rights movement was also the campaign of community members to end job discrimination, fight for fair housing, and desegregate schools. An examination of the civil rights movement in Riverside offers opportunities to identify themes of the era, educate the public, and evaluate historic resources.

TERMS AND ACRONYMS

Terms:

Anglo(s): Caucasian (white) people.

African American: The use of African American in this context statement refers to anyone of a black racial group. The phrase generally refers to descendants of enslaved black people who are from the United States.

City vs. city: The governmental agency the City of Riverside is referred to as the “City.” The location of Riverside is referred to as the “city.”

City of Riverside vs. Riverside County: The City of Riverside will be referred to herein as either the “City” or as “Riverside.” The full identifier will be used when referring to Riverside County.

De facto segregation: Inherent segregation, such as that found in most neighborhood schools by the nature of the varying economic and social classes of the surrounding neighborhood rather than by deliberately-drawn district boundaries.

De jure segregation: Segregation caused by legislation or policy, such as that caused by deliberately drawing district boundaries to include or exclude certain groups of students.

Public Accommodation: generally defined as facilities, both public and private, used by the public. Places of public accommodation include a wide range of entities, such as restaurants, hotels, theaters, doctors' offices, pharmacies, retail stores, museums, libraries, amusement parks, private schools, and day care centers.

White: Caucasian or Anglo people.

Acronyms:

BPP: Black Panther Party

CRHR: California Register of Historic Resources

FEPC: Fair Employment Practices Commission

FHCRC: Fair Housing Council of Riverside County

MPL: Multiple Property Listing

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NCDH: National Committee against Discrimination in Housing

NPS: National Park Service

NRHP: National Register of Historic Places

RAAHS: Riverside African American Historical Society

STUDY AREA

The City of Riverside (Figure 1), is located in Riverside County, California, and is part of the Inland Empire metropolitan area, as well as the region of Greater Los Angeles. The city of Riverside is located approximately 55 miles east of Los Angeles and 54 miles west of Palm Springs. Surrounding development includes the cities of San Bernardino to the north, Moreno Valley to the east, Corona to the southwest, and Jurupa Valley to the northwest. The March Air Reserve Base is located to the southwest of the city of Riverside.

The boundaries for the purposes of this context statement follow the corporate boundaries of the City as identified in the City of Riverside's General Plan 2025. (Figure 2) The City is composed of 25 neighborhoods (Figure 3). This context references the specific neighborhoods of Casa Blanca, Downtown, Eastside, and Victoria.

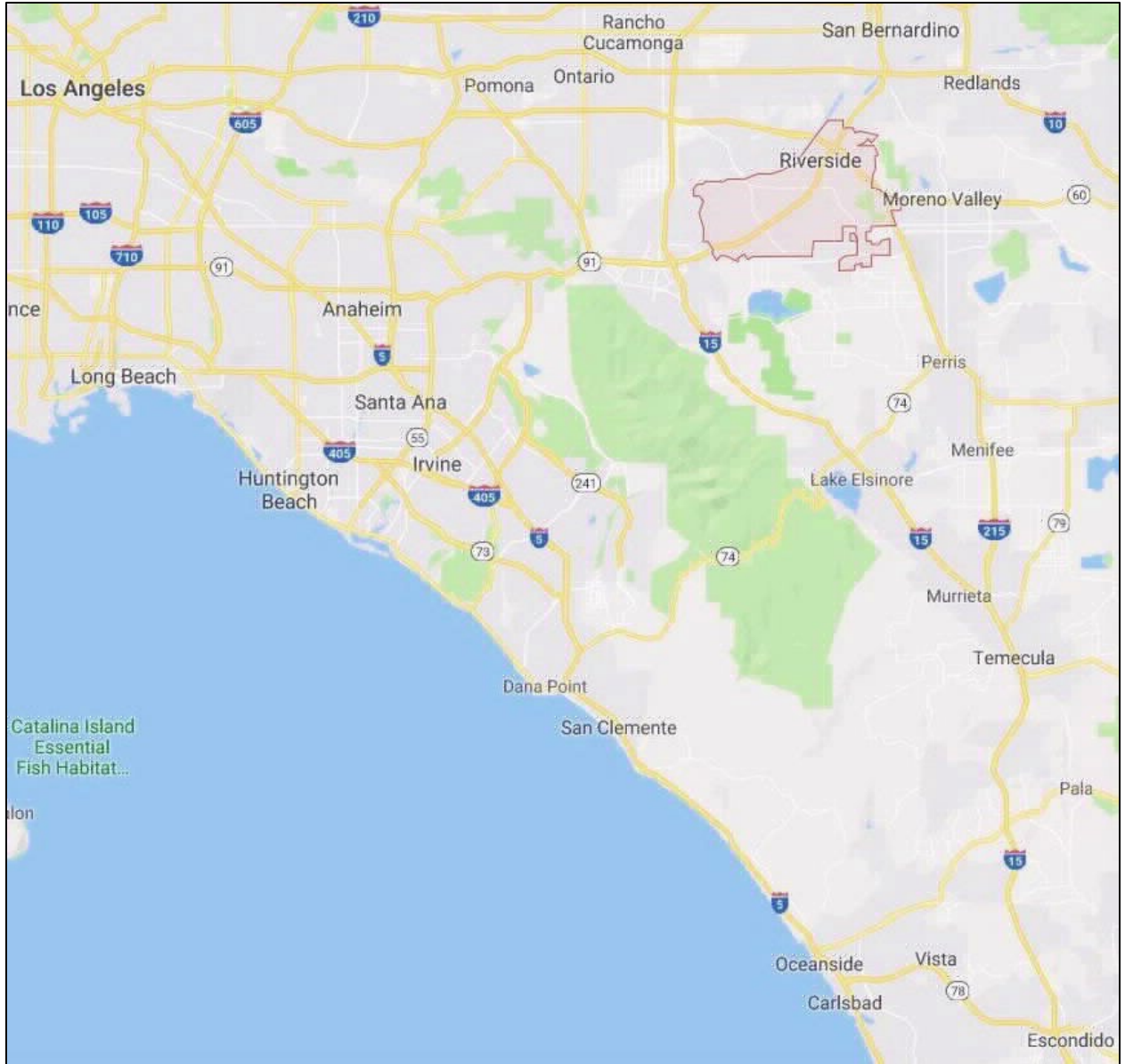


Figure 1: Regional location. Google Maps.

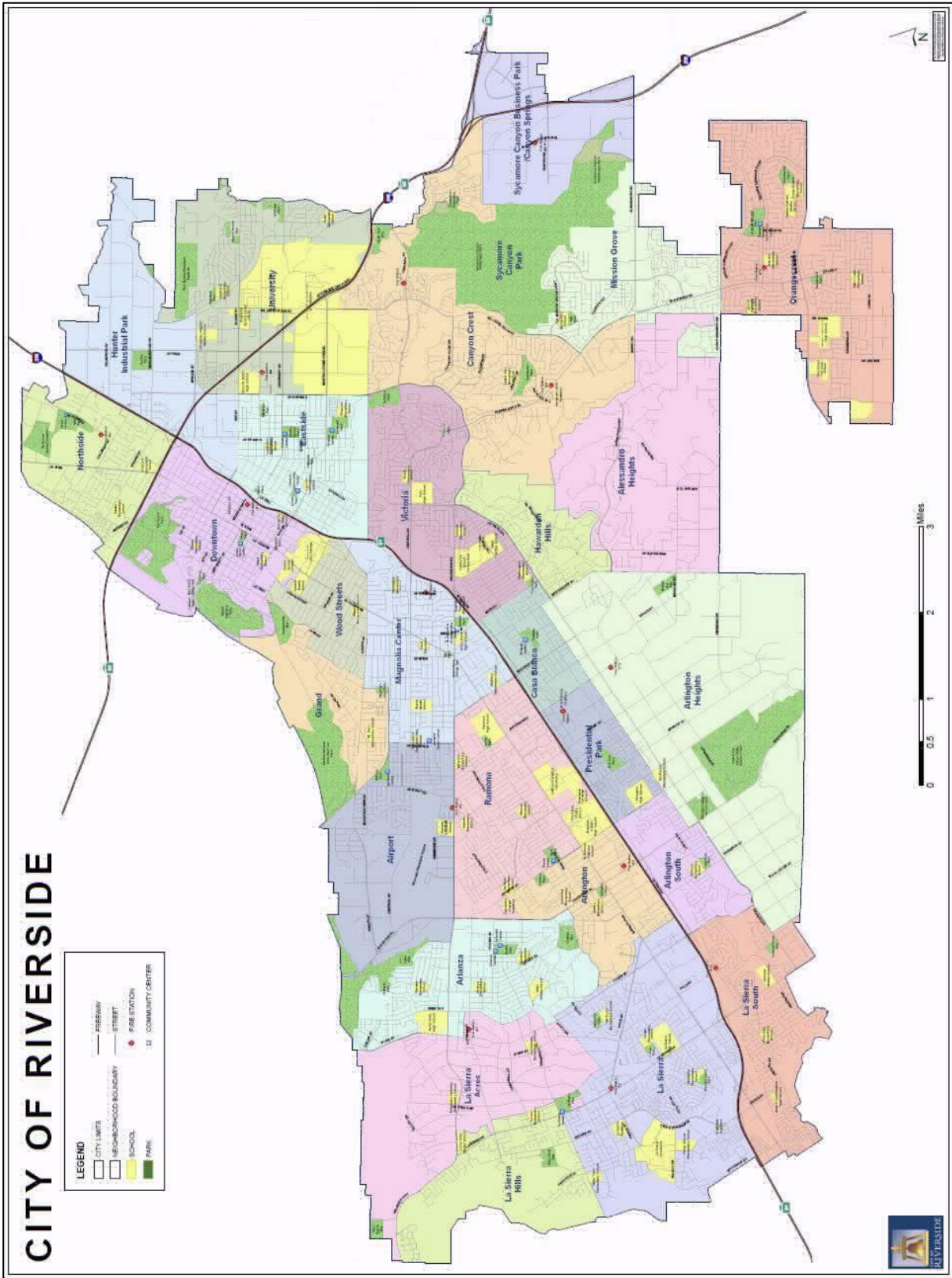


Figure 2: City of Riverside and its constituent neighborhoods. City of Riverside.

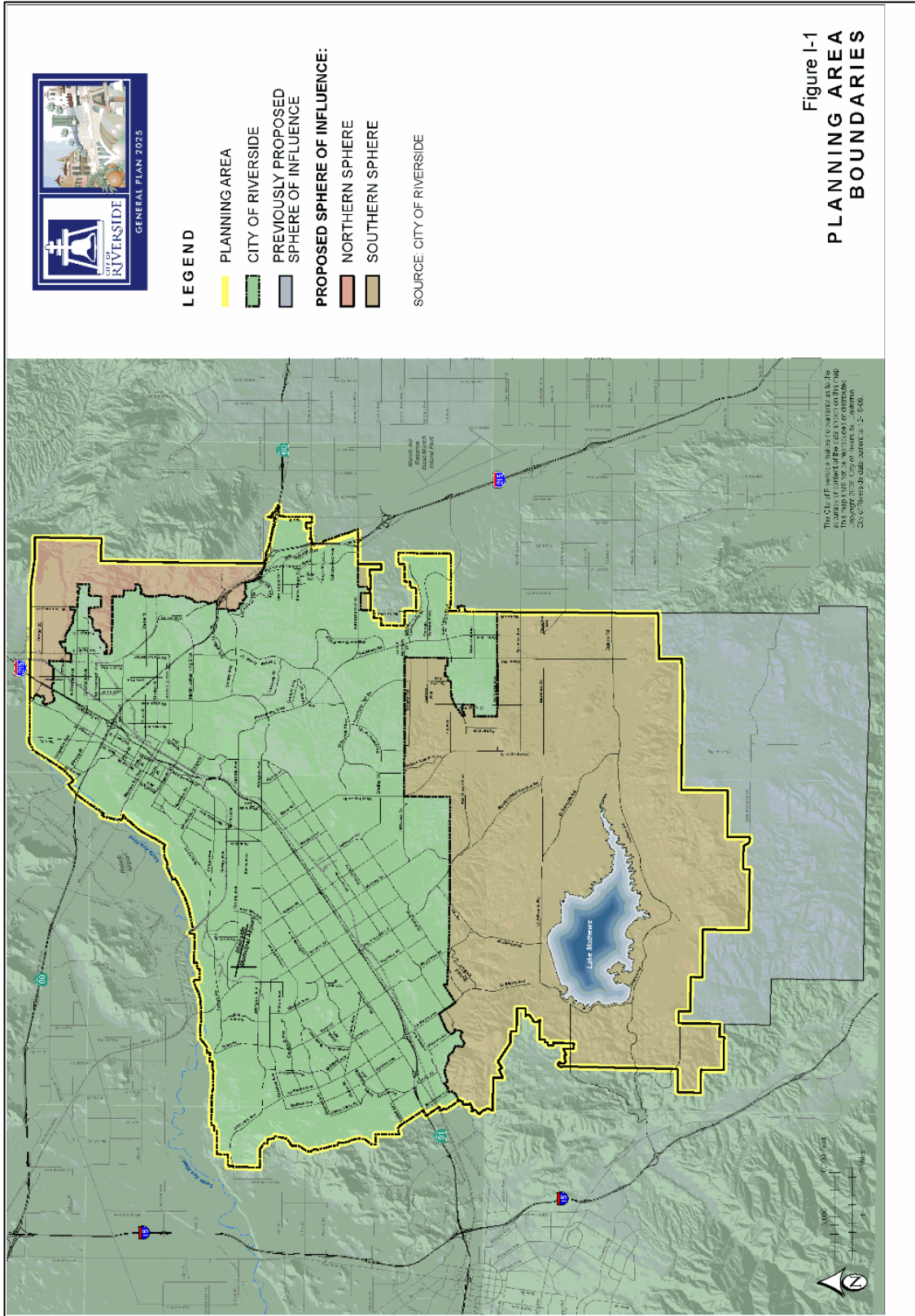


Figure 3: Planning Area Boundaries, City of Riverside General Plan 2025.

EXISTING LITERATURE, ARCHIVES, AND OUTREACH

This historic context was based off the foundation set by the National Parks Service's overview of civil rights history, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, rev. 2008). The following list of sources, collections, and outreach outline the existing literature, archives, and histories that were consulted for this context. A bibliography is included at the end of the document.

- Primary sources
 - Oral Histories Conducted by IS Architecture
 - Oral History Conducted by Riverside African American Historical Society (RAAHS)
 - Archival Newspapers
 - Riverside Daily Press
 - Riverside Independent Enterprise
- Secondary sources
 - *No Easy Way*, Arthur L. Littleworth
 - *Our Families, Our Stories*, Riverside Municipal Museum
 - Journal of the Riverside Historical Society
 - *The African American Presence in Riverside, 2004*
 - Specialized studies
 - Cultural Resources Survey Report: Casa Blanca & Eastside Communities
 - Cultural Resources Survey: Chicago/Linden Strategic Plan
 - Eastside Neighborhood Plan
 - *Civil Rights in America: A framework for Identification of Significant Sites*, National Park Service
- Collections
 - Riverside Historical Society
 - Riverside African American Historical Society
 - California African American Museum
- Outreach
 - Through the process of developing this project, City staff and RAAHS have reached out and formed ready partnerships with the African American Community and other leaders to illuminate this aspect of Riverside's history.

PERSONNEL

This Historic Context Statement was researched and written by Rebecca McManus, MHP, and Kelsey Kaline, MHC, Historic Preservation Specialists and Architectural Historians for IS Architecture. Christopher Usler, Architectural Historian with IS Architecture and Heather Crane, Architect with IS Architecture, performed additional research and project assistance. All team members meet and exceed the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards, as published in the Code of Federal Regulations, 36 CFR Part 61 for architectural history.

Project oversight was performed by Scott Watson, City Historic Preservation Officer with the City of Riverside, with the assistance of Tara Gann, intern with the City of Riverside. Ione R. Stiegler, FAIA is the Principal Historic Preservation Architect of IS Architecture and reviewed the report for quality management.

METHODOLOGY

This historic context statement is the result of research of primary and secondary sources, community meetings, and oral histories. IS Architecture and the City of Riverside organized two community meetings as part of the scope of work for this context. The purpose of the meetings was to explain the goals and objectives of the project and to solicit information from the community to inform the context. The first meeting hosted by the City of Riverside in July of 2018 was attended by various community members and representatives of community groups. Oral histories were gathered from four community members, based on a series of questions about the themes identified as important to the civil rights movement. These oral histories were augmented with a fifth oral history, gathered in 2017. As a result of these meetings and histories, community members have contributed important information about people and places significant to the African American Civil Rights Movement of Riverside.

Primary and secondary sources, oral histories, historic photographs, newspapers, and maps were consulted (See Existing Literature Section). The following groups provided research materials and sources, scholarship, and support during the research phase of this project:

- Riverside African American Historical Society (RAAHS)
- Riverside Historical Society
- Riverside Public Library
- City of Riverside

PROJECT LIMITATIONS

This document was in preparation during the onset and continuation of the COVID-19 public health crisis. California Executive Order N-33-20, severely limited City of Riverside resources during this time. The Executive Order and ongoing Coronavirus pandemic made a second community meeting to review the draft historic context statement unobtainable. Community input was gathered through the proliferation of the draft and using the oral histories, and community kick off meeting, along with City staff knowledge and conversations with RAAHS members. In the future, if new information is discovered, especially from the community, this document will be updated. This document should be viewed as flexible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IS Architecture wishes to acknowledge the contributions provided by the following:

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WHAT IS A HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT?

Historic context statements identify important themes in history and provide frameworks for evaluating extant resources for significance and integrity. Historic context statements are not intended to be all-encompassing narrative histories. Instead, historic contexts establish the significance of themes and related topics and then provide guidance regarding the characteristics of the built environment as it relates to the theme. The overriding goal of this context statement is to distill much of what is known about the evolution and development of the African American Civil Rights movement in Riverside, and to help establish which physical places may be considered historically significant within one or more of those themes. It is intended to be used as a starting point for determining whether a specific property is eligible for designation as a historical resource under a national, state, or local designation program.

This historic context statement provides an overview of themes relating to the African American Civil Rights Movement in Riverside. Architectural resources and properties that do not fit into the context themes or periods of significance identified in this study are not necessarily excluded from eligibility on the local or national level. This document does not make eligibility determinations for any potentially important properties. Instead, it presents the information necessary to assist in the evaluation of properties for significance and integrity on a case-by-case basis and may be used to guide certain aspects of city planning. Additionally, it will hopefully inspire members of the community to nominate places for formal designation.

This historic context statement is intended to be a living document that will change and evolve over time. For more information on what a historic context statement is and is not in general, see "Writing Historic Contexts," by Marie Nelson of the State Office of Historic Preservation:

<http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/writing%20historic%20contexts%20from%20ohp.pdf>.

OVERVIEW OF APPLICABLE DESIGNATION PROGRAMS/ REGULATORY SETTING

However, the following designation programs guide the discussion of eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds in Part III of this historic context statement.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is an “authoritative guide to be used by federal, state, and local governments, private groups and citizens to identify the nation’s cultural resources and to indicate what properties should be considered for protection from destruction or impairment.”¹

Designation Criteria

To be eligible for listing in the NRHP, a property must be at least 50 years of age and possess significance in American history and culture, architecture, or archaeology. A property of potential significance must meet one or more of four established criteria:²

- A. Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. Yield, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Historic resources eligible for listing in the NRHP may include buildings, sites, structures, objects, and historic districts.

Integrity

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. To be listed in the NRHP, a property must not only be shown to be significant under the criteria, but it also must have integrity. The evaluation of integrity is grounded in an understanding of a property’s physical features and how they relate to its significance. Within the concept of integrity, the NRHP criteria recognize seven aspects of integrity. These seven aspects include location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. To retain historic integrity a property

¹ Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 60.2.

² Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 60.4.

will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The seven aspects of integrity are defined as follows:

- Location: The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- Setting: The physical environment of a historic property.
- Design: The combination of elements that create form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- Materials: The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- Workmanship: The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- Feeling: A property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- Association: The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

Integrity Considerations:

Determining which of these aspects of integrity are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant. In general, in order to understand integrity requirements, we must understand the specific context and types of resources likely to be found. Integrity specifications may vary from theme to theme. There is a diversity deficit in preservation, that has precluded sites and stories such as African American Civil Rights from being fully incorporated into the preservation narrative. Only a small percentage of NRHP sites are related to minority heritage and history. In order to re-cast preservation standards to recognize and support a wider range of places and histories, special considerations for integrity may be needed in determining district creation and resource significance.

Individual buildings, especially those related to African American history, are often not considered individual examples of exceptional architectural or cultural significance on their own. In many cases, resources relating to minority history was erased – through decay, arson, gentrification, and the processes of urban renewal. In other cases, the resources were altered to suit the evolving needs and changes of the communities around it.

In such instances, the primary goal should be to support people and communities in retaining the places that are significant to them and doing so in a way that supports their evolving needs. While not all buildings retain significant integrity under the current Standards, that should not preclude resources from significance and therefore protection and recognition.

For sites that are identified as relating to the following historic context for Riverside, attention should be given to feeling, association, and location- more so than design, workmanship, and materials. More information will be discussed in the Associated Property Types section of this report.

Criteria Considerations:

Within the Guidelines of the NRHP and the National Park System, criteria considerations are given for properties that fit in a category not normally considered eligible for listing. Because of the nature of the African American Civil Rights movement in Riverside, potentially significant properties include those owned and used as religious facilities. This is a category not normally considered eligible for listing in the NRHP. Criteria Consideration A focuses on this:

Criteria Consideration A

Certain kinds of properties, like those associated with religious properties, are not usually considered eligible for listing in the NRHP. A religious property requires justification on architectural, artistic, or historic grounds to avoid any appearance of judgment by government about the validity of a religion or belief. If a religious property is significant under another historical theme, such as social philanthropy, or education; or is significantly associated with traditional cultural values it may be eligible for Criteria Consideration A.³ Demonstrating historical significance requires the development of a historic context statement for the resources being evaluated, a comparative analysis with similar resources, and scholarly sources on the property type and historic context.

There are six other Criteria Considerations identified in *National Register Bulletin #15*. No others are immediately relevant to the resources and themes identified in this historic context statement; however, should further research and survey identify properties covered by other Criteria Considerations, those would apply as well.

More Information

The National Park Service's website features PDF documents of National Register Brochures and Bulletins, technical guidance, and guidance by property type. These resources can be found at:

<https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/>

³ *National Register Bulletin #15*, p. 2.

California Register of Historical Resources

In 1992, Governor Wilson signed Assembly Bill 2881 into law, establishing the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR). The CRHR is an authoritative guide used by state and local agencies, private groups, and citizens to identify historic resources and to indicate what properties are to be protected, to the extent prudent and feasible, from substantial adverse change.

The CRHR consists of properties that are automatically listed as well as those that must be nominated through an application and public hearing process.⁴ The CRHR automatically includes the following:

- California properties listed in the NRHP and those formally Determined Eligible for the NRHP;
- California Registered Historical Landmarks from No. 0770 onward; and
- Those California Points of Historical Interest that have been evaluated by the OHP and have been recommended to the State Historical Resources Commission for inclusion on the CRHR.

Designation Criteria

The criteria for eligibility of listing the CRHR are based upon NRHP criteria, but are identified as 1-4 instead of A-D. To be eligible for listing in the CRHR, a property must be at least 50 years of age and possess significance at the local, state, or national level under one or more of the following criteria:

1. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United State; and/or
2. It is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history; and/or
3. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values; and/or
4. It has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.

Historic resources eligible for listing in the CRHR may include buildings, sites, structures, objects, and historic districts.

⁴ Public Resources Code Section 5024.1.

Integrity⁵

The CRHR uses the same seven aspects of integrity as the NRHP. While the enabling legislation for the CRHR is less rigorous regarding the issue of integrity, there is the expectation that properties reflect their appearance during their period of significance.⁶

Properties Less Than 50 Years Old

While the CRHR does not use Criteria Considerations like the NRHP, it does make allowances for resources less than fifty years old to be designated if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand the subject resource's historical importance.

More Information

Further information about the CRHR and other state-level preservation programs and initiatives can be found on OHP's website: http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=1056

City of Riverside Cultural Resources

The City of Riverside's Cultural Resources Ordinance is codified in Title 20 of the Municipal Code. The ordinance establishes the criteria and process for designating potential cultural resources (historic resources) as local landmarks, structures of merit, or historic districts.

Landmark Criteria

A cultural resource may be designated by the City Council upon the recommendation of the City's Cultural Heritage Board as a Landmark if it retains a high degree of integrity and meets one or more of the following criteria:

1. It exemplifies or reflects special elements of the City's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural history;
2. Is identified with persons or events significant in local, state, or national history;
3. Embodies distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship;
4. Represents the work of a notable builder, designer, or architect, or important creative individual;
5. Embodies elements that possess high artistic values or represents a significant structural or architectural achievement or innovation;
6. Reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement and growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning, or cultural landscape;

⁵ As stated with the NRHP, integrity considerations should be made for properties identified within this context.

⁶ Public Resources Code Section 4852.

7. Is one of the last remaining examples in the City, region, state, or nation possessing distinguishing characteristics of an architectural or historical type or specimen;
 8. Has yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history or prehistory.
- Integrity

Historic District Criteria

In Riverside's Cultural Resource code, a Historic District means an area which contains:

1. A concentration, linkage, or continuity of cultural resources, where at least 50 percent of the structures or elements retain significant historic integrity, (a "geographic Historic District") or
2. A thematically-related grouping of cultural resources which contribute to each other and are unified aesthetically by plan or physical development, and which have been designated or determined eligible for designation as a Historic District by the Historic Preservation Officer or Qualified Designee, Board, or City Council or is listed in the National Register of Historic Places or the California Register of Historical Resources, or is a California Historical Landmark or a California Point of Historical Interest (a "thematic Historic District").

In addition to either 1 or 2 above, the area must also meet one of the following criteria:

- Exemplifies or reflects special elements of the City's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural history;
- Is identified with persons or events significant in local, State, or national history;
- Embodies distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship;
- Represents the work of notable builders, designers, or architects;
- Embodies a collection of elements of architectural design, detail, materials or craftsmanship that represent a significant structural or architectural achievement or innovation;
- Reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement and growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning;
- Conveys a sense of historic and architectural cohesiveness through its design, setting, materials, workmanship or association; or
- Has yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

More Information

Further information designation programs and other preservation-related activities can be found on the City of Riverside's website: <https://www.riversideca.gov/historic/>

DOCUMENT ORGANIZATION

This historic context statement is organized into the following primary sections:

- **Part I: “Introduction”** provides information on the purpose of this document, its intended use, scope of study, and source material.
- **Part II: “How to Use this Document”** provides information on historic context statements, the regulatory framework of applicable designation programs, and document organization.
- **Part III: “Historic Context Statement”** provides both historical context to the broader themes and activities relating to Civil Rights in the United States and in the West along with those in Riverside, California. This section is split into three distinct sections, “historic overview”, “historic context statement themes”, and “preservation goals and priorities”. This section provides an overview of key national events in the Civil Rights movement, and how they inform the environment of the Riverside Civil Rights movement.⁷
 - **“Historical Overview”** Provides historical context to the broader themes and activities relating to Civil Rights in the United States and in the West. This section specifically discusses the distinct time periods relating to Civil Rights that have been identified by The National Park Service.
 - **“Historic Context Statement”** Provides a narrative overview of the historic context time periods and their local themes. Four major themes are then discussed as relating to the City of Riverside’s community history. Examples of events and property types that are associated with those themes in a significant way are also identified.
 - **“Associated Property Types”** identifies potential property types significant to the time periods and local themes. This section provides information on what types of properties could be associated with the theme, applicable significance criteria and integrity considerations. They are general and broad to account for the numerous variations among associated property types.

⁷ National Park Service Landmarks Program, “Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites,” Telling All American Stories, Revised 2008.

- **Part IV: “Preservation Goals and Priorities”** identifies the next steps in protecting the potential historic resources in Riverside based on the context and associated property types. Within Appendix A, a study list of properties identified by the City of Riverside is presented. It is provided for information purposes only to help focus future research and is *not* a comprehensive list of all eligible resources within Riverside. Additional properties may be identified as associated with the significant themes upon site-specific evaluation. Conversely, a resource’s presence on this study list does not automatically make that resource eligible for designation at any level.
- **“Appendix A: Study List”** includes the master study list of properties of interest identified during the course of this study.
- **“Appendix B: Bibliography”** lists the major sources of information for this context statement. Additional sources used for specific quotes or subjects are cited directly within the text.
- **“Appendix C: Civil Rights Timeline”** An overview of major civil rights events is listed on a national, state, and local level.

PART III: HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

INTRODUCTION

This context statement follows the National Park Service’s framework for identifying significant sites related to Civil Rights in America in order to document the history and typology of buildings and sites related to African Americans civil rights struggles in the city of Riverside. The NPS Framework is discussed below, along with the structure and local themes utilized in the following narrative context. After the framework discussion, the “Historical Overview” section serves as an overview of the national and regional backdrop for the local themes presented in the “Historic Context Statement” section.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FRAMEWORK

The National Park Service developed a framework of “broad themes within the civil rights story,” published under the title *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*. The following chronological sections identify phases in the development of civil rights between 1900 and 1976 and were identified as:⁸

- Rekindling Civil Rights 1900-1941
- Birth of Civil Rights 1941-1954
- Modern Civil Rights 1954-1964
- Second Revolution 1964-1976

The NPS thematic framework identified the following broad themes related to 20th Century African American Civil Rights:

- Equal Education
- Public Accommodation
- Voting
- Housing
- Equal Employment

Broader NPS thematic categories for designation to the NRHP can be found in National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form.

⁸ These timeframes were established by the National Park Service, Landmarks Division in 2002 and revised in 2008.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS IN RIVERSIDE FRAMEWORK

The NPS chronological sections were used as a starting point to identify phases in the development of the African American Civil Rights movement in Riverside. The history has been broken into six broad historical phases of development.

- African American Civil Rights in the Nineteenth Century (1870-1900)
- Rekindling Civil Rights (1900-1941)
- Birth of Civil Rights (1941-1954)
- Modern Civil Rights (1954-1964)
- Second Revolution (1964-1976)
- Civil Rights Today (1976-Today)

The following local themes were identified as significant to the civil rights movement in Riverside and apply to multiple phases in the development:

- Local Theme #1: Education – “The Struggle for Desegregation”
- Local Theme #2: Employment + Entrepreneurship in Riverside
- Local Theme #3: Social Groups, Organizations + Formalized Resistance
- Local Theme #4: Public Accommodation + Housing – “The Fight for Access + Equality”

These local themes are designed to cover a variety of related topics and associated property types. Local themes were only developed if extant properties directly associated with the theme and located within Riverside city limits are potentially identifiable. The specific topics covered by each theme are outlined below:

Local Theme #1: Education – “The Struggle for Desegregation and Quality Education”

School segregation and integration is one of the most impactful themes within the African American Civil Rights movement within Riverside. Both de jure and de facto segregation created unequal education until community-led protests and arson pushed the school district into voluntarily integrating schools. This theme explores the history of school integration in the city, looks at the history of Riverside Unified School District, along with Alvord USD, and identifies potentially significant places associated with those histories.

Local Theme #2: Employment + Entrepreneurship in Riverside

Entrepreneurship was a big component of the establishment of the African American community in Riverside. African American owned and operated businesses were located throughout the city during all periods of the African American Civil Rights movement. Because

African Americans were denied access to services in areas outside traditional black neighborhoods, there was a strong push within the African American community for the establishment of African American owned businesses. They not only offered services to African Americans, successful business owners reinvested in the black community. Places such as Mercantile Hall promoted both the establishment and patronage of Riverside’s African American-owned businesses.

This theme explores the history of working African Americans within Riverside, as well as the role that such businesses played in the community. This section also identifies potentially significant places associated with that history along with issues of job discrimination.

Local Theme #3: Social Groups, Organizations + Formalized Resistance

While Riverside was not the site of large-scale demonstrations, marches, or riots during the Civil Rights era, African Americans within the city were making their voices heard in politics and in society. This theme explores how they made themselves heard, such as small-scale demonstrations, organizations, and newspapers, and identifies potentially significant places associated with that history.

Local Theme #4: Public Accommodation + Housing – “The Fight for Access + Equality”

The experiences of African Americans in both public and private spaces included instances of segregation and discrimination. From pools to restaurants, African American residents were often excluded from community spaces. Potentially significant places such as early housing tracts, neighborhood community centers, and individual sites that are associated with the African American experience and history with public services, accommodations, and housing are identified.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

After the Civil War, market practices, public policies, and individual behaviors, created and reinforced racial separation and inequalities across the United States. The root of Jim Crow laws and its subsequent legal segregation date back to as early as 1865, immediately following the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, which freed the over four million slaves in the United States.⁹ Although the struggle for civil rights often focused on the legally mandated segregation and policies, it also extended to fights against discrimination in the workplace, housing markets,

⁹ Constitutional Rights Foundation, “A Brief History of Jim Crow,” n.d, <https://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow>.

consumer marketplace, and educational arenas.¹⁰ Throughout the western United States - including California - African American civil rights activists created a web of organizations, collaborated with religious institutions, elected officials, and utilized unions to influence local and state policymaking. As they did so, they were inspired by events that were occurring in the South and were sharing their experiences with the rest of the country. National organizations such as social organizations, women's clubs, civil rights organizations and churches linked their movement with others across the nation.

PHASES OF RIVERSIDE CIVIL RIGHTS DEVELOPMENT + LOCAL THEMES

AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY¹¹

Founded in 1870 by John North and a group of Easterners who wished to establish a colony dedicated to furthering education and culture, Riverside was built on land that was once a Spanish rancho. Since California was declared a free state when it entered the Union in 1850, those that arrived enslaved were officially free. John North and James Greves were both documented abolitionists in the East.

In general, first African Americans in Riverside County arrived between the founding of Riverside in 1870 and the turn of the century, often accompanying white families as service workers or as their former slaves. As with many other communities, the African Americans came "unannounced and mostly unrecorded".¹²

In 1900, out of the nearly 8,000 residents in the city of Riverside, only a few hundred were African American.¹³ Although Riverside offered better economic opportunities and improved social conditions than places in the South, discrimination by employers did limit occupation and wealth building opportunities throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. The earliest African American "pioneers" in Riverside would become role models for the following African American community, owning land, opening businesses, and building a tight-knit community. While there is little information on the majority of the nineteenth century African Americans in the city of Riverside, a few pioneers of the era are remembered by historians and

¹⁰ Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1986): 396, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2712674>.

¹¹ The NHLP references this time period as both "An Emerging Cause 1776-1865" and "Reconstruction and Repression 1865- 1900". They are condensed in this context but can be found in the NHLP report (pg4-10).

¹² Strickland, *African Americans in Riverside*. P 41.

¹³ Richard Esparza and H. Vincent Vince Moses, *Westward to Canaan: African American Heritage in Riverside, 1890 to 1950* (Rivers: Riverside Museum Press, 1996).

local citizens. These include Nicey Tibbets, Robert Stokes, and the Decatur, Dumas, Streeter, Carter, and Williams families.¹⁴

As the first town-lot addition was being developed in Riverside, these pioneering African American settlers were also establishing themselves. Robert Stokes, who arrived with a Caucasian family from Georgia, and Nicey Tibbets, who accompanied Eliza Tibbets, both came to Riverside in the 1870s. Frank Johnson arrived with this wave of newcomers to, and married into a family that had settled in San Bernardino with a Mormon caravan in 1851. These settlers often wrote to family members and friends in states back east, encouraging them to follow. This in turn prompted another wave of settlers by the beginning of the twentieth century. These early members of the African American community were educated, and of sufficient means to move across the country in search of a reprieve from escalated violence, disenfranchisement, and poor working conditions in the south and elsewhere in the U.S.

The establishment of religious institutions also played a large role in the early African American community in Riverside. By 1875, Walter Williams was among the small congregation of the African American Episcopal Church- which met in a home on Seventh Street. By the early 1890s the African American Episcopal Church had built a small one-room building on the corner of Sedgwick and Tenth Street. Other African American families, including the Stokes and Carters, were members at the First Baptist Church in Mile Square, before forming their own Second Missionary Baptist Church in 1890. These churches were mostly located in the Eastside community, creating a place for newcomers and a gathering place for others who resided in various parts of the city.

Just as the Citrus industry was taking off in the broader Inland Empire in the late nineteenth century, the national African American civil rights movement was amidst large institutional and societal obstacles, many of which were a direct consequence of the changes that occurred in the post-civil war United States. Although the Reconstruction-era Civil Rights Act was passed in 1875, giving blacks equal access to hotels and other public accommodations – rapid urbanization, and the emergence of women’s professions contributed to a complicated setting for the struggle for African American civil rights.¹⁵

¹⁴ More on these pioneers can be found in “Black Origins in the Inland Empire” by Byron Skinner, and Susan Strickland’s, “African Americans in Riverside: Migrating West”.

¹⁵ James M. McPherson, “Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875,” *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 3 (1965): 493–510, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1890844>; NHLP 2008:8

National Context:

In 1883, the US Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional and asserted that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade states- but not citizens- from discrimination.¹⁶ In 1896, the same court issued the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling that “separate but equal” facilities satisfied the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection guarantees.¹⁷ Both cases effectively sanctioned the Jim Crow laws that enforced racial segregation throughout the South and influenced the treatment of African Americans throughout the country.¹⁸ Between the end of Reconstruction and World War I, whites enacted numerous state and local laws and customs to limit black freedoms and lynching became a common practice in Southern states. Even when states did not legalize segregation through Jim Crow practices, often segregationist customs and traditions were common, which had similar effects on wealth-building and well-being.

These setbacks and obstacles helped to inspire intensified civil rights efforts, for African Americans but also for women’s suffrage. Excluded from most white suffrage associations, middle-class African American women led by journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett mobilized extensive networks of clubs and reform associations on behalf of women’s suffrage, creating an educational and civic infrastructure within the black community by the 1890s.¹⁹ Some of these groups included the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), which became an umbrella group for hundreds of black women’s club and incorporated in 1904 as the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs (NACWC).²⁰ In Riverside, African American women established the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). This active organization dealt not only with women’s suffrage, but also provided a space for women of color to meet and discuss community events and provide support to each other. The group often held meetings that were chronicled in the Riverside Daily Press.

¹⁶ U.S Supreme Court Case 109 US 3. Case text from <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/109/3>

¹⁷ Constitutional Rights Foundation, “A Brief History of Jim Crow,” n.d, <https://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow>.

¹⁸ “Jim Crow Laws - HISTORY,” November 25, 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/jim-crow-laws>.

¹⁹ National Park Service Landmarks Program, “Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites,” Telling All American Stories, Revised 2008, 8.

²⁰ NACW Constitution, quoted in Leslie 2012.

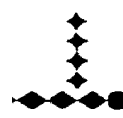
 <p>Students ig at the ormance ttended. nized in ears of 1 of this ormance ent the h, camp- ongs of antation. ious and audience that it is gers to the de- ire com- m com- ee melo- in songs. ow open</p>	<p>...he works his fingers, is the best ever seen here.—The Herald, Los Angeles. Travelle and his talented wife will be at the Loring Saturday night.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">W. C. T. U. Meeting</p> <p>The W. C. T. U. meeting Monday af- ternoon was in charge of Mrs. D. C. Twogood, superintendent of work among colored people. The devotional was in charge of Mrs. Taylor, wife of the Baptist minister, whom we were glad to welcome among us.</p> <p>Mrs. Twogood then proceeded to ex- plain what she had been able to do among the colored people in this town, and also suggested some very practi- cal work that might be taken up among them. This was discussed at some length and met the approval of the majority of those present.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SECRETARY.</p> <p>New York and Washington Tourist Car Service Via the Southern Pacific Sunset line</p>	<p>... January 12-19 January 19-26 January 26-Fe February 1-8 February 8-15 February 15-2 February 22-1</p> <p>Redlands ha oranges—over side—and 769 Corona has</p> <p>Special disp Times sum up as follows: New York— anges this we lighter than carloads havin with 103 carl have remaine cold weather and some gra vance of 10 ce lar sizes, have</p>
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Figure 4: Riverside Daily Press from March 6th, 1900 discussing a WCTU meeting

State Context:

African Americans in the new state of California were facing complex dynamics with respect to civil rights during the mid to late 19th Century. In 1849, California ratified its first constitution, which outlawed slavery or indentured servitude. However, the State Legislature also concurrently voted to disenfranchise all but white male U.S. citizens.²¹ The 1850 Census counted 962 African Americans in the state- by 1900 there were just shy of 8,000.²²

Over time, other laws further restricted African Americans including a law that allowed anyone who claimed a black person as an ex-slave to not only detain, but also re-enslave that person. In addition, thousands of African Americans lost their land in the courts because the nation refused to recognize land titles that were granted during the eras when California was under Spanish and Mexican control. The all-Caucasian California Legislature passed a law banning

²¹ California officially became a state in 1850; Key Points in Black History and the Gold Rush - Instructional Materials (CA Dept of Education)."
²² KCET, "'We Feel the Want of Protection.' The Politics of Law and Race in California, 1848-1878 | KCET," accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/we-feel-the-want-of-protection-the-politics-of-law-and-race-in-california-1848-1878>.

African American, Chinese, and Native American testimony in cases involving Caucasian plaintiffs and defendants. Laws also passed that prohibited African Americans from voting and going to school with Caucasian children. These laws hindered the development of African American economic and political power in the state for the rest of the century.

Local Theme: Employment + Entrepreneurship

African Americans were drawn to California and to Riverside by the same forces which attracted everyone else. It offered a chance at a “new start, in an idyllic climate”.²³ Many African American southerners migrated to California under labor contracts, immigration bureaus, freedmen's relief associations and other organizations which were established to facilitate the move to help the relocation.²⁴

Many of the early African Americans in Riverside had attended black schools in the South, Fisk University in Tennessee, Spelman College in Atlanta, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and Western University in Kansas.²⁵ Although they were well-educated, they were often excluded from hiring processes and industries. Therefore, many became entrepreneurs, opening their own businesses which included stores, cafes, and services.²⁶

Riverside, an early agricultural hub, was a prime spot for farming and service-related businesses. In 1905, early black pioneer John Culpepper established a business hauling fertilizer, hay, and crops to outlying communities in San Bernardino County. Filmore Davenport was a landowner and a rancher, while the Stokes family raised hogs prior to Robert Stokes becoming the first black policeman in 1889.

²³ Sue Strickland. African Americans in Riverside. Riverside Historical Society. RHS Journal No 6

²⁴ Riverside Municipal Museum, “Westward To Canaan”, 1996 p1-3; The Riverside African American Historical Society, “The African American Presence in Riverside”. Journal, 2004.

²⁵ *The Pioneer Black Families of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties 1826-1940*. Compiled and Edited by Delora Allen and Riverside Old Timers Reunion Committee.

²⁶ Riverside Municipal Museum, “Westward To Canaan”, 1996 p1-3; The Riverside African American Historical Society, “The African American Presence in Riverside”. Journal, 2004.

HAVE BUILT UP A THRIVING BUSINESS

Johnson Carriage Company Re- moves to Larger and Bet- ter Quarters

One of the most thriving enterprises of its kind of which Riverside can boast is the exclusive second hand carriage repository conducted by the Johnson Carriage Company, Frank H. Johnson, manager, located on Tenth street.

Mr. Johnson began his career in the carriage business about fifteen years ago, as an employe of the old Stewart & Lett Company, which old-timers remember. He remained with this company and its successors for seven years until the failure of the G. M. Piper Company, when he started in business for himself. The business carried on was known as the Riverside Carriage Exchange on Eighth street between Orange and Lemon. So great did this grow that Mr. Johnson was finally obliged to seek larger quarters and with this removal a company was formed known as the Johnson Carriage Company.

Square dealing and close application to business has built up one of the most prosperous industries of its kind outside the city of Los Angeles.

*Figure 5: Riverside Daily Press, March 1914.
Proclaiming that Frank Johnson's business was
thriving and moving to a larger location*

A handful of African Americans also owned their own, or worked for citrus ranches throughout the region. For example, in August 1905, *The Colored Citizen* boasted, "Rev. A. Simpson is one of Riverside's oldest and most substantial citizens...From his orange ranch, upon which his large two-story house sits, he realizes quite a sum."²⁷

Showcasing the overt challenges to being an entrepreneur, was Frank Johnson- an early prominent black business owner in Riverside. In 1882, Reverend Frank Johnson, a clerk with Stewart and Lett Dry Goods Store, married Alice Rowan. Alice, in 1888, graduated from the Los

²⁷ A.K Smiley Archive Collection, "The Colored Citizen".

These ranges tended to grow predominantly oranges, with the occasional lemon crop.

Angeles Normal School, the first African American in the San Bernardino area to graduate from college.²⁸ Alice who had studied teaching, taught a predominantly white class in Riverside. She was born to Lizzy and Charles Rowan, former slaves who came to San Bernardino with a train of Mormons in the 1860s. The Johnson's became the proprietors of the Riverside Carriage Company, a business which Frank grew operated on the north side of either street between Orange and Lemon.²⁹ Johnson would later discuss that since there were few African American run blacksmiths nearby, he would have to use Caucasian owned and run stores for materials. They were often pressured into not doing business with him because of his success and race.³⁰

Before the turn of the century, African Americans settled primarily along Park and Sedgwick Avenues and on Howard Street from Ninth to Twelfth and Thirteenth. Some of the earliest African American families in Riverside had bought, built, or rented homes along Ninth and Tenth streets. The following decades would bring increasing segregation and struggles in the African American community showcased in the following Context Areas.

REKINDLING CIVIL RIGHTS, 1900–1941³¹

National Context:

The first four decades of the twentieth century were defined by massive social and governmental changes in the United States, fueled by the Progressive Era (1900–1920), World War I (1914–1918), and the Great Depression (1929–1939), all of which exerted tremendous force on the civil rights movement.³² New organizations and public and private institutions developed to address the challenges that arose nationally and regionally.

The pace of the Great Migration, or the movement of blacks out of the rural south, accelerated rapidly during the Progressive Era, and millions moved north and west in search of better economic opportunities.³³ At the same time, several important national organizations formed

²⁸ Riverside County was not incorporated until 1893, while San Bernardino County was incorporated in 1853. The region that now incorporates Riverside County was part of the umbrella of San Bernardino region prior to incorporation.

²⁹ Riverside Municipal Museum, *Our Families, Our Stories: From the African American Community 1870-1960* (Riverside, California: Riverside Museum Press, 1997), 8.

³⁰ Riverside Municipal Museum, *Our Families, Our Stories: From the African American Community 1870-1960* (Riverside, California: Riverside Museum Press, 1997), 7-9.

³¹ The NHLP references this time period as Rekindling Civil Rights in the NHLP report (pg 11-20).

³² National Park Service Landmarks Program, "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites," *Telling All American Stories*, Revised 2008, 11.

³³ US Census Bureau, "The Great Migration, 1910 to 1970."

to address issues related to African American civil rights.³⁴ Booker T. Washington led the first nationwide African American civil rights organization, the National Afro-American Council, founded in Rochester, New York, in 1898. Civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois and the Boston activist William Monroe called other activists to a meeting in Niagara Falls in July 1905 and urged more direct action to achieve black civil rights.³⁵ The group formed the Niagara Movement (now the NAACP), and drafted a list of demands that included an end to segregation in courts and public accommodations.³⁶ It met each year through 1909, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was established in New York City. The NAACP, now American's largest civil rights organization, was formed partially in response to the ongoing violence against African Americans, and made anti-lynching their central campaign.

Organizations like the NAACP bolstered African Americans as they faced growing restrictions throughout the country in the aftermath of World War I. The overseas conflict had impacted black and white Americans alike, with 350,000 men and women of African American heritage serving in almost every branch of the military.³⁷ African American women, however, were often prevented from obtaining some wartime jobs at home even as women overall entered the labor force in unprecedented numbers.³⁸ As the war effort contracted, returning African American service members found limited opportunities for employment, housing, education, and public accommodations. Restrictive housing covenants proliferated across the country, racially separate schools became the norm, and community centers run by the YMCA/YWCA were strictly segregated.³⁹ Racial tensions and riots consequently increased, and KKK membership reached between three and eight million members nationwide, gaining strongholds in northern and western states.⁴⁰

An expanding African American press using the language of rights and democracy used and supported by the Roosevelt administration played an important role in strengthening the civil rights movement. By 1940, the United States had 155 black newspapers, 60% of them with circulations that spanned multiple states. The publications ranged in their political leanings but as a group covered stories of everyday discrimination and grassroots civil rights efforts that were

³⁴ National Park Service Landmarks Program, "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites," Telling All American Stories, Revised 2008, 10.

³⁵ <https://www.nps.gov/articles/niagara-movement-cornerstone-of-the-modern-civil-rights-movement.htm>

³⁶ <https://www.nps.gov/articles/niagara-movement-cornerstone-of-the-modern-civil-rights-movement.htm>

³⁷ U.S Army "African-Americans Continue Tradition of Distinguished Service."; Army Historical Foundation and Bryan, "Fighting for Respect- African Americans in WWI"

³⁸ RIBHS Context Statement 2018 p 8.

³⁹ Thomas Sugrue, "The Unfinished History of Racial Segregation" (University of Pennsylvania, July 2008), https://www.prrac.org/projects/fair_housing_commission/chicago/sugrue.pdf.

⁴⁰ "The Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s | American Experience | PBS."

typically ignored in white newspapers throughout the North and South.⁴¹ In the broader Inland Empire region, the first black paper, *The Colored Citizen*, operated out of Redlands, California from 1905 to 1906.⁴² While a short run, it broke a major barrier- giving a voice to the community of African Americans in the Inland Empire.

Local Theme: Housing and Public Accommodation

By 1900, there were 7,858 African Americans in California.⁴³ As African American residents of Riverside continued to write to family members in other parts of the country of their success, and due to the rising tensions in the segregated south, a second wave of African American migration occurred in Riverside up until World War II.⁴⁴ Prior to 1920, the African American community in the City were generally spread out throughout the City boundaries, “reflecting the freedom which drew them West.”⁴⁵ The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a steady shift in the patterns of neighborhoods within Riverside. African Americans began settling in the City’s Eastside Neighborhood in larger numbers. Partially this is because of the number of established churches in the Eastside, but also because of the work of Frank Johnson, an African American carriage house owner who bought a large tract of land in the Eastside and subdivided the area. The area north of University Avenue (originally Eighth Street) became home for the Eastside’s early African American community, while the area south of University became an area for Latino settlement.⁴⁶ These two groups would share spaces, struggles, and victories in the second part of the Twentieth century.

Even as the African American community continued to grow and contribute to the city, they faced both unofficial and official discrimination and segregation.⁴⁷ The 1923 California Civil Code specifically banned discrimination but the reality for Riverside’s African American community was different.⁴⁸ The Riverside City Charter was accepted in 1907, forming the Riverside City School District which de facto segregated neighborhood schools. By 1917, zoning and racially restrictive covenants were being used to restrict future sale of property to African Americans. Often times, unspoken agreements between buyers, neighbors, and real estate

⁴¹ Thomas Sugrue, “The Unfinished History of Racial Segregation” (University of Pennsylvania, July 2008), https://www.prrac.org/projects/fair_housing_commission/chicago/sugrue.pdf.; NHLP 2008 p20

⁴² The U.S Census Bureau places Redlands in the Riverside-San Bernardino- Ontario Metropolitan Area, which is also known as the Inland Empire. Redlands is approximately 15 miles northeast of Riverside.

⁴³ US Census Bureau, “The Great Migration, 1910 to 1970,” U.S. Census, accessed December 2, 2019, <https://www.census.gov/dataviz/visualizations/020/>.

⁴⁴ Westward To Canaan, Riverside Municipal Museum p3

⁴⁵ Richard Esparza and H. Vincent Vince Moses, *Westward to Canaan: African American Heritage in Riverside, 1890 to 1950* (Rivers: Riverside Museum Press, 1996), 3.

⁴⁶ City of Riverside, Latino Context Statement

⁴⁷ Other communities of color, especially the Latino community, faced similar segregation and discrimination.

⁴⁸ Riverside Municipal Museum, *Our Families, Our Stories: From the African American Community 1870-1960* (Riverside, California: Riverside Museum Press, 1997), 13.

agents ensured the further segregation of neighborhoods. This segregation and exclusion went beyond purchasing property and included being barred from employment opportunities, housing options, as well as public places such as movie theaters, hotels, and parks.

Like Frank Johnson, who purchased property that he subdivided into a housing tract, Edward Streeter, Jr., invested in real estate, buying four lots south of Fourteenth Street. When he bought the land, the planning commissioner divulged that this land was not part of land that could be developed or resided on by African Americans. His grandfather, Ben Decatur, had been told the same thing in 1912, and his family had been persuaded to trade their home on Center Street (now Prospect) for one on Twelfth. Streeter did not make the same choice, choosing to keep and develop the land, continuing to desegregate the area and fight for fair housing.

For children in Riverside, recreational opportunities were either provided by local school programs, by community organizations, or by the City. In 1911, the pool or “plunge” at Fairmount Park was opened as a segregated space. Frank Johnson, now a Reverend for a local church and president of the National Association for Colored People in Riverside, sued the City under California Civil Code, Sections 51 and 52 when his daughter was barred from using the Fairmount Park plunge. After lengthy negotiations between Riverside mayor Horace Porter, a citizen committee, and Johnson, the Fairmount Pool was opened to residents of color, but only on certain days. Although the fight cost Frank Johnson his job, the lawsuit also led to the establishment of one of the first City-built parks for communities of color, Lincoln Park. With the formal opening in August 1924, Lincoln Park was established along Park Avenue between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets in the Eastside neighborhood. By this time, the Eastside was a neighborhood comprised primarily of African Americans and Latinos. In 1927, a new indoor baseball diamond and tennis courts were installed at Lincoln Park. Through the 1930s, the park’s facilities included nighttime baseball, which hosted many games and tournaments. During the era of segregation, the Lincoln Park pool, provided one of the few swimming facilities open to citizens of color. Beginning in the 1930s, summertime activities at Lincoln Park included swimming meets, swimming lessons, and general recreational usage. The park had a concession stand, including the Orange Sweet Shop, and by 1941 added changing rooms and offices.⁴⁹In a reflection of the lesser importance placed on parks in minority communities, in the fiscal years of 1939/1940 and 1940/1941, the City’s annual budget for Fairmount Park was approximately “five times greater than that of Lincoln Park”.⁵⁰ The priority placed on parks in Caucasian neighborhoods is just one small example of the segregation and discrimination that people of color faced in Riverside during this time period.

⁴⁹ The 1941 renovation and addition was done by City Engineer Henry Jekel, and was commissioned by the Riverside Parks Department. In subsequent years, the pool and plunge building were removed from Lincoln Park.

⁵⁰ City of Riverside, Latino Context Statement

Although Lincoln Park was welcomed and celebrated by neighborhood residents, it also reflected the ongoing discrimination and separate-but-equal approach applied by the City of Riverside to its communities of color.



Figure 6: The Opening Season of the Fairmount Pool, a Segregated Space, was advertised in the paper

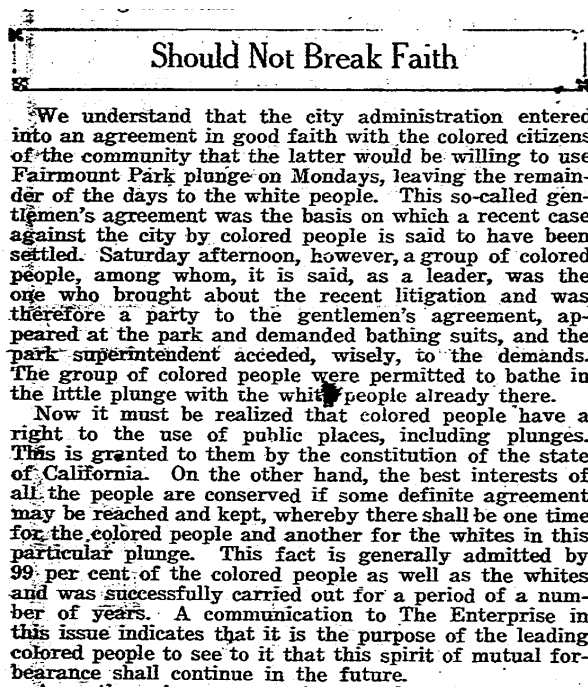


Figure 7: Recognizing that access to public accommodations was legal, the City Newspaper encouraged that voluntary segregation was the most helpful solution

The 1930s and 1940s illuminated numerous municipal and infrastructure discrepancies between neighborhoods with mainly Caucasian families, and those such as the Eastside and Casa Blanca that housed African American and other communities of color. In 1940 in the neighborhood of Casa Blanca, only 42% of homes had sewer connections and only 34 individual homes had indoor plumbing.⁵¹

While Riverside did not have many violent or racially motivated events, social and economic racism was ever-present. Riverside had a large following of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK held an open induction of over 200 new members in July of 1924- at the time the largest assemblage of any fraternal order in Riverside.⁵² In 1927, Riverside elected a Klan backed Mayor, Edward Dighton.⁵³ Although there was never any documented Klan inspired violence in Riverside, the

⁵¹ City of Riverside, Latino Context Statement, see mapping at beginning of document.

⁵² Richard Esparza and H. Vincent Vince Moses, *Westward to Canaan: African American Heritage in Riverside, 1890 to 1950* (Rivers: Riverside Museum Press, 1996), 2.

⁵³ Richard Esparza and H. Vincent Vince Moses, *Westward to Canaan: African American Heritage in Riverside, 1890 to 1950* (Rivers: Riverside Museum Press, 1996), 2.

KKK's popularity through the 1920s stood as visible expression of the obstacles African Americans had to overcome in order to build a community in Riverside. Those who migrated to Riverside, found themselves in a segregated community, that although cut off from the rest of the community, facilitated a strong social and family structure.

Local Theme: Employment + Entrepreneurship

Like other African Americans who came to Southern California at the end of the 19th century, this era saw those who were educated and of sufficient means to make the move across the country in their search for a reprieve from escalated violence, disenfranchisement, and Jim Crow segregation in the south. While Riverside continued to flourish in the citrus industry in the mid twentieth century, African Americans remained mostly employed in the service industries as hotel waiters, porters, and barbers. The nearby Mission Inn, run by Frank Miller, was a center of employment, often hiring African Americans as their service workers. John Allen came to Riverside from Chicago at Frank Miller's urging, and worked at the Mission Inn from 1909 to 1941 as an elevator operator, porter, and motor livery manager. From 1932 to 1949 he operated the Orange Sweet Shop, in a Spanish Eclectic building in Lincoln Park, which was fondly remembered in later years as having a "well-stocked juke box beside an elevated platform for dancing."⁵⁴ (Figure 8-9)

**Special Program for
Lincoln Park Tuesday**

Two competitive events have been scheduled for next Tuesday afternoon at Lincoln park, when at 2:30 a horseshoe pitching contest and a checker tournament will get under way.

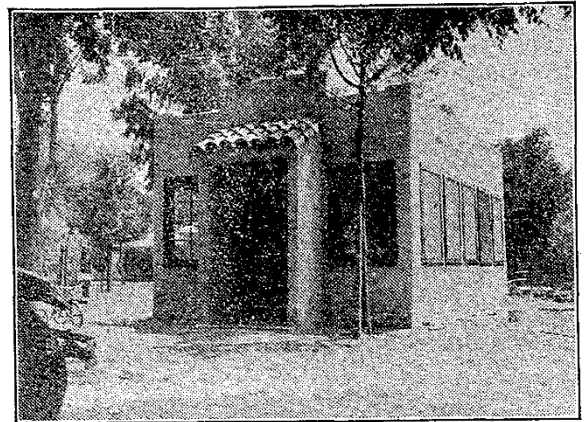
J. W. Allen of the Orange Sweet shop, who is sponsoring the two events, states that prizes will be awarded the winners in both contests, and that the general public is cordially invited to watch the fun.

Figure 9 (above): Riverside Daily Press, July 1933 discussing the use of the Orange Sweet Shop for athletic events.

Figure 8 (right): Riverside Daily Press, May 1932 advertising the opening of the Orange Sweet Shop

ORNIA. WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 18, 1932

**Orange Sweet Shop at Lincoln Park
Will Open on Wednesday Evening**



**POPPY WREATHS ON
GRAVES OF VETERANS**

Filling a long felt need at Lincoln Park, near Twelfth street and Park Avenue, the "Orange Sweet Shop," built by John W. Allen and to be conducted by Mrs. Allen, was opened today to the delight of the patrons of the park.

⁵⁴ Riverside Municipal Museum, *Our Families, Our Stories: From the African American Community 1870-1960* (Riverside, California: Riverside Museum Press, 1997).

As with the pioneer era, there were still a small number of entrepreneurs within the African American community, focused in the Eastside neighborhood. As African American and Latino entrepreneurs opened up stores, a small concentration of businesses along Park Avenue and University Avenue emerged in the 1930s.

One such entrepreneur was David Stokes. David, Robert Stokes' nephew, came to Riverside after hearing from his uncle that Riverside offered better opportunities than he could find in the South. In 1905, he and associates built the Colored American Mercantile Hall at 2931 12th Street in Riverside. According to The Colored Citizen newspaper, "This was the biggest enterprise undertaken by the colored people of Riverside." It served as a multipurpose building for the Eastside African- and Mexican American communities. It housed businesses and was home to the Black fraternal orders. David was treasurer of the Second Baptist Church and a member of the Orange Valley Lodge No. 13 Masons. David's son, Oscar Stokes helped his father, David Stokes, plant the first Washington navel orange trees in 1917, on the grounds of University of California, Riverside Citrus Experiment Station. In an oral history transcript, he is recorded as saying, "the ground was so hard we had to blast holes in it." Usually African American community members had to work multiple jobs.⁵⁵ Many worked for long periods of time at menial jobs while also pursuing entrepreneurial opportunities within the black community.

For many, even education did not provide an exit from menial labor and holding a multitude of jobs at once. The African American population was not large enough to sustain a realtor or a banker who held no other such position.

The Davenport family also owned land and a farm in West Riverside, today Jurupa Valley. They were truck farmers, coming to town in a horse and wagon to supply Eastsider's with fresh fruit and vegetables, eggs and poultry, a business dominated by the 1920s by Japanese and Japanese Americans in the area. Susan Davenport married into the Williams family, whose patriarch, Edward, had come from Georgia in the 1890s. Trivel Williams joined his father in 1905, worked as a night watchman at the Mission Inn, and labored on a hog farm, perhaps at his wife Susan's family farm. (Their house at 3985 Park still stands.) Eddie Streeter, Jr. who became a leader within the Businessmen's Club and in land development made his start with the railroad and sideline businesses in janitorial services and trunk hauling.

The African American community in Riverside experienced growth in the late 1930s and early 1940s, as employment prospects picked up citywide with a diversified economy and the advent of defense-related work. With the U.S entry into World War II, California faced a pressing labor shortage. Riverside saw a spike during the war years, especially in African American and Latino

⁵⁵ City of Riverside, Marketplace Context, p74.

communities. In Riverside, this translated to the expansion of the Eastside neighborhood. With this expansion also came the growth of institutional offerings in the Eastside neighborhood. In 1937, at Eighth and Franklin Streets, Fire Station No. 4 was constructed, with designs by local architect G. Stanley Wilson. Based at this Fire Station No. 4 was new firefighter, Ed Strickland, who was the first African American firefighter in 1937, and was promoted to engineer, and eventually captain for the Riverside Fire Department. Born in Georgia in 1913, Strickland moved to Riverside with his family in 1918. He became known in the city for his pioneering innovations in firefighting equipment and technology in 1940, as well as his athletic abilities.⁵⁶



Fire Captain Ed Strickland sips a welcome cup of coffee following treatment of a cut hand suffered while fighting fire which razed small home.

Fire...

(Continued from Page B-1)
 Beatrice Lawson, firemen said.
 Fire officials said the blaze started beneath the fireplace and damage was confined to a small area of the floor. An overheated fireplace was believed to have caused the fire.
 Two trucks answered both alarms.

Date Shifts For CofC Mexico Trip

The Chamber of Commerce goodwill trip to Mexico will leave Saturday morning, March 30, the Chamber office announced this morning.

Announcement was made that the University Heights fire station, No. 4, will be placed in service on June 1, with the personnel to include two captains and two hosemen. The building was recently completed.

New Pumper Coming

A combination pumper now at Central station will be transferred to the new station on Eighth street and Franklin avenue. It will be replaced with a new American La France pumper en route from Elmira, N. Y.

A report filed by Fire Chief Ed Mosbaugh disclosed that 20 fire alarms were registered last month.

Assistant Fire Marshal L. E. Wright reported that he inspected 82 buildings, answered 14 complaints, and made 35 general inspections. Fire engines 1, 2 and 3 were completely overhauled, checked, and necessary repairs made.

Figure 10: Riverside Daily Press article showcasing Ed Strickland as Fire Captain

⁵⁶ Riversider.org, *Unsung Heroes/ Ed Strickland*

Local Theme: Social Clubs, Organizations + Formalized Resistance

Restricted from Caucasian fraternal organizations and social clubs prior to World War II, the African American community established their own. The Orange Valley Lodge #13 was established in 1905. Meeting in Mercantile Hall (extant), a building owned by David Stokes, it gave members a space to discuss community issues and business. The 1920's saw the establishment of the Businessmen's Club, led by Edward Street, Jr, and the Citizen's Committee (1930) an outgrowth of the San Bernardino NAACP. These groups worked together to re-enforce family values and produce local leaders.

As a City facing rising racial tensions, the African American community welcomed Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute, as a visitor in 1914. Washington, who was a friend of Frank Miller (Founder of the Mission Inn), visited the Mission Inn, and gave three speeches within Riverside, including at Congregational Church, a predominately African American congregation. (Figure 10-11)

Reacting to the news that on March 25, 1931, nine African American teenagers were accused of raping two white women aboard a Southern Railroad freight train in northern Alabama, the Riverside community decided to organize.⁵⁷ Dozens of individuals met at Mercantile Hall the next week to raise funds for the boys' defense, showing that the fledgling new local Civil Rights movement had both a social organization and a sense of responsibility within the local community, along with a shared cause to fight for national concerns.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ National Museum of African American History + Culture, "The Scottsboro Boys," NMAAHC/ Smithsonian, March 15, 2017, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog/scottsboro-boys>.

⁵⁸ Catherine Gudis, "RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY AND CONTEXT STATEMENT FOR THE MARKETPLACE SPECIFIC PLAN, CITY OF RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA," July 2012.



Figure 11: Booker T. Washington and Frank Miller in Riverside, 1914

COLORED LEADER SPEAKS 3 TIMES

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON TELLS
STORY OF HIS LIFE TO A
GREAT CONGREGATION

Speaks at Congregational Church, to
Colored Citizens and at Mission
Cloister—He Tells How Tuskegee
Institute Was Founded and What
It Is Accomplishing

If Booker T. Washington is suscep-
tible to flattery he must have been
rather more than gratified on Sunday
morning to have been greeted by the
largest crowd that ever assembled in
a Riverside church. It was indeed a
splendid tribute alike to the speaker
and to the notable work he is accom-
plishing for his race. Dr. Washing-
ton spoke three times on Sunday—in
the morning at the First Congrega-
tional church, in the afternoon to his

older colored folks learned that we
were teaching the children ordinary
things and ordinary work they at first
protested. They said they had work-
ed for 250 years and the younger
generation should be so educated that
they would know enough to make a
living without working. They had to
be taught the difference between be-
ing worked and working. When the
educated leaders were sent out among
them the prejudice rapidly disappear-
ed, and there has been a great change
in all the south in the spirit on the
subject of labor."

Live problems are taught in the in-
stitute, and practice and not theory
is taught. At commencement time
now graduation themes are practical
and timely. A girl, for instance,
serves a simple farm dinner, giving
costs and explaining preparation. A
boy told how to raise an acre of tur-
nips, and had the turnips to show for
it. An effort is made to articulate
all teaching into practical day prob-
lems.

"The new race is only 50 years of
age, and it has one great advantage,"
said the speaker. "Its future is before
it rather than behind it. Unfortun-
ately the public schools of the south
are not affording the colored people
proper educational facilities. In many
sections only two or three months

Figure 12: The Riverside Daily Press Covered Washington's Visit

BIRTH OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1941–1954

National Context:

The various strands of civil rights activism forming in America at the end of the 1930s combined into a clearly identifiable social movement with the country's entrance into World War II in 1941. Major efforts within the movement focused on employment, housing, education, and military service. In Riverside, the construction of Camp Anza in 1942, marked the beginning of the nearly 600,000 soldiers that would be processed in the city of Riverside. The camp included segregated barracks and social clubs – showcasing that even for soldiers, accommodations were separate.⁵⁹

In 1941, after the nationally prominent labor activist A. Philip Randolph threatened a massive march on Washington, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) mandating non-discrimination in defense industry hiring. After the war,

⁵⁹ Galvin Preservation Associates, "Camp Anza/Arlanza 2006-2007 Certified Local Government Grant Historical Resources Inventory And Context Statement" (Riverside, California, September 2007): 31-32, <https://www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/Surveys/camp-anza.pdf>.

however, Congress cut funding to the FEPC, and the group formally dissolved in 1946. Civil rights activists continued the uphill battle to end employment discrimination at the federal level but increasingly focused their energies on state legislatures and local politics.⁶⁰ Public accommodations became a major battleground for racial equality where Jim Crow traditions remained firmly in place in many aspects of day-to-day life. Publications like *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, published by New York mailman Victor Green from 1936 to 1966, helped African Americans navigate the unpredictable landscape of segregation in many parts of the country, including Los Angeles and broader Riverside areas.

Limited anti-discrimination progress occurred with respect to housing, education, and military service at the federal level, much of it resulting from the legal work of the NAACP. Headed by Thurgood Marshall, the organization's Legal Defense and Educational Fund mounted multiple challenges to *Plessy v. Ferguson* during and after World War II. Landmark cases such as the 1948 *Shelley v. Kramer* verdict declaring racially restrictive housing covenants unconstitutional and Executive Order 9981 formally integrated the U.S. Armed Forces. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against separate but equal education marked major civil rights advances.

State Context:

This period was a time of growth for California. The influx of wartime industries and workers created a "boom" for housing. Racial tensions continued to rise between minorities and Caucasians culminating in the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles during June of 1943. These riots between latino youths and white servicemen was sparked from the disagreement that "zoot suits" or suits made baggy with extra fabric, were unpatriotic and extravagant during wartime. While most of the violence was directed toward Mexican American youth, young African American and Filipino Americans were attacked as well because they also sported zoot suits.

Significant social milestones in the visibility of civil rights and integration continued to happen. Jackie Robinson, raised in Pasadena, California and a UCLA alum, broke the color barrier playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1943.

⁶⁰ Thomas Sugrue, "The Unfinished History of Racial Segregation," 2008, 121.



DODGERS' ROBINSON
Their prayers were answered
See SPORTS

SPORTS

Debut

It was the fifth inning of an exhibition game at Ebbets Field between the Dodgers and their farm club, the Montreal Royals. The Bums were well on the way to losing the game, 4 to 2, when Arthur Mann, assistant to Dodger President Branch Rickey, slipped

into the press box.

Without comment he handed copies of a typed statement to the baseball writers. It read: "The Brooklyn Dodgers today purchased the contract of Jackie Roosevelt Robinson from the Montreal Royals."

No one was surprised. The Dodgers needed a good infielder who could also hit. Robinson had been the best second baseman in the International League, had stolen 40 bases in 1946, and led the league in batting with a .349 average.

When the Royal players crowded around Robinson in the dugout to congratulate him and wish him luck, he answered: "Thanks, I'll need it." He would. Robinson was a Negro.

In 1945, when he had been signed by the Royals, he had become the first of his race to break into modern organized baseball. Now that he was stepping up to the big leagues he would be the first Negro to play major league ball since Moses Fleetwood Walker, caught for Toledo in 1884.

HOW MOST



Figure 13: Jackie Robinson's debut was covered in the San Francisco Chronicle

Local Theme: Public Accommodation and Housing

After World War II, the Eastside, now predominately an African American community, faced a major housing shortage. The northern area of the Eastside was rezoned from single family residences to multi-family housing in 1949. Racial minorities moved into homes further north, between 8th and Blaine, and south of 14th streets. At the same time, the arrival of neighbors of color triggered "white flight" or "panic selling" and Caucasian homeowners began to move out of these areas, further segregating the area. By the mid-1950s, the Eastside neighborhood was more segregated than ever, even as federal regulations instituted the rolling back of racially restrictive housing policies. A YWCA tailored for African American women was opened in 1944, although located on Twelfth street in the Eastside, a segregated community- showcasing that public accommodation and housing were still influenced by City preferences and local politics.

Although African American residents in Riverside benefited from legal victories in the pre- and post-war period, the practices of unspoken agreements and the steering of African Americans away from certain neighborhoods remained intact throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The

Riverside Daily Press noted in 1956 that Riverside neighborhoods were “closely fenced in by ‘Gentlemen’s Agreements’ that aim to keep people of color out of primarily Anglo neighborhoods.”⁶¹ Between 1950 and 1956, more than 210 new housing subdivisions were constructed in the City. Among these, only three catered exclusively to minority groups. Those three neighborhoods were the Streeter Tract of Pennsylvania (discussed below), the Los Ranchitos tract in Casa Blanca and the Wood Subdivision east of Kansas Avenue, also in the Eastside.

Eddie Streeter, who owned four tracts of land in the Eastside neighborhood secured funding for the subdivision and tract development in 1950 through African American and Latino investors. The Streeter Tract was the first tract development in Riverside after WWII, signaling the return of growth and investment in the city. While Streeter worked to ensure that the African American would be able to buy these properties by 1952 half of all lots subdivided in the City contained restrictive racial covenants forbidding sale to non-white citizens. Within the Streeter Tract, Eddie Streeter worked with the American Legion and NAACP to ensure that the homes would be available to families of color. John Sotelo, was one of the first buyers of a home constructed by Penn Homes in the Streeter Tract (around 1950). The home was at 2427 Pennsylvania avenue, and lived there from 1950 to 1972.

12

44-Home Project Now Underway on Eastside

By BETH TETERS

A 44-home housing project on the Eastside was formally launched today by eight Riverside businessmen.

Two and three-bedroom homes selling at \$7150 and \$7900 for minimum down payments will be available. Known as the Streeter Tract, the site lies between Pennsylvania Avenue and East Fourteenth Street and Sedgwick Avenue and High Street.

Philip A. Kustner, as spokesman for the group which includes Harry E. McGrath, J. F. Davidson, H. C. Warren, Marshall Tilden, Elmer Eggert, Jack Wingate and C. W. Voorhies, describes the venture as an answer to the long disputed housing problems for that neighborhood.

If the project proves successful, the organization plans to launch

other large scale housing operations in that area.

As a matter of fact, Edward Streeter, Eastside realtor, reports that deposits have been received for six of the homes and eight more have been reserved for 48 hours while the buyers gather up the down payment.

For veterans monthly payments run between \$41.16 and \$45.54 depending on which basic plan and modification is used. Six modifications are available.

Non-veterans' monthly payments will run between \$51.83 and \$56.21.

These payments are based on a down payment of \$1150. FHA loans secure the balance. The veteran receives his full down payment from the Veterans Administration and pays it back at 4 per cent interest for 25 years.



BUSY MAN—Eddie Streeter, realtor, checks over blueprints on the new homes to be erected in the Streeter Tract on the Eastside.

Figure 14: Eddie Streeter's Housing Tract covered in the April 4, 1950 edition of the Riverside Independent Enterprise

⁶¹ Riverside Daily Press, 1956.

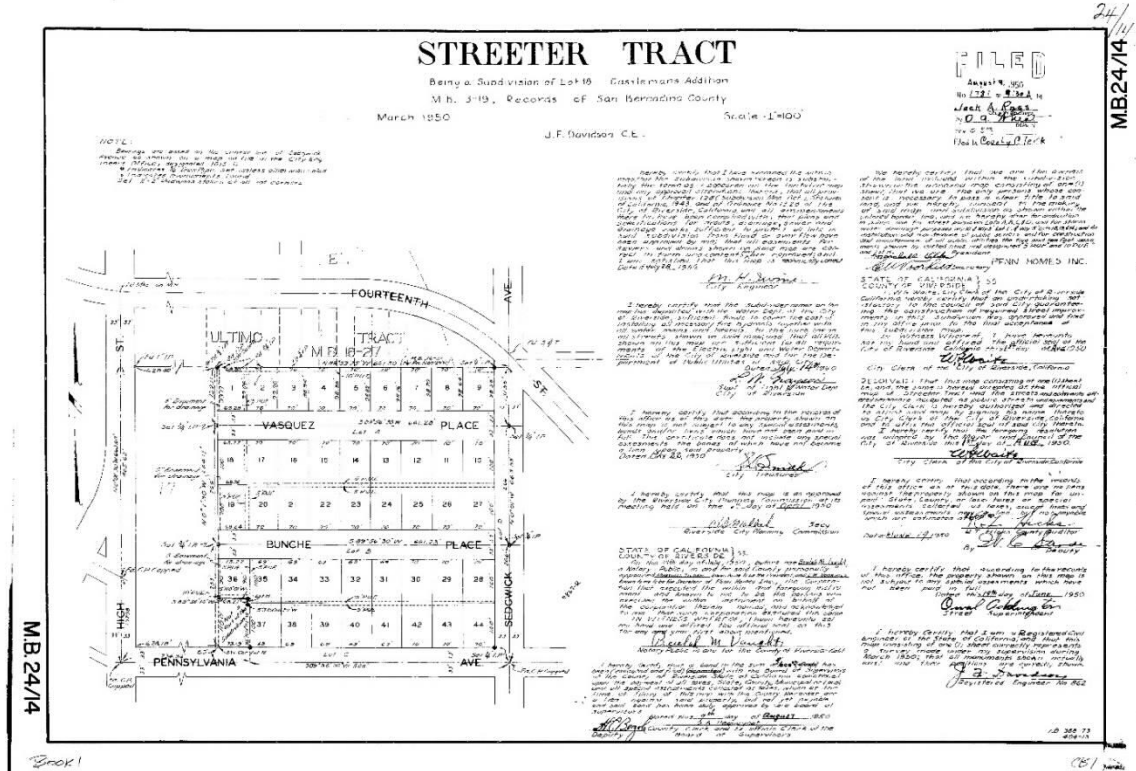


Figure 15: Original Subdivision Map for Eddie Streeter's Housing Tract

Local Theme: Social Groups, Organizations + Formalized Resistance

World War II empowered a new generation of activists and community organizers in California. Returning veterans organized and actively asserted their rights to equal treatment and access, and the changes they helped bring about expanded their options in all areas of life.

In Riverside, leisure was also the site of conflict in the early 1940s. Lincoln Park, for instance, served as a recreation center for both white and black servicemen from nearby Camp Haan and Anza and March Fields, although activities were segregated.⁶² Accounts differ regarding wartime racial incidents, but one seemed to revolve around a baseball game in which whites and blacks exchanged insults until an African American player took his bat to the offenders. In the months afterwards, African Americans became targets



Figure 16: December 13, 1942 in the Riverside Daily Press covered the new NAACP branch president speaking

⁶² Camp Haan and Camp Anza are discussed in further detail on page 41, under Local Theme: Employment

of unprovoked attacks, whether walking the streets of downtown or elsewhere.

Alarmed at the recent developments, the African American community kick-started the process to begin establishing a branch of the NAACP in Riverside. The NAACP website still mentions that prior to this instance most of the African American community did not feel unsafe or that violence was likely. The NAACP branch was fully established in 1942, with their first President being Omar Stratton - renewing efforts that had begun with the Citizens' Committee in the 1930s.

Over the following few years, the Riverside NAACP fought to end segregation in downtown commercial establishments, and to increase job opportunities. Movies and restaurants were reportedly desegregated in the 1940s, although motels were not. The NAACP and other social groups supported Reverend Moss (Preacher from the Park Avenue Baptist Church) in his 1946 unsuccessful bid for a seat on the City Council, and through the 1950s brought hiring discrimination complaints to the State Fair Employment Practice Commission.

This time period also saw the further establishment of African American churches. The Negro Baptist Church (at Fifth and F Street) and the Negro Seventh-day Adventist Churches were dedicated in the 1950s.

Ground Breaking Ceremony Planned By 2nd Baptists

The Second Baptist Church of Riverside, second oldest, Negro Baptist church in Southern California, will hold ground breaking ceremonies at 3 p.m. Sunday, March 7, at 2911 Ninth Street, new home site of the church.

Friends of the church are invited by Rev. William Thomas, minister, to attend.

The Second Baptist Church was organized in 1890 by Rev. Charles Wingbigular, minister of the First Baptist Church here, according to Mrs. Ruth Elkins, church clerk. It started with 13 members. Its present address is 2993 Twelfth Street.

Figure 17: The Riverside Daily Press covering the March 7th 1952 Opening of the New Building for the Second Baptist Church

falling to observe a boulevard s

County Schools Head Denounces Segregation

County Schools Supt. Ray W. Johnson yesterday called on his staff and other County educators to give their prayerful concern to the currently hot national controversy on school racial segregation to be decided by the Supreme Court.

Declaring that the laws of learning apply in exactly the same way to Negro children as to white or brown children, the County schools head said he vehemently deplored the view that "any public supported schools should segregate children according to the color of their skin or let racial considerations affect the hiring of their teachers."

Figure 98: County Schools Superintendent Ray Johnson publicly denounces segregation. Riverside Daily Press

Local Theme: Education

The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against separate but equal education marked major civil rights advances, although the schools in Riverside were still segregated, causing frustration amongst parents, and a growing education gap amongst children. This launched an interracial bloc fight for better schools and to end school segregation.

The County Schools Superintendent, Ray Johnson, publicly denounced segregation stating that “the laws of learning apply in exactly the same way to Negro children as to white or brown children”.

Local Theme: Employment + Entrepreneurship

The job market during this period remained limited for African Americans in Riverside, although the war time economy did bring and employ African Americans to Riverside. As wartime opportunities began to drastically change the region at large, the African American population of the Riverside region nearly doubled.⁶³ Employment positions were expanded during the War due to defense and industrial developments in the Inland Empire. During World War II, March Airfield was a major base to the southeast of the City- providing military training and aircraft repair. Camp Haan, located adjacent to the March Air Field, was home to over 80,000 troops, while Camp Anza, a staging area for the Los Angeles Port of Embarkation, was located six miles southwest of Riverside and saw 600,000 military personnel pass through. For African American servicemen, these camps typically featured a separate recreation hall, although were generally desegregated. Local industry also expanded during the war years to produce war related production demands in steel, machinery, and other military contracts. African Americans were sometimes stationed at these camps, or local residents often held skilled labor positions during the war- making parts for various contracts. Often times, however, African Americans and other minorities were relegated to menial labor at military camps, serving as cooks and janitors to the thousands of soldiers. After the war, African Americans generally remained in these same positions, even as the industry transitioned back to the non-war related products. Returning veterans were often able to use the GI Bill and Serviceman’s Readjustment Act of 1944 to receive educational subsidies or loans for homes. While other young veterans and residents found professional professions to transition to, African Americans in Riverside were often in positions that offered little upward trajectory, and many chose to leave the city to find employment elsewhere.

Certain fields remained staunchly segregated. By 1949, only two African American teachers were employed in the Riverside City Schools. By the 1950s, the Riverside Daily Press had taken

⁶³ The African American population in Riverside doubled between 1940 and 1950.number?

note of, and began chronicling, the changing landscape for employment among Riverside's communities of color. By the end of the 1940s, and into the 1950s, the Riverside NAACP fought to end segregation in commercial establishments and to gain opportunities for African Americans. By 1950, the Hunter and FMC churches were employing nearly 20 African American residents in Riverside. The African American community was also supportive of Park Avenue Baptist Church's Reverend Moss, who bid for a seat on City Council in 1946. Although unsuccessful, it brought members of the African American community, especially the church community, together.⁶⁴

MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1954–1964

National Context:

If the modern civil rights movement was born in the labor and housing struggles of World War II and the immediate post war period, it came of age in the ten years between 1954 and 1964. Civil rights activists became increasingly impatient with opposition to full equality in housing, employment, and public accommodations. Two strands of activism emerged: the nonviolent resistance espoused by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the more radical responses represented by Malcolm X.

The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision formally ruled that racial segregation in public schools; even with "equal but separate" facilities, was unconstitutional. As school districts around the country grappled with this decision, the direct impact of *Brown v. Board of Education* was complicated in California and Riverside. In California, school and housing segregation were inextricably linked. Residential segregation was increasing in California's urban areas, including Riverside, leading to both formal and informal methods of school segregation. Broadly, most civil rights activists from the 1930s to the mid-1960s favored school integration, and boycotts across the country typically occurred in small cities and suburbs with black populations or in individual transitional neighborhoods within larger cities. Laws generally prohibited outright racial segregation, but tracking and other local policies often resulted in separate schools for blacks and whites, with those for black students often deteriorating and underfunded.⁶⁵ School desegregation in many parts of the South resulted in the growth of white resistance to civil rights progress, epitomized by the standoff between the

⁶⁴ Riverside NAACP, history, accessed February 2020.

⁶⁵ Thomas Sugrue, "The Unfinished History of Racial Segregation" (University of Pennsylvania, July 2008); 181 and 201, https://www.prrac.org/projects/fair_housing_commission/chicago/sugrue.pdf.

federal and state governments outside a high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957.

Nation-wide substantial civil rights gains were made in the decade after *Brown v. Board of Education*. The NAACP's continuing legal and lobbying work helped obtain the passage of the first rights legislation since Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The act created the United States Commission on Civil Rights, established a civil rights division at the Justice Department, and provided penalties for voting rights violations. In 1964, Congress passed another sweeping civil rights bill initially proposed by President John F. Kennedy and signed into law by his successor Lyndon Johnson. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 granted the federal government power to enforce civil rights and withhold funds, prohibited discrimination in most public accommodations, and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.⁶⁶

African American residents of Montgomery, Alabama, led by Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. boycotted the city's bus service for a year following the December 1, 1955, arrest of Rosa Parks for her refusal to cede her bus seat to a white passenger. Through the 50s student sit-ins became a popular form of protest, occurring in cities across the north and south. The rise in prominence of figures like Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael who both questioned the effectiveness of nonviolence, fueled growing divisions among civil rights leaders.⁶⁷ The civil rights movement reached a "fever pitch" in 1963, in part due to the deaths of four young girls in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, and the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas, Texas. In August 1963, 250,000 people gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, for the massive protest march known as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and listened to King's "I Have A Dream" speech.⁶⁸

State Context:

In California, the concept of fair housing continued to prove controversial. The Unruh Civil Rights Act of 1959 protected California residents from discrimination from businesses, which included housing providers such as hotels, motels, broker-sellers, and property managers. Then in 1963, California was one of the first states to enact a fair housing law targeting discrimination

⁶⁶ National Park Service Landmarks Program, "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites," *Telling All American Stories*, Revised 2008, 17-18.

⁶⁷ National Park Service Landmarks Program, "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites," *Telling All American Stories*, Revised 2008, 17.

⁶⁸ National Park Service Landmarks Program, "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites," *Telling All American Stories*, Revised 2008, 17-18.

in all aspects of housing through the Rumford Act. The Rumford Act enabled the state's Fair Employment Practices Commission to intervene on behalf of potential tenants and homebuyers. If a manager or homeowner was found to have refused rental or sale due to race, the FEPC in some cases could force them to rent or sell to the potential tenants or buyers in question. By some estimates, the law covered only 25 percent of the over 3.7 million single-family homes in California and less than 5 percent of its duplexes, triplexes and fourplexes. Its greatest impact was on the 738,000 apartment complexes consisting of five or more units.

However, the following year an overwhelming majority of Californians voted in favor of Proposition 14 - a measure spearheaded by the California Real Estate Association - to repeal the progressive law. African American Civil Rights activists and community members in Riverside organized a protest against the repeal of the Rumford Act and Proposition 14.

The passage of the California Fair Employment and Housing Act (FEHA) in 1959 preempted the national 1968 Fair Housing Act by a number of years, offering protections to citizens experiencing harassment and discrimination in their housing based on their membership in a protected class. FEHA also established the Department of Fair Employment and Housing (DFEH), the state-level governmental organization responsible for the filing, investigation, and conciliation of complaints alleging practices in violation of Fair Housing Law. Through the institutions and enforcement mechanisms created by this law, victims of discrimination now had a place to voice their complaints and seek justice.

The modern civil rights movement in Riverside was a time of frustration and solidarity. Riverside community members were still faced with segregated schools, and strong racially motivated social divides.

Local Theme: Employment + Entrepreneurship

By the 1950s, the Riverside Daily Press had taken note of, and began chronicling, the changing landscape for employment among Riverside's communities of color. A survey in the Eastside neighborhood in 1956 showed a variety of employment options, including civil service jobs, construction work, or industrial work and manufacturing.⁶⁹ The 1950's were also a period of growth for the African American communities local commercial enterprises, including general stores, barber shops, retail stores, and machine shops. Many of these buildings were still located in one- or two-story wood-framed concrete buildings along Park and University. The post-war years were a time of multi-ethnic collaboration, and the continuation of a long-term effect involving numerous community members and organizations to roll back segregation and

⁶⁹ City of Riverside, Latino Context Statement

discrimination. These partnerships helped the rise of activism and the emerging movement in Riverside surrounding equal education.

Local Theme: Equal Education

Riverside civil rights activists and community members faced the obstacle of the traditional “neighborhood school” situated in racially homogeneous school districts. The combination of racially restrictive covenants on properties along with racist real estate and bank practices (redlining) created a completely segregated housing market defined by racial boundaries.

In 1960, minority populations (African American and Latino) comprised approximately 14% of Riverside’s population. At this time the Lowell school, in the Eastside neighborhood had an enrollment of 50% minority students. The Riverside Unified School District (RUSD) was created on July 1, 1963 from the combination of the previous Riverside City School District, a portion of the Riverside High School District, and the Highgrove School District, all of which had existed as independent entities since the late 19th century. The newly formed district contained twenty-six elementary schools, five junior high schools, and two high schools. All thirty-three neighborhood schools were *de facto* segregated.⁷⁰ *De facto* segregation occurs when the way in which a school draws its attendance area boundaries inherently segregates students. In the case of the RUSD neighborhood schools, the school boundaries were drawn to encompass the neighborhoods immediately surrounding each school and without express intent to segregate – whatever the demographic of the population surrounding the school was the demographic of that school’s student body.

The neighborhood school system had been the standard system for determining who went to what school for centuries because it is a straightforward method of determining which students attending which schools. Sending a child down the road to a school rather than across town was logical, efficient, and comfortable for both students and parents. The social climate of the 1960s, however, soon caused people to re-evaluate the values upon which the neighborhood school system had been based. While this system ostensibly did not draw its school boundaries with the intent to segregate, the result was ultimately a collection of segregated schools.

The *de facto* segregation of Riverside’s neighborhood school system, while unpopular, was technically legal. The 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (Brown v. Board)* had ruled that *de jure* segregation – that is, segregation caused by legislation or policies – was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁷¹ The ruling did not, however, explicitly address *de facto* segregation like that found in the

⁷⁰ History and Plot Plans, 1

⁷¹ *Brown v. Board*.

neighborhood schools. The first challenge to the neighborhood school systems' *de facto* segregation was triggered by the opening of Alcott School, a new elementary school near Lowell School. The new school attendance area boundaries for Alcott School would have siphoned Anglo children from Lowell School, which was already predominantly composed of minority students. A petition from a citizens' group at Lowell School was presented to the School Board on May 15, 1961 to request a study committee for the formation of the new Alcott School boundaries to consider the problem of *de facto* segregation.⁷² The Lowell School Committee was formed, composed of members of the African American, Mexican American, and White communities. The findings showed that in the 1961-62 school year, the Lowell school had an enrollment of 90% minority students, although it had only been at 50% the year prior. The committee recommended the dispersal of upper grades to other schools. Moreover, Riverside had adopted a policy termed 'Open Enrollment' in 1961. This policy allowed for fifth and sixth graders at Lowell School to transfer to another school, preserving the neighborhood school system while allowing for students who desired a more integrated school setting to change schools.⁷³ The problem with open enrollment was that there was not enough infrastructure in place to support busing. Nor was there other help getting students who wished to open enroll to different schools across the city.

In 1962, the California State Board of Education required local school authorities to avoid segregation. Concurrently in Riverside, Arthur Littleworth is elected president of the school board. An advocate for integration and a system that promotes "one city", Littleworth helps to change the city rules to allow school boundaries to be drawn to avoid *de facto* segregation.⁷⁴ The School Board also voted to expand "open enrollment" to all schools and grades. While this was a step in the right direction regarding the Riverside Civil Rights movement push for better education. Still, most schools remained *de facto* segregated because of the lack of infrastructure and available help (such as busing) to those who wanted to open enroll in other schools. Shortly thereafter, in response to the 1964 San Dimas Conference that established compensatory education, Riverside's African American community leaders began to advocate for full integration.⁷⁵

⁷² *No Easy Way*, 12-14.

⁷³ *No Easy Way*, 14.

⁷⁴ Arthur Littleworth, *No Easy Way*

⁷⁵ Arthur Littleworth, *No Easy Way*

Local Theme: Social Groups, Organizations + Formalized Resistance

The modern civil rights era saw a renewed growth in social groups, organizations, and protests for equality in Riverside. Everyday citizens became activists, standing up for their children, their jobs, better representation and housing.

The NAACP continued to meet and work towards the pressing issues of housing, education, and employment in Riverside. Members such as Dr. Barnett Grier, who moved to Riverside in 1951 to work at the National Bureau of Standards and joined the NAACP in 1956 were pivotal in fair housing and desegregation.

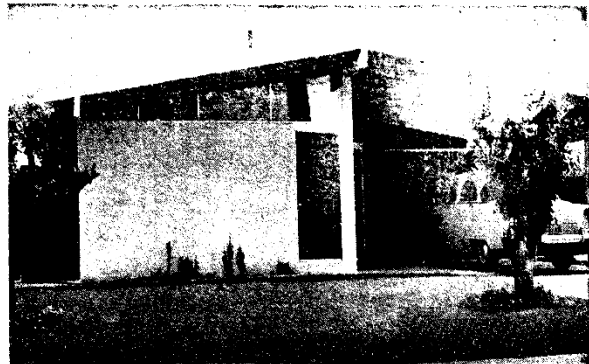
Different minority groups throughout Riverside continued to band together to work towards progress and representation. African American and Latino residents forged political coalitions that led to the election of Riverside's first Latino council member, John Sotelo. Although minorities made up a sizeable percentage of Riverside's demographics, no formal city leader represented a minority group in Riverside until Sotelo was elected in 1963. Sotelo, the first Mexican-American member of City Council grew up in Riverside's Eastside neighborhood. As an Eastside businessman, working alongside many of the leaders of the African American Civil Rights movement in Riverside, Sotelo became increasingly involved forging a coalition of progressive citizens of all ethnicities. Sotelo was instrumental in securing equal representation for minority groups in local government and pushed to ensure community facilities for under-served neighborhoods.

Local Theme: Public Accommodation and Housing

The continued struggle for equal and desegregated housing in Riverside continued into the Modern Civil Rights era, especially since between 1940 and 1950, the African American population doubled. Although population had doubled, housing opportunities had remained relatively stagnant. In 1956, the Riverside Independent Enterprise wrote an article proclaiming "Discrimination Mars an All-American City's Beauty" focusing on a young World War II veteran and his wife, searching for housing in Riverside. The article chronicles the search by the couple, recently stationed at the March Air Force Base nearby, only to be told repeatedly that the home had just been rented. Eventually one real estate agent reportedly said, "I really do want to rent the house to you. But I don't want a long fight with my neighbors." The couple eventually were offered to rent a small cottage that needed immediate repairs, in a price range well below their budget. Instead, they purchased a home in the Eastside, since it was understood buying in another neighborhood would require a lengthy, uphill battle. Although legal remedies to housing discrimination were available at this time in Riverside, it was often an arduous, expensive and unpopular route- and certainly one that most people avoided for fear of retribution in their workplace or socially.



This clapboard shanty fronting an Eastside alley is typical of numerous rental units in which Riverside's Mexican-American and Negro families must live because of a lack of low cost rental housing.



Better economic opportunities for minority group members have enabled them to buy their way out of blighted districts. Here is one of the homes in the recently completed Woods Subdivision near Twelfth and Kansas streets.



Discrimination Mars an All-American City's Beauty

(This is the second in a series of articles on minority group housing problems in the city of Riverside.)

By HARRY LAWTON

When M/Sgt. R. and his wife arrived in Riverside they noticed almost immediately that it was a city of beautiful homes.

They soon found out that this beauty—from their own viewpoint—was mostly skin deep.

M/Sgt. R. had been transferred to March Air Force Base from the East. He hoped to rent an apartment or house for about \$35 a month. He was willing to go higher if necessary.

While the couple hunted for a home, R. stayed in quarters provided at the base. His wife found temporary shelter with a friend's family.

House-Hunting

Even before the couple started looking for rentals they heard many discouraging and gloomy stories of the experiences of others in house-hunting.

During the weeks which followed they hunted down dozens of false leads from newspaper ads.

The landlords had an answer so unvarying that it became somewhat of a joke between R. and his wife. He would walk back to the car where his wife was waiting after an unsuccessful lead. Then he'd humorously mimic the landlord:

"I'm sorry, but this house has just been rented." Days later, driving past the same house, the couple would note that the "For Rent" sign was still out in front.

"I know . . . But . . ."

"I'll bet if we tried again, we'd find it had just been rented," R. would say, and they'd both laugh.

One afternoon they found a landlady in Rubidoux who appeared sympathetic to their problem. She asked them to come back the next day.

When they returned, she had changed her mind about renting to R. and his wife.

"I know you're having a hard time finding a place," she said. "I really do want to rent the house to you. But I've thought it over and I don't want a long fight with my neighbors."

R. visited one real estate agent who appeared very

nervous when the sergeant entered his office. The man didn't meet R.'s eyes when he talked to him.

"I'm afraid you wouldn't be happy in any of the houses I have for rent," said the agent.

R. nodded quietly. He didn't ask the real estate man why he felt he wouldn't be happy.

Another real estate agent said he had just the house for R. A real bargain, and only \$35 a month rent, too!

The couple drove out to look at the bargain with the salesman.

It turned out to be a run-down three room cottage in the rear of a shabby, Victorian-style house. R. and his wife agreed afterward the house in front was probably owned by Charles Addams, the cartoonist.

Having to do Wonders

The floors in the cottage were worn through in spots. The wallpaper hung in shreds. The sink was a total mess and there was only a make-shift shower. A rusted car body lay in the dirt yard outside.

"You can do wonders by remodeling," said the real estate man enthusiastically.

"It's not exactly what we had in mind," replied R.

The house-hunting went on for almost two months before R. and his wife abandoned the search for a rental.

They were forced into buying a home—although R. feels financially they were not yet ready to buy. Fortunately R. had managed to save almost \$2,000 and he was able to make a down-payment on a used home.

Gentlemen's Agreement

He settled for an older house, because he found after talking with several tract salesmen that it would be almost impossible for him to buy a home in a new subdivision without a long court battle.

The majority of Riverside's subdivisions are closely fenced in by "Gentlemen's Agreements."

R.'s strange difficulties in finding a home amid a surplus of vacancies resemble a situation out of a nightmarish story by Franz Kafka.

His problem — as most readers have probably realized by now — stems from the fact that R. and his wife are Negroes.

(Turn to HOUSING, Page B-3)

Figure 19: Riverside Independent Enterprise, August 1956

THE SECOND REVOLUTION, 1964–1976

The passage of the national Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act the following year, represented a significant shift in the civil rights movement, from securing civil rights to enforcing them. While African Americans would see measurable gains in equal access to housing, employment, and public accommodations, there were still deep divisions between the races across the United States.

National Context:

During the tumultuous era leading to the 1960s, the country as a whole struggled to advance a broad civil rights agenda that built on previous successes. African American mass demonstrations, televised racial violence, and the federally enforced desegregation of higher education institutions led to adoption of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Considered the most comprehensive civil rights legislation in U.S. history, the act granted the federal government strong enforcement powers in the area of civil rights. It prohibited tactics to limit voting; guaranteed racial and religious minorities equal access to public accommodations; outlawed job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; continued the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The Commission on Civil Rights created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 focused its efforts primarily on affirmative action and federal enforcement efforts. Federally funded community-based initiatives obtained modest equal housing and employment gains for African Americans. Protestors and lobbyists successfully advocated for more legislative protections against discrimination in areas like voting and housing. In August 1965, after King and others led the march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capitol in Montgomery on March 21–25 of that year, Congress passed the landmark Voting Rights Act prohibiting racial discrimination. Voter registration subsequently increased, particularly in the South, although not without sometimes deadly conflict.

In the mid-1960s, the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) launched an aggressive campaign across the country. On April 11, 1968—one week after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee—President Lyndon Johnson signed the Fair Housing Act prohibiting discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing. Residential segregation persisted, however, due to a lack of enforcement mechanisms in the law.

Late in the 1960s, the Black Power Movement advocated black pride, control over black institutions, and self-determination over integration. It began to replace the earlier strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience with a more militant and aggressive approach.

Local Theme: Education

In the Riverside School District, three of the most segregated schools in the district were Lowell School, Irving School, and Casa Blanca School. These three elementary schools had almost complete minority student populations by 1965, when the average minority representation in the rest of the school district's elementary schools averaged seventeen percent.⁷⁶

The community continued to fight for equal education and integration. Robert Bland and other African Americans in the community worked to desegregate the schools, citing the Supreme Court decision that segregated education was unequal education. During the summer of 1965 the Watts Riots in Los Angeles occurred, raising tensions. Three weeks later, the Lowell elementary school in the Eastside neighborhood was set on fire, a symbol of increasing segregation and racism. The fire was clearly arson, but authorities never discovered who set the blaze. It started about 2 a.m. and was not reported until 4 a.m. the day after Labor Day – a week before the first day of school. After the fire, community member Robert Bland led a parents' movement for integration, presenting a petition demanding that Lowell and Irving schools, the two segregated Eastside campuses, both be closed and integrated with the other Riverside schools. The Riverside School Board, at the urging of President Arthur Littleworth

⁷⁶ *No Easy Way*, 9.

voted to voluntarily integrate all schools in the district. Therefore, in 1965, Riverside became the first city of more than 100,000 in America to desegregate without the enforcement of a court order.⁷⁷ Within a month, a plan had been put into place to desegregate all Riverside public schools, which was accomplished with the help of activists such as Edna Milan.⁷⁸ Edna Milan grew up in segregated Montgomery, Alabama, where she rode the buses with Rosa Parks, experiencing the racism and abuse that led to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. When she moved to Atlanta, she became involved in the civil rights movement as a parishioner at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where she was in the congregation to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. preach his first sermon as co-pastor with his father.⁷⁹ She was recruited by Riverside Unified School District to assist with integration of Riverside schools, specifically assisting in the transfer of Casa Blanca children to Washington Elementary School. Ms. Milan even accompanied the students riding on the school bus that took children to their new schools.

Local Theme: Employment + Entrepreneurship

By 1970, 21% of Riverside's African Americans lived below the poverty line, while only 4.1% of the City's overall population did. As with previous eras, small African American businesses serving the local community were common in areas such as the Eastside and Casa Blanca. Various professionals also opened offices, including doctors, dentists and real estate professionals. Some combined more than one business in a single building.

In the late 60s to early 70s out of nearly 900 staff in the Riverside County Sheriff's Office, only 5 were African American showcasing the racial divide and lack of representation in various industries in Riverside. At this time, no elected representative had ever been African American in Riverside.

Local Theme: Social Groups, Organizations, + Formalized Resistance

Social groups and organizations remained an important aspect of the Civil Rights movement in Riverside. Formal social groups, such as the NAACP branch were pivotal in securing the integration of Riverside schools. Informal networks, such as the tight-knit Eastside neighborhood also helped to resist and fight for change.

⁷⁷ Arthur L. Littleworth, *No Easy Way: Integrating Riverside Schools - a Victory for Community*, 1st edition (Riverside, CA: Inlandia Institute, 2014).

⁷⁸ Journal of the Riverside African American Historical Society, *Preserving the Past, Capturing the Present- The African American Presence in Riverside*, ed. Lulamae Clemons (Riverside, California, 2004), 28-30.

⁷⁹ Journal of the Riverside African American Historical Society, *Preserving the Past, Capturing the Present- The African American Presence in Riverside*, ed. Lulamae Clemons (Riverside, California, 2004), 28-30.

These types of networks were inspiring youth as well. In 1968, an estimated 60 students led by Charles Jenkins founded the Black Student Union at the University of California, Riverside. Soon after, in 1969, the group helped originate the Black Studies Department. The major was dissolved in 1970 and categorized as an interdisciplinary study instead. The newly formed Black Student Union remained active though and, along with those involved in the former Black Studies department, remained committed to giving value to the Black student experience.⁸⁰ Not only the student voices became more prominent. Reginald Strickland started and ran the Riverside Reporter, the city's first black newspaper, from 1969 to 1970.

The Second Revolution time period was not entirely peaceful. In 1970, the San Diego branch of the Black Panthers transferred to Riverside. The Black Panthers, also known as the BPP were a political organization founded in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale to challenge police brutality against the African American community. Dressed in black berets and black leather jackets, the Black Panthers organized armed citizen patrols of Oakland and other U.S. cities. At its peak in 1968, the Black Panther Party had roughly 2,000 members. Fearing the BPP's reputation for violence, the Riverside police raided the Black Panther Riverside headquarters the following year, leading them to transfer again to the City of Los Angeles in 1971, but not before two Riverside police officers were ambushed and killed. Never formally connected, it was reported to be the work of the Black Panthers.

CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY 1976- PRESENT

National Context:

Since the 1970s, many laws have been passed to guarantee civil rights to all Americans. But the struggle continues. Today, not only blacks, but many other groups — including women, Latinos, Asian-Americans, people with disabilities, homosexuals, the homeless, and other minorities — are waging civil-rights campaigns. The civil rights coalitions that formed in the 1950s and 1960s often provide necessary frameworks for these civil rights movements to take place. Meanwhile, there is still work to be done to ensure the equality of African Americans across the nation.

Politically, African Americans have made substantial strides in the post-civil rights era. Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson ran for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988, attracting more African Americans into politics and unprecedented support and leverage

⁸⁰ ASP-UCR, "Our Proud History," African Student Programs, n.d, <https://asp.ucr.edu/who-we-are/our-history>.

for people of color in politics. In 2008, Barack Obama was elected as the first President of the United States of African descent.

In the same period, African Americans have suffered disproportionate unemployment rates following industrial and corporate restructuring, with a rate of poverty in the 21st century that is equal to that in the 1960s. Modern forms of social and judicial discrimination have resulted in African Americans having the highest rates of incarceration of any minority group, especially in the southern states of the former Confederacy.

State Context:

In 1991, four white police officers were videotaped beating African American Rodney King in Los Angeles. Their acquittal led to the 1992 Los Angeles riots. The 1992 civil unrest was more destructive than any other uprising in our nation's history: More than 60 dead by the Los Angeles Times' count, 2,000 wounded, thousands arrested, a billion dollars in property damage. Underlying it all, was deep racial divides that still exist in California communities and nationwide.

Local Context:

The trends and patterns of the African American civil rights movement that evolved over the first three-fourths of the twentieth century continue to define the movement today. Characterized by strong coalitions of diverse groups targeting specific areas of access of equal rights, the movement has grown to incorporate more voices and has celebrated more successes. Challenges remain in areas such as affordable housing, income gaps, criminal justice, and immigration reform. In Riverside as across the country, the Civil Rights movement continues today – with community members working to ensure future equality but also to remember the past.

In 1986, Jack Clarke Sr. was the first African American in Riverside elected to city council. Clarke was one of the first African Americans hired as a full-time professional in the California Department of the Youth Authority in 1946. It can be said that Jack Clarke led the way for the hiring of African Americans at the state agency. When he retired in 1978 he was the Chief of Parole and Institutions for Southern California. He was the first African American elected to the Riverside County Office of Education in 1981, where he served as president. A few years later in 1994, Ameal Moore was the first African American woman elected as City Councilman for Ward 2.

1986 also saw the creation of the Fair Housing Council in Riverside (FHCRC). Since 1986, FHCRC has strived to ensure that all individuals will live free from unlawful housing practices and discrimination. The FHC works to ensure that the housing discrimination that was documented in the twentieth century does not continue.

The year 1998 unfortunately saw the death of Tyisha Miller, killed by a Riverside police officer. This event is often seen as the impetus for the unification of various minorities civil rights activism in Riverside.

The Riverside African American Historical Society was founded in the year 2000, bringing a voice to personal and community histories and stories that didn't have a home prior, validating and remembering the work and voices of Riverside residents.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Introduction

Places significant for their association with the history of African American civil rights in the City represent a wide range of property types, from modest houses and residential districts to commercial buildings, churches, schools, and social institutions. Properties that may be eligible for Local, State, and National historic designation include individual buildings; complexes of a number of historically related buildings or districts; sites where important events occurred; as well as structures and/or objects.

The places associated with the struggle for African American civil rights in the city of Riverside represent a particularly fragile class of resource. Many important buildings and sites have been lost as a result of new development, or neglect. As the resource pool is diminished, the cultural legacy and story that the buildings portray rises in importance.

DISTRICTS

Subtype: Residential Districts

The district property type encompasses contiguous groupings of buildings related to Riverside's African American Civil Rights history. One example would be the historically black neighborhoods that developed as a consequence of and in response to de facto segregation, such as the Eastside and Casa Blanca neighborhoods.

Residential neighborhood districts consist of single-family homes and buildings with two-to three-family flats. Within these neighborhoods, there may also be scattered apartment buildings as well as commercial clusters or the remnants of a larger commercial corridor.

Subtype: Districts Built by and for African Americans

This subtype is significant because racial restrictions in federal loan and mortgage programs, the practice of redlining, and discrimination within the insurance, mortgage, and building industries made it almost impossible for African Americans to engage in new construction or

residential building. On rare occasions, black businessmen were able to fund the construction of a small residential development of single-family homes for African Americans, such as the Johnson Housing Tract in the early 20th century. The dire need for defense worker housing during World War II and the relaxing of restrictive lending practices after the war led to the construction of a handful of neighborhoods by and for African Americans. The homes built by and for African Americans typically follow the design trends of the period in which they were built.

Subtype: Commercial Districts

Because of racial restrictions and segregation, small commercial corridors or nodes of commercial buildings typically grew around key cross streets in African American residential neighborhoods. Black business owners and professionals also frequently adapted residential buildings to function as commercial businesses, sometimes combining live and workspace in one building.

Significance

Criterion A/1/1

Districts eligible under Criterion A for their association with events that have made an important contribution to the broad patterns of African American civil rights history may relate to the following areas of significance:

- **community planning and development** -reflecting the establishment of African American neighborhoods in the city as a result of or in response to formal and informal policies of segregation,
- **ethnic history** -for association with African American residents of those neighborhoods,
- **social history** - reflecting the creation of cohesive social groups within African American neighborhoods and the meeting of community commercial, social, and recreational needs within such areas.

Residential districts may be significant for their ability to illustrate the struggle against racially restrictive housing and the changing residential patterns that resulted from that struggle. This property type includes both neighborhoods built by and for working and middle-class African Americans. As well as existing neighborhoods that were populated by blacks as they moved into formerly white areas.

Commercial districts may also be significant under the areas of social history and commerce, for their association with the common practice of locating black businesses, professional offices, and social institutions within residential neighborhoods. This represents a residential re-use pattern, to a degree, not generally seen in their white neighborhood counterparts. This pattern can be attributed to a result of discrimination that prevented blacks from patronizing white

businesses and blacks from opening businesses, offices, and institutions in white commercial districts. In many cases, a residence may have also doubled as a small business or professional office, or small clusters of businesses were located on residential streets or at street intersections.

Criterion B/2/2

A district as a whole will typically not be significant in relation to an important person, except in a case where an individually significant person was responsible for building a neighborhood. However, individual properties within these districts may be significant under Criterion B for their direct association with the life and/or career of a person who made important contributions to the history of civil rights.

BUILDINGS

Description

The building property type encompasses single buildings or small groupings of buildings (a house and detached garage) that are associated with significant events, people, and/or institutions important to the history of African American civil rights in the city of Riverside. Related buildings may include residences; commercial buildings; professional offices; religious, social, or educational institutions; hospitals; or recreational facilities.

Subtype: Residential Dwelling

Residential dwellings may range from a single-family home to a two-family flat or a large apartment building. Residential dwellings significant for their association with the history of civil rights in the city may be located anywhere in the city, especially because significant events often occurred when African Americans attempted to move outside of historically segregated neighborhoods

Subtype: Commercial Building

Commercial buildings are buildings that housed significant African American businesses or professional offices. Because of the restrictions they encountered, African Americans worked in, operated, and founded businesses and professions in a variety of building types that were available to them. Such buildings may range from a converted house or portion of a house, to a small neighborhood storefront, to a standalone building. Initially, commercial buildings associated with the history of African American civil rights in Riverside were set within the handful of segregated neighborhoods open to African Americans during much of the context period.

Subtype: Religious Institutions

Religious properties were the locus of most African American civil rights activities from the nineteenth century to present day. In the early twentieth century, many black congregations moved into churches left by white congregations when they moved, repurposing them and making them their own. Other congregations constructed their own places of worship. During the latter part of the period, as congregations moved into formerly white areas, they also repurposed non-religious building types, such as community halls, which were particularly suited to the needs of the congregations because they included large open areas for worship. Religious institutions often have auxiliary buildings that served as church halls, auditoriums, or recreation centers.

Subtype: Social Institutions

African Americans in Riverside approached the struggle for civil rights through different avenues during the context period, including social and political institutions. Social institutions range from women's clubs housing the social welfare activities of black women in the early twentieth century, fraternities that sponsored civil rights activities, or a YMCA that offered programs and facilities to African Americans. Political institutions might include a political party headquarters or a student activity room at a university where a radical group was formed and met. Such institutions often leased space within existing buildings, from churches to office buildings. Others moved into repurposed residential dwellings and commercial storefronts. In some cases, institutions had no official home, but met at various locations like local restaurants and social halls.

Subtype: Educational Institutions

African Americans experienced discrimination and inequality in primary and secondary education facilities. School locations reflected the de facto segregation settlement patterns that were created by restrictive housing covenants. The segregation of educational resources was widespread. Typically, as African Americans populations became predominate in a changing neighborhood, the neighborhood school would be designated for blacks. City government was responsible for providing schools in black as well as white neighborhoods and black-majority schools were often crowded and more poorly maintained than white-majority schools. Protests occurred against this inequality, such as the one at Lowell School in 1964.

Subtype: Recreational Resources

Recreational facilities for African Americans were typically segregated and often inadequate for their underserved populations. The city began establishing recreational facilities in African American neighborhoods around 1920s. Institutions such as churches also provided

recreational facilities for their neighborhoods. Swimming pools, ballparks, tennis courts, etc. where protests occurred may also qualify.

Subtype: Legal and Political Institutions

Legal and political activities, including the interpretation and enforcement of legal codes, the enactment of civil rights laws, and political advocacy, were critical in the struggle for 20th Century African American civil rights in Riverside. The buildings that are associated with significant events, people, and activities are included in this subtype. Examples could include the offices or places where organized groups worked in support of voting rights or other civil rights issues, which may have been located in a residential building, commercial space, or on a university campus.

Significance

Criterion A

Resources in the building type category may be eligible under Criterion A for their association with events that have made an important contribution to the broad patterns of African American civil rights history. Buildings important under Criterion A may relate to a number of areas of significance, depending on their history and subtype, including social history, ethnic history, commerce, religion, education, entertainment/recreation, law, politics and government.

Criterion B

Buildings may also be significant for their association with an important person connected to the history of civil rights in Riverside.

PART IV: PRESERVATION GOALS AND PRIORITIES

In Riverside, most potential historic resources relating to Civil Rights have not been reviewed for eligibility, due to the lack of a historic context statement to guide evaluation. Social movements with resources that span districts and corridors pose an increased risk of losing possibly eligible extant resources. This is partially due to the turnover of businesses and owners in commercial areas, and the alteration of the built environment in places that are seeking revitalization or new development. The priority, therefore, should be identifying eligible resources in a manner and timeframe that will allow for the least number of potentially eligible resources to be lost.

The following recommendations are outlined in the order of priority:

RECOMMENDATION 1:

Complete a focused, intensive-level survey of the study list properties. (See Appendix A) These properties are potentially significant based on the African American Civil Rights context identified during the course of research as prominent to the thematic record. These properties should be evaluated for both individual significance and as potential members of future potential historic districts, as applicable. This recommendation should be carried out as soon as is feasible.

RECOMMENDATION 2:

Conduct more research and gather more community input surrounding individual experiences of the Civil Rights Movement in Riverside, California. Education and outreach should also be undertaken to ensure the longevity and preservation of the identified (and yet-to-be identified) resources.

RECOMMENDATION 3:

Complete a Reconnaissance Survey of the Community Plan Area to identify potential historic districts and individually eligible resources within the city. This recommendation should be carried out as soon as is feasible after the completion of Recommendation 1, ideally within five years.

APPENDIX A: STUDY LIST

The following study list represents properties of thematic interest within the study area. This list is not an exhaustive list of all eligible properties but a representation of potentially eligible resources identified by the City of Riverside, along with archival research and limited fieldwork conducted in the development of this historic context statement. Conversely, a resource's presence on this study list does not automatically constitute eligibility.

Number	Street Name	Notes
2933	12 th Street	Mercantile Hall
4009	Locust Street	Allen Chapel (AME)
		Various Homes in 9 th Street NCA
3985	Park Avenue	Trivel and Susan Davenport Williams home
3649	Mission Inn Avenue	Mission Inn
		Frank Johnson housing tract (12 th to 14 th streets)
1330	14 th Street	Lincoln Continuation High School (formerly Irving Elementary School)
3600	Park Avenue	United Brethren Church
2433	10 th Street	St. John Baptist Church (formerly Second Baptist)
2911	9 th Street	Second Baptist Church (current)
3511	Park Avenue	Seventh Day Baptist Church
331/2843	11 th Street	Park Avenue Missionary Baptist Church (former)
4192	Park Avenue	Park Avenue Missionary Baptist Church (designed by Stanley Wilson)
1910	MLK Blvd	Park Avenue Missionary Baptist Church (current)
4195-4197	Park Avenue	Former Grier Employment Agency
4096	Park Avenue	Aaron Wiley home
4104-42	Park Avenue	Row of shops significant in AA community historically
2874	10 th Street	Tillman Riverside Mortuary
2665	11 th Street	Former Bartee's Beauty Shop
2667	11 th Street	Former Jackson Beauty Salon
4244	Park Avenue	Former barbershop + restaurant (now a residence)
4173-4177	Park Avenue	Palmer's Chicken Shack + Former Blue Note Record Shop
	Blaine + Canyon Street	Former WWII barracks style industrial labor housing (UCR housing- current)
		FMC + Hunter
	1 st Street + Pine	Willis Boyd Property
2929	Tenth Street	Willis Boyd + Robert Barrett House
4366	Bermuda Ave	Community Settlement Association

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APPENDIX C: CIVIL RIGHTS TIMELINE

Date(s)	Event(s)		
	<i>National</i>	<i>California</i>	<i>Riverside</i>
1870s to 1890s	Civil Rights Act of 1875 is passed, giving blacks equal access to hotels and other public facilities		African American families begin to move to Riverside and establish businesses African Methodist Episcopal Church established.
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act (federal) inspired plan to exchange two Chinese men for one AA man,	Chinese exclusion act stimulated the westward movement of African American families into California for economic opportunity.	
1883	Civil Rights Act of 1875 is ruled unconstitutional		
1889			Robert Stokes becomes policeman in the City of Riverside.
1890			Second Missionary Baptist Church established.
1891			Irving School built. Was originally <i>de facto</i> integrated but soon boundaries were redrawn so it became <i>de facto</i> segregated.
1893			African Methodist Church and Second Baptist Church established.
1896	Plessy v. Ferguson (separate but equal)		
1905	Niagara Movement established (would turn into the NAACP)	1 st black paper, The Colored Citizen, operated in Redlands from 1905 to 1906	Orange Valley Lodge, a Masons Lodge, organized by Riverside African American community.
1907			Riverside City Charter accepted, forming Riverside City School District and <i>de facto</i> segregated neighborhood schools.
1909	NAACP established		
1910	National Urban League established		
1911			Lowell School opens to serve white community east of the RR tracks and south of 14 th St. Fairmount Plunge opens as a segregated pool.

1914			Booker T. Washington visits Frank Miller, founder of Riverside's Mission Inn.
1915			First showing of <i>Birth of a Nation</i> (nationally) was in Riverside at the Loring Theater. Park Avenue Missionary Baptist Church established.
1917		Zoning and racial covenants restrict future sale of property to AAs	Zoning and racial covenants restrict future sale of property to African Americans
1920s	Height of KKK activity		Eastside is a segregated community with mostly minority population. Businessman's Club established.
1924			Induction of 217 KKK members at Polytechnic High School includes a cross burning
1925			KKK parade down 10 th St. Lincoln Park pool constructed as a result of Frank M. Johnson's lawsuit (1921) against the City for discrimination.
1928			A believed Klan member elected into political office
1930			Citizen's Committee established by Reverend Leander Moss as an outgrowth of the San Bernardino NAACP.
1931			AA community met at the Mercantile Hall to raise funds for the defense of the Scottsboro boys.
1940s	(Late 1940s) Baseball desegregated.		Movie theaters and restaurants desegregated? Eastside considered an AA and Latino area.
1941			Softball game between colored and white soldiers ended in a "near riot." Process begun to establish a branch of the NAACP in Riverside. NAACP website indicates that the community had felt no need for such an organization before this event due to the relatively mild conditions for AAs in the city.

1942			Riverside branch of the NAACP founded. Omar Stratton was the first president.
1943		Zoot Suit Riots in LA (against Latinos)	
1948	Shelley v. Kraemer (restrictive covenants unenforceable) Executive Order 9981 began the integration of the US Armed Forces.		
1949			Northern area of Eastside rezoned from single- to multi-family housing. Racial minorities moved into homes further north (b/t 8 th and Blaine) and south of 14 th street. Whites began to move out.
1950		First AA attorney admitted to the Los Angeles Bar Association. Injunction suit on file in superior court to end race segregation in CA prisons.	AA and Latino investors funded Eddie Streeter's tract development in Eastside (first after WWII) The Negro Baptist church (Fifth and F) and the Negro Seventh-day Adventist Church were dedicated
1952			"Half of the lots subdivided in the city [of Riverside]... contained clauses in their deeds forbidding sale to non-whites." Interracial bloc fights for better schools and to end school segregation. County Schools Superintendent Ray Johnson publicly denounces segregation.*
1953	Barrows v. Jackson (racial covenants illegal)	Segregation on trains determined illegal in CA.	Riverside chapter of League of Women Voters begun (not explicitly racial civil rights, but woman's and general civil rights).
1954	Brown v. Board of Education. Defense Secretary orders the Army, Navy, and Air Force to integrate their schools by Sept. 1955.		Irving School rebuilt on the site of the original 1891 school
1955	Rosa Parks arrested for bus incident in AL.	Imperial County Schools sued for segregation by the NAACP.	

	<p>Brown II (integrate with “all deliberate speed”).</p> <p>Supreme Court determines segregation in all public facilities unconstitutional- during the second Supreme Court ruling on Brown V. Board of Education</p>	<p>El Centro schools sued for segregation by the NAACP.</p>	
1957	<p>The 1957 Civil Rights Act passed (created US Commission on Civil Rights).</p> <p>Martin Luther King Jr. gives his first national address.</p> <p>Little Rock Nine integrate Central High School with the protection of the National Guard</p>		
1960	<p>Woolworth’s lunch counter sit-ins begin in Greensboro, North Carolina</p>		<p>Minorities comprise approximately 14% of Riverside’s population, Lowell School is approximately 50% minority students</p>
1961	<p>Taylor v. BoE of New Rochelle (no gerrymandering based on race)</p> <p>The first group of Freedom Riders leave Washington D.C to New Orleans</p>		<p>The Riverside School District constructs Alcott School and sets a boundary that will leave Lowell school segregated, parents object. Lowell school jumps to 90% minority.</p> <p>Lowell study committee formed, with recommendation of the dispersal of upper grades to other schools.</p> <p>Superintendent recommends open enrollment instead of integration.</p>
1962		<p>California State Board of Education requires local school authorities to avoid segregation</p>	<p>Arthur Littleworth is elected president of the School Board. Riverside changed rules to allow boundaries to be drawn to avoid <i>de facto</i> segregation. Riverside expanded Open Enrollment to all schools and grades</p>
1963	<p>Hummel v. Allen (segregation by race unconstitutional, but racial imbalance not; anti-affirmative action)</p>		<p>John Sotelo elected the first Mexican American member of the City Council (served until 1973).</p>

	<p>Rumford Act (prohibits discrimination in housing)</p> <p>Martin Luther King Jr. leads the march on Washington</p> <p>16th Street Baptist Church Bombed</p>		<p>San Dimas Conference explores race relations in Riverside, leading to the Compensatory Education Program.</p>
1964	<p>Deal v. Cincinnati Board of Education, Downs v. Board of Education of Kansas City, Bell v. School City of Gary all fail to uphold affirmative action policies</p> <p>Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed (outlaws discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and outlaws segregation).</p> <p>Repeal of the Rumford Fair Housing Act</p> <p>MLKJ is Time's Man of the Year and receives the Nobel Peace Prize</p> <p>Civil rights organizations conduct massive voter registration drives in the south, three volunteer registration workers James, Chaney, Michael Goodman, Michael Schwerner murdered in Mississippi.</p>		<p>Libraries opened at Irving, Lowell, and Casa Blanca Schools. Jesse Wall and Richard Purviance named responsible for Compensatory Education in 1964.</p> <p>Riverside Unified School District recognized by NAACP.</p> <p>Riverside community leaders begin to advocate for full integration, not compensatory education.</p> <p>Riverside community members protest the repeal of the Rumford Fair Housing Act.</p>
1965	<p>Selma to Montgomery marches occur in support of voting rights.</p> <p>Voting Rights Act of 1965: The law includes measures that prohibit any state or local government from imposing any voting law that discriminates against minorities. It specifically includes measures used to "qualify" voters, like literacy tests.</p>	<p>Watts riots in LA. Sparked by a traffic stop, the Watts Riots shake nation with 34 deaths, 900 injuries, and destruction or damage to almost 1,000 buildings, 13,900 members of National Guard deployed.</p>	<p>Parents meet and decide to petition RUSD for integration, holding a petition drive.</p> <p>Lowell School is burned down by an arsonist on September 7, 1965.</p> <p>School Board and administration develop new plan for Lowell students, integration is supported, without the support of City Council- is passed.</p>

			Parents and children, mostly from Lowell and Irving, hold a peaceful boycott of schools, and 200 to 250 attend Freedom Schools in 6 locations under the banner "Parents Boycott for Better Schools"
1966	The California Supreme Court overturns the 1964 proposition that allowed property owners to discriminate in the sale, lease, or rental of housing. The basis for the decision was that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.	Black Panther Party founded in Oakland, CA.	"The Movement," a Black Nationalist publication, called Eastside "The All American Ghetto" School integration in Riverside is fully implemented district wide.
1968	MLK Jr. assassinated in Memphis, TN. Civil Rights Act of 1968: Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1968 making housing discrimination illegal.		(Late 60s, early 70s) Out of perhaps 900 staff in the Riverside County Sheriff's Office, only 5 or 6 were AA An estimated 60 students led by Charles Jenkins founded the Black Student Union at University of California Riverside.
1969			Reginald Strickland started the Riverside Reporter, the City's first black newspaper.
1970			San Diego branch of the BPP transferred to Riverside. The same year, the Riverside police raid the BPP office. The branch is shut down and transferred to LA.
1971	Once <i>de jure</i> segregation is found, courts have obligation to fix and wide discretion in methods		Officers Christiansen and Teel ambushed and killed, strongly believed to be work of Black Panthers (Black Council?)
1972			Agreed upon date in which the "Black Students United" and "Black Student Activities" groups formed at UC Riverside. The Black Voice News, a paper, started in 1972.
1986			Jack Clarke, Sr. was elected the first African American member of the City Council. Fair Housing Council of Riverside County founded.

1994			Ameal Moore elected as City Councilman for Ward 2 (retired 2006, died 2013)
1998			Riverside police shoot Tyisha Miller – Rose identifies as impetus for unification of various minorities’ civil rights activism in Riverside
2000			Riverside African American Historic Society (RAAHS) founded.